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ABN KORRESPONDENZ

ANTI-BOLSHEVIST CORRESPONDENCE

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Ziele des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN)

Die Herausgabe dieser Korrespondenz setzt sich zum Ziele, die deutschsprachige Öffentlichkeit mit den Grundsätzen des Befreiungskampfes, der durch das russisch-bolschewistische Regime und die Stalinsche Diktatur unterdrückten Völker bekannt zu machen.

Bereits im November 1945 — in der Zeit des Höhepunktes des zweiten Weltkrieges — haben bevollmächtigte Vertreter der Befreiungszentren der Völker des Ostens auf einem Kongreß den Antibolschewistischen Block der Nationen (ABN) gegründet, dessen Hauptziel ist, den Befreiungskampf einzelner Völker zu koordinieren. Seit dieser Zeit wirkt hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang eine Befreiungsfront dieser Völker, der revolutionäre Organisationen, Aufständische Armeen und nationale Befreiungszentren angehören. Das Ziel dieser Befreiungsfront ist der Kampf für eine neue politische Staatenordnung in Osteuropa und Sowjetasien, für selbständige nationale Staaten in ethnographischen Grenzen auf den Ruinen der UdSSR, sowie für einen demokratischen Staatsaufbau der zu befreienden souveränen Nationalstaaten.

In diesem Kampf spielt die gegenwärtige und die zukünftige Haltung der Sowjetarmee, in ihren nationalen Bestandteilen, eine sehr wichtige Rolle. Bekanntlich besteht diese Armee in ihrer Mehrheit aus Mitgliedern der unterdrückten Völker. Von der Haltung dieser Soldaten hängt es ab, ob die russischen Imperialisten einen Welt Eroberungsplan verwirklichen, oder ob diese Pläne des Moskauer Politbüros zunichte gemacht werden können. Die Soldaten dieser Armee sind nur dann für eine demokratische Freiheitsidee zu gewinnen, wenn sie die Verwirk-

lichung ihrer nationalen Befreiung in der Bildung selbständiger Staaten ihrer Völker sehen werden.

Die politische Aktion des ABN verläuft in dieser Richtung und das Hauptziel des ABN — Freiheit den Völkern, Freiheit dem Menschen — ist in stande, die Soldaten der Sowjetarmee für den Freiheitskampf ihrer Völker zu gewinnen. Denn nur ein von großer Idee begeisterter Mensch ist für eine Heldentat fähig. In dieser Tatsache liegt auch die Stärke der seit Jahren kämpfenden Aufstandsarmeen der einzelnen Völker in dem Machtbereich des Kremls verborgen. Nur hier ist die Lösung des Rätsels, warum diese Armeen so lange kämpfen, zu finden.

Der Befreiungskampf der Völker, d. h. eine erfolgreiche Revolution in der Sowjetunion, ist nur dann möglich, wenn dieser Kampf antikommunistisch und antiimperialistisch zugleich geführt wird. Die Völker werden in keinem Fall für die Auswechslung der bolschewistischen Fesseln durch Fesseln eines „einheitlichen, unteilbaren Rußlands“ nach der Konzeption eines Krenskijs oder eines zukünftigen Wlasons kämpfen.

Sollte es zu einer bewaffneten Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem totalitären Bolschewismus und der freiheitsliebenden Welt kommen, — die weltrevolutionäre Konzeption des Kremls verbunden mit den imperialistischen Zielen des russischen Reiches beweisen, daß es zu einer solchen Auseinandersetzung kommen wird — so müssen in solchem Fall die Ziele des demokratischen Westens mit den Zielen der nationalen Freiheitsbewegungen der unterdrückten Völker identisch sein. Dann wird man schon zu Beginn

(Fortsetzung Seite 2, Spalte 2)

Denkschrift des ABN

Das Zentral-Komitee des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN) hat am 15. Juni eine Denkschrift an den Außenminister der USA, Dean Acheson, und an das bekannte Mitglied des Amerik. Komitees „Freies Europa“, General Dwight Eisenhower, gesandt, in der die Gründung eines solchen Komitees begrüßt wird. Zugleich wird aber die Befürchtung ausgesprochen, daß in den USA der Gedanke einer Aufrechterhaltung des russischen Imperiums nach dem Sturz des bolschewistischen Regimes, verbunden mit der Ablehnung der angeborenen Rechte der unterdrückten Völker auf eigene souveräne Nationalstaaten in ethnographischen Grenzen, um sich greift, was eine natürliche Beunruhigung unter diesen Völkern hervorrufen muß.

In dieser Denkschrift wird festgestellt:

1. Die Hauptgrundlage der Konsolidierung der Kräfte der Völker kann nicht allein die Tatsache sein, gegen wen sie zu kämpfen haben, sondern das innere Bewußtsein, — und das ist in diesem Kampf das wichtigste — wofür? Und dieses „wofür?“ ist nur die nationale Befreiung, die der mächtigste Motor im Kampf gegen den bolschewistischen Totalitarismus sein kann.

2. Die von Moskau unterdrückten Völker lehnen die russischen Konzeptionen ab, die von der „Liga des Kampfes für Volksfreiheit“, dem „Nationalen Arbeitsbund“ und dem „Kampfverband für die Befreiung der Völker Rußlands“ aufgestellt wurden.

Freiheitsliebende Völker und Menschen der ganzen Welt, vereinigt euch im Kampfe gegen den Bolschewismus für die Freiheit der Völker und des Menschen!

Diese Konzeptionen sind nur eine Neuauflage der vom Naziregime gestützten Wlassow-Bewegung mit dem getarnten Ziel, die Unterjochung der nichtrussischen Völker fortzusetzen.

3. Der russische Imperialismus bediente sich in seinem Streben nach Welteroberung immer verschiedenster heuchlerischen Parolen, wie „Panslawismus“, „Schutz der orthodoxen Kirche“, „proletarische Weltrevolution“, „Verteidigung des Islams“, „Befreiung der Kolonialvölker vom imperialistischen Joch des Kapitalismus“. Alle diese Slogane sind nur Tarnungsarten des ewigen russischen Imperialismus, heutzutage in seiner roten Ausgabe des Bolschewismus.

4. Alexander Kerenskij verlor 1917 seinen Streit mit den Bolschewiken eigentlich nur deshalb, daß er als russischer Imperialist, und aus diesem Grunde kein eigentlicher Feind der Bolschewiken, die nationalen Befreiungsbewegungen mißachtet und rücksichtslos bekämpft hatte. Dieser Umstand und die spätere Unterstützung der imperialistisch-zaristischen Generale durch die Entente führten zum Sieg des Bolschewismus über die selbständigen Staaten: Weißruthenien, Ukraine, Aserbaidschan, Georgien, Armenien, Nord-Kaukasien, Turkestan, Don-Kosakenland usw. und über die russische Schein-Demokratie unter Kerenskij, sowie über die russischen nicht-kommunistischen Generale selbst.

5. Die durch die Sowjetunion unterjochten Völker der Ukraine, Aserbaidschans, Armeniens, Georgiens, Nord-Kaukasiens, des Kosakenlandes, Weißrutheniens, Litauens, Lettlands, Estlands, Idel-Urals, Turkestans und Sibiriens werden den Kampf um ihre staatliche Befreiung gegen den russischen Imperialismus jeder Art weiterführen, auch wenn dieser Imperealismus von den Westmächten unterstützt sein sollte.

Die Slowenen, Kroaten, Serben, Albaner, Bulgaren, Rumänen, Ungarn, Tschechen, Slowaken, Polen und andere europäische Völker werden in der Zukunft weiterhin von dem russischen Imperialismus bedroht werden, falls das russische Imperium nach dem Sturz des bolschewistischen Regimes aufrechterhalten werden sollte. Der Weltfriede wird immer bedroht bleiben, solange Millionen Menschen von unterdrückten Völkern im Bereich des russischen Imperiums verbleiben werden müssen. Dieses Imperium muß nach den Prinzipien der Atlantik-Charta in einzelne, unabhängige Nationalstaaten aufgelöst werden.

Der ABN würde in seinen Reihen auch das russische Volk begrüßen,

wenn sich dieses Volk von seinen imperialistischen Bestrebungen lossagen und mit einem Staat in seinen Volksgrenzen begnügen würde.

6. Die nationalen Freiheitsbewegungen der im Osten unterdrückten Völker bilden einen der entscheidendsten Faktoren im Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus. Die Mißachtung dieser Tatsache durch die politischen Kreise der USA ist ein nicht wieder gut zu machender Fehler.

7. Der ABN warnt die gesamte freie, demokratische Welt vor den katastrophalen Folgen einer Zusammenarbeit nicht nur mit dem Bolschewismus, sondern auch mit dem russischen Imperialismus schlechthin und den ehemaligen Kollaboranten des Kommunobolschewismus.

(Fortsetzung von Seite 1)

einer solchen Auseinandersetzung die Parole der nationalen Revolutionen im Osten verkünden können:

„Krieg dem Kriege! Wendet die Waffen gegen die bolschewistischen Versklaver und Unterdrücker!“

Diese Parole wird von jedem einzelnen Sowjetsoldaten verstanden werden und er wird danach handeln.

Die Aufteilung der Sowjetarmee in nationale Armeen ist dann nur eine konsequente Folge einer solchen Politik. Die Aufständischen Armeen werden in diesem Augenblick zum Kristallisationspunkt dieser Nationalarmeen werden. Ohne Berücksichtigung dieses entscheidendsten politischen Momentes kann es im Osten niemals einen Sieg geben.

In dieser von Moskau geplanten und vorbereitenden bewaffneten Auseinandersetzung muß der Angriff des Westens auf das eigentliche russische Volksgebiet geführt werden, um die Mobilisierung des gesamten russischen Volkes für die Erhaltung des russischen Imperiums zu verhindern. Ein solcher Angriff muß dann die russischen Zentren lahmlegen und die Randgebiete der Sowjetunion verschonen. Die bolschewistischen russischen Imperialisten werden dadurch gezwungen werden, die nach Freiheit und staatlicher Selbständigkeit strebenden Völker nicht als Kanonenfutter zu verwenden.

Die baltischen, kaukasischen und sibirischen Völker, die Völker der Ukraine, Turkestans, Idel-Urals, des Kosakenlandes und Weißrutheniens werden im solchen Fall ihre nationalen Staaten organisieren können und den russischen Staat auf das russische Volksgebiet zurückwerfen, um dem russischen Imperialismus und Expansion ein endgültiges Ende zu machen.

In einer drohenden bewaffneten Auseinandersetzung zwischen Ost und West muß der Angriff von Außen mit den nationalen Revolutionen im Innern der Sowjetunion abgestimmt werden. Nur davon kann ein Sieg abhängen. Die Geschichte Rußlands beweist diese Wechselwirkung zwischen äußerer Niederlage und innerer Revolution. Die Revolution im Jahre 1905 war durch die Niederlagen Rußlands im Fernen Osten bedingt. Auch im Jahre 1917 war Rußland gezwungen unter dem Druck der national-revolutionären Bewegungen der Völker zu kapitulieren, die ihre selbständigen Staaten errichteten.

Während der Feldzüge Napoleons und Hitlers aber kapitulierte Rußland nicht, obwohl die beiden tief in das Innere des russischen Reiches eingedrungen waren, da beide die nationalen Befreiungsbewegungen nicht in Betracht nahmen.

Solange die freie Welt den Grundsatz von der Unteilbarkeit der Freiheit sich nicht zu eigen macht, solange wird ihr die Gefahr drohen, von einem rücksichtslosen totalitären Autoritärregime und vom russischen Imperialismus überrannt zu werden.

Dabei aber werden die Völker im Osten ihren Freiheitskampf vereinsamt weiter führen müssen. Werden sie allein der Weltgefahr standhalten können?

Slowakisches Befreiungskomitee

Das bisher bestehende Slowakische Aktionskomitee, das den Widerstandskampf in der Slowakei leitet, wurde in das **Slowakische Befreiungskomitee** umgestaltet und umfaßt folgende slowakische demokratische Parteien: Partei des Nationalen Wiederaufbaus (Volksbewegung für Freiheit und Arbeit), Nationale Partei, Bauernpartei und Slowakische Arbeiterpartei.

Präsident dieses Befreiungskomitees ist Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky.

In folgenden Staaten unterhält das Slowakische Befreiungskomitee seine Vertretungen: USA, Großbritannien, Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien, Spanien, Belgien, Holland, Norwegen, Schweden, Österreich, Argentinien, Brasilien und Uruguay.

Das Slowakische Befreiungskomitee leitet die revolutionäre Widerstandsbewegung des slowakischen Volkes in seiner Heimat gegen die bolschewistische Unterdrückung und tschechische Hegemonie und erstrebt die Wiederherstellung der unabhängigen demokratischen Slowakischen Republik.

Turkestan

Die ausgedehnten Gebiete Turkestans — Mittelasien — umfassen eine Oberfläche von 3,9 Millionen km² mit 20 Millionen Einwohnern.

Turkestan hat eine über 1500 Jahre alte staatliche Geschichte und war in der Vergangenheit ein wichtiges politisches und wirtschaftliches Zentrum, das die begehrliche Aufmerksamkeit des zur unermesslichen Expansion treibenden russischen Imperialismus auf sich lenkte. Dazu kam noch der große Reichtum des Landes, das die russischen Eroberer anlockte.

Die Bestrebungen des russischen Zaren Peter I. (zu Beginn des 18. Jh.), sich Turkestans zu bemächtigen, um auf diese Weise Rußland den Weg nach Iran und Indien zu bahnen, blieben erfolglos. Die russischen Expeditionskorps erlitten damals eine schwere Niederlage.

Die Teilung Turkestans in einzelne Khanate (Fürstentümer) nach dem Tode des Kaisers Temur des Großen half Moskau in einem 60-jährigen Krieg (1824—84) zuerst West-Turkestan und später das ganze Land zu besetzen.

In diesem Krieg vollbrachten die Turkestaner mehrere Siege in den Schlachten bei Chikment-Taschkent, Namantschan, Andischan und Koktubin, diese einzelnen Siege konnten aber nicht die Unabhängigkeit des Landes retten. Aber auch nach dem Verlust der staatlichen Selbständigkeit kämpften die Turkestaner weiter und die Geschichte der turkestanischen Befreiungskämpfe spricht von 610 größeren und kleineren Aufständen.

In ihrer Kolonialpolitik suchten die Russen, die politischen und religiösen Freiheiten der Bevölkerung völlig abzuschaffen.

Die russischen Kommunisten, die durch die Oktoberrevolution 1917 in Petersburg an die Macht kamen, haben ihr Versprechen von „der Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit der Völker“ nicht erfüllt. Die Turkestaner, die diesen Versprechungen Glauben geschenkt hatten, gerieten in den Stand einer noch ärgeren kolonialen Ausbeutung und noch schwereren nationalen Unterdrückung. Die sog. Kokander Autonomie Turkestans, die im Jahre 1917 verkündet wurde, war nur zwei Monate in Kraft. Sie wurde durch den bolschewistischen Überfall außer Kraft gesetzt und abgeschafft.

Seit dieser Zeit begann Turkestan seinen Befreiungskampf zu führen, der bis auf den heutigen Tag dauert. Die „Bewegung der Basmatschen“, so von den Bolschewisten genannt, ist eine bewaffnete Aufstandsbewegung

Turkestans unter der Losung „Kampf um die Freiheit“.

Diese Aufstandsbewegung führte zu der feierlichen Proklamation der staatlichen Selbständigkeit Turkestans am 15. April 1922 und der darauf folgenden Regierungsbildung. Die nach Moskau abgesandte diplomatische Delegation, die die Lostrennung von Rußland zu notifizieren hatte, wurde verhaftet und verschwand in den russischen Kerkern. Moskau schickte darauf eine „Strafexpedition“ unter dem Kommando von Frunse nach Turkestan, das zu einem blutigen Schlachtfeld wurde. Ein ganzes Jahr dauerte der turkestanische Befreiungskrieg unter der Führung von Enver Pascha. Moskau aber siegte dank seinem zahlenmäßigen Übergewicht. Um seine Herrschaft zu sichern, wurde das un-

terworfen Land durch den Kreml in fünf Sowjetrepubliken aufgeteilt: Usbekistan, Kasachstan, Tadschikistan, Turkmenien und Kirgisien.

Turkestan hat sich aber nicht ergeben. Ungeachtet des rücksichtslosen Moskauer Bolschewistenterrors, der durch Massenverhaftungen und Erschießungen der turkestanischen Intelligenz in den Jahren 1928, 1957/58, 1945/46 besonders zum Ausdruck kam, wurde der nationale Widerstand weiter geführt.

Die Führung der turkestanischen Befreiungsbewegung liegt bei dem „Nationalturkestanischen Einheitskomitee“, das sich verpflichtet hat, bis zum Erringen der staatlichen Selbständigkeit Turkestans zu kämpfen.

Urta.

Die letzten Tage des bulgarischen Bauernführers N. Petkoffs

(Aus dem kürzlich erschienenen Buch von Ilia Zlatareff „Der zehnte Vorstoß“ das die Ereignisse in Bulgarien nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg und die dortige blutige Kommunisten-Diktatur schildert, veröffentlichen wir den nachstehenden Absatz. (Die Redaktion.)

Moskau nimmt seine Beute ...

... Erkennen die Kommunisten denn einen Ort an, der durch Gesetz oder Sitte, Religion oder Tradition, geheiligt ist?

Man hatte den Opfergang der tapferen Frau Pop-Antonowa erlebt, die als Abgeordnete der Agrarpartei in ihrer Gemeinde Gabrowo am 19. April (1947 — Anm. d. Red.) vor ihren Wählern sprechen wollte. Kommunisten waren über sie hergefallen; sie war durch die Straßen der Stadt gejagt worden wie ein Tier, aber die Meute war ihr nachgestürzt, hatte sie vor dem Altar niedergeschlagen, herausgeschleift und verschwinden lassen.

Nein, Petkoff durfte sich keiner Illusion mehr hingeben. Er wußte, daß er ein erledigter Mann war ...

Am 5. Juli 1947 sollte Petkoff seine letzte Rede im bulgarischen Parlament halten:

„Die Bauernpartei und ich sind im Hinblick auf jede Anschuldigung der Verschwörung völlig unschuldig.

Wir sind Demokraten, wir sind gegen Verschwörungen, wir glauben an die Freiheit. Trotz des Schreckens und trotz des Terrors, den man jetzt gegen uns anwendet.“

Das war zuviel für die Kommunisten. Sie begannen zu rufen „Tod dem Verräter“ ...

Mit beiden Händen ergriff Petkoff das Rednerpult und rief: „Es lebe die Freiheit!“

Es war schon seit langem ein Trick der Kommunisten, Schlagworte im Parlament zu brüllen ... Nikola wollte jetzt, daß wir dasselbe mit „Es lebe die Freiheit!“ tun sollten. Alle hundert Oppositionsabgeordneten stimmten in diesen Ruf ein.

Die „schweren Jungens“ der Kommunisten, etwa 20 Mann, stürzten auf das Rednerpult zu. Sie hatten den ganz bestimmten Befehl erhalten, Petkoff aus dem Sitzungssaal herauszubringen.

Wir aber von der Opposition stürzten von unseren Sitzen, rannten, sprangen über Bänke und umringten das Rednerpodium. Einer begann zu singen „Er fällt im Kampfe für die Freiheit“ und wir fielen ein.

Der erste Versuch der Kommunisten, durch die menschliche Barrikade um Nikola hindurchzudringen, war nicht erfolgreich, sie setzten aber ihre Bemühungen fort. Bald zogen sie ihre Pistolen und wurden schließlich auch noch von bewaffneten Milizen verstärkt. Unser Widerstand war gebrochen.

So kam es, daß sie ihn wegschleppten. Als er in den Polizeiwagen geworfen wurde, begannen wir wieder zu rufen „Es lebe die Freiheit!“

In einem typischen Schauprozess von 10 Tagen wurde Petkoff zum Tode verurteilt und im September 1947 gehängt.

Eine UPA-Abteilung bricht nach dem Westen durch

Eine Abteilung von UPA-Soldaten (Ukrainische Aufständische Armee) überschritt kürzlich die tschechisch-bayerische Grenze. Diese Gruppe war bis dahin in Polen in den Wäldern von Kielce tätig und bewegte sich in einem bewaffneten Streifzug (Raid) seit Frühjahr dieses Jahres in der Richtung Czenstochowa-Oppeln-Waldenburg, wo sie die schlesisch-böhmische Grenze überschritten hatte. Der weitere Marsch ging über die Tschechei an den Städten Dvorec Kralove-Caslav-Benesov-Klatov vorbei bis in den Böhmerwald.

Diese neuangekommenen ukrainischen Freiheitskämpfer berichten folgendes über den Kampf hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang:

DER KAMPF IN DER UKRAINE GEHT WEITER!

Die UPA hat in den letzten zwei Jahren ihre Kampftätigkeit geändert: sie operiert jetzt in etwas kleineren Einheiten, die sich in ständiger Bewegung befinden. Außer diesen militärischen Trupps, die mit Maschinenpistolen, Handgranaten und leichten Maschinengewehren bewaffnet sind, befinden sich in der Ukraine stark ausgerüstete politische Gruppen der Organisation der Ukrainischen Nationalisten (OUN) unter der Leitung von St. Bandera, die eine sehr geschickte Propaganda gegen das kommunistische Regime führen. In den Städten und Industriezentren sind Sonderabteilungen tätig, die den Terror der MWD-Geheimpolizei zu bekämpfen haben. Gleichzeitig organisieren diese Sonderabteilungen der OUN unter den Arbeitern Geheimzirkel, die für den politischen und sozialen Kampf der ukrainischen Arbeiter zu sorgen haben.

Der bisherige Haupterfolg des Kampfes der UPA und der OUN liegt darin, daß der Mythos von der Allmächtigkeit des MWD und MGB (Innen- und Staatssicherheitsministerium) gebrochen wurde. Jeder Sowjetbürger habe sich persönlich überzeugen können, daß ein bewaffneter Widerstand gegen den roten Totalitarismus möglich sei.

In den an die Sowjetunion neuangegliederten west-ukrainischen Gebieten (Galizien, Wolhynien, Karpaten-ukraine und Bukowina) geht der Kampf gegen die Zwangskollektivierung in der bisherigen Schärfe weiter. Die Widerstand leistenden Bauern werden nach Sibirien und Kasachstan deportiert und an ihre Stelle kommen Kollektivbauern aus den östlichen

Gebieten, die die Bauernhöfe in Kolchose zusammenschließen.

DIE POLNISCHE UNTERGRUNDBEWEGUNG

In Polen ist die antikommunistische Widerstandsbewegung immer noch aktiv. Überall dort, wo der UPA-Streifzug geführt hatte, konnte die illegale Tätigkeit der polnischen nationalen Kräfte beobachtet werden. Am stärksten ist der polnische Untergrund in den Wojewodschaften Warschau und Bialystok.

Auch in den Bergen der Wojewodschaft Kielce befinden sich einzelne starke Widerstandsnester der polnischen Freiheitskämpfer. Zur Zeit des Raids des UPA-Trupps überfiel eine polnische WiN-Einheit (der polnischen Untergrundbewegung „Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit“) das Polizeikommando in Staszow (bei Kielce) und hob es aus. Einen Tag darauf kam es zu einer regelrechten Schlacht zwischen den Regierungstruppen und den polnischen Aufständischen.

Die Gefängnisse in Polen sind mit Häftlingen überfüllt, unter der Zivilbevölkerung werden Massenverhaftungen durchgeführt, um diese von der Unterstützung des Untergrundes abzuhalten und einzuschüchtern. Der Untergrund selbst blieb trotz diesen Verhaftungen intakt.

In vielen Dörfern bestehen bereits Kolchose in der Gestalt „genossenschaftlicher Landwirtschaften“. Es genügt, daß 6 Bauernhöfe einen Kolchos bilden, um den Rest der Dorfbewohner zum Beitritt zu zwingen.

IN DER TSCHESCHO-SLOWAKEI

Hier sind die Verhältnisse denen in Polen sehr ähnlich. Auch hier wirkt eine bewaffnete Untergrundbewegung. Am stärksten ist sie in den slowakischen Karpaten. Diese verfolgt slowakische nationale Ziele und erstrebt einen unabhängigen Slowakischen Staat.

Aber auch in der Tschechei, besonders in den Wäldern des Adler-Gebirges, gibt es bewaffnete tschechische Widerstands-Einheiten. In der Gegend von Hradec Kralovy (Königrätz) wurde in der Zeit des UPA-Streifzuges ein Gendarmeriekommando in einem Städtchen von tschechischen Aufständischen überfallen.

In der Tschechei bestehen bereits Ansätze für die Kollektivierung der Landwirtschaft: landwirtschaftl. Genossenschaften (druzstvo) und Staatswirtschaften reizen die tschechischen Bauern zum Widerstand.

DIE UPA-HAUPTABTEILUNG VERBLIEB IM OSTEN

Der UPA-Trupp, der jetzt nach Bayern gekommen ist, bildet nur eine Unterabteilung einer Hauptgruppe, die zur Zeit unter dem Kommando von Hauptmann B... in Polen operiert. Andere UPA-Hauptgruppen, die bis Anfang 1948 in Polen gekämpft hatten, haben bereits die Grenze nach dem Osten in die Sowjet-Ukraine kämpfend überschritten, um sich über den Fluß Bug mit den Hauptstreitkräften der in Wolhynien und Pollessien operierenden UPA-Obergruppe-Nord zu vereinigen. Dieser Durchbruch durch die stark befestigte Grenze, wo der „2. Eiserne Vorhang“ beginnt, ist diesen Truppen glänzend gelungen. (E. P-a)

„Gott und Vaterland“ — ABN-Kampfpapole.

ABN unterstützt die Forderung, die Zwangsarbeit in der Sowjetunion zu überprüfen

Das Zentral-Komitee des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen hat an die einzelnen Delegationen bei den Vereinigten Nationen eine Denkschrift versandt, in der die Forderung nach einer Überprüfung der Zwangsarbeit in der Sowjetunion seitens der von Moskau unterdrückten Völker unterstützt wird. Die Leiter der einzelnen Delegationen haben dem Präsidenten des ZK des ABN, J. Stetzkow, den Empfang dieser Denkschrift bestätigt und sich über den Inhalt derselben günstig geäußert.

Der Präsident des ZK des ABN und die Delegationsleitung des ABN für Großbritannien haben eine Denkschrift ähnlichen Inhalts an das britische Außenministerium gesandt. In dieser Denkschrift erklärt sich der ABN mit der Aktion der britischen Regierung, die Sklavenarbeit in der Sowjetunion und ihrer Satellitenstaaten zu überprüfen, solidarisch und erklärt die Bereitwilligkeit, Dokumente und lebende Zeugen vorzustellen, die die Richtigkeit der britischen Anklagen der Sowjetunion gegenüber vollkommen bestätigen.

Die in der an die UN-Delegationen versandten Denkschrift aufgestellten Forderungen des ABN waren die ähnlichen, die die Regierung Großbritanniens vor dem Forum der Vereinten Nationen gestellt hatte.

HERAUSGEBER:

Press-Bureau des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen ABN

ABN KORRESPONDENZ

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Nur ein Weg zur Freiheit:

Zerschlagung der UdSSR

Was wir wollen, ist die Zerschlagung des russischen Imperiums. Es hat keinen Sinn, etwas an dieser Grundeinstellung des ABN zu beschönigen. Wir sagen es mit harter Deutlichkeit und wir werden es immer wiederholen: Es geht um eine gänzliche und andauernde Zertrümmerung des russischen Reiches. Solange dieses unmenschliche, grausame, weltbedrohende Völkergefängnis nicht in seine Bestandteile zerfallen ist, solange unter dem Schutt dieses Gefängnisses nicht auch der Bolschewismus verschüttet und vergraben liegt, wird und kann es keinen Frieden und Freiheit in der Welt geben.

Worin wir uns in Bezug auf Rußland grundsätzlich von der Einstellung des euro-amerikanischen Westens unterscheiden, ist unsere **revolutionäre Denkweise**. Der Westen kann immer noch nicht von dem Gedanken ablassen, daß ein Ausgleich, ein Kompromiß, ein Friede mit der Sowjetunion **noch** noch möglich sein könnte. Man gibt sich im Westen der schädlichen, wenn nicht geradezu selbstmörderischen Illusion hin, daß durch Geduld, Beharrlichkeit und die sog. „feste Haltung“ die Sowjetunion an irgendeiner Grenze (man weiß nicht, wo diese Grenze endgültig liegen soll) zum Halt und zur Vernunft gebracht werden könnte.

Wir wissen es anders. Abgesehen von der Unmöglichkeit einer derartigen andauernden Zweiteilung der Welt (zum Schluß kann es nur eine Welt geben, und sie wird entweder euro-amerikanisch oder sowjetisch sein), sind die Russen zu einer derartigen Zweiteilung und zu einem Kompromiß weder bereit noch können sie bereit sein, auch wenn sie es wollten. Die ganze innere Struktur des Bolschewismus drängt die Sowjetunion zum

unablässigen Kampf um die Beherrschung der Welt, sie können es nicht anders; sie müssen nach dem Gesetz fortschreiten, nach dem sie angetreten sind. Die Entwicklung verläuft gebrochen und ruckartig in dem Sinne, daß der Bolschewismus immer zwei Schritte vor und nur einen Schritt zurückgeht. In der Endrechnung kommt er jedoch stetig voran. Ist man sich im klaren darüber, daß Moskau heute über 900 000 000 Menschen beherrscht?

Wir denken revolutionär, d. h. wir scheuen uns nicht, der harten Wirklichkeit ins Gesicht zu schauen, daß es zu einer gewaltsamen Abrechnung der gesamten Kulturwelt mit dem Bolschewismus **in absehbarer Zeit kommen wird und kommen muß**. Der Bolschewismus läßt uns keine andere Wahl.

Wir zweifeln nicht daran, daß die euro-amerikanische Welt, die materielle Macht, das technische Können, das rein mechanische Organisationstalent dazu hätte, um mit dem roten Koloss rein physisch fertig zu werden. Aber mit rein physischer Kraft ist es nicht getan. Wie ist es mit dem Geist, mit Ideen westlicherseits bestellt, die die tote Materie formen und bewegen? Was hat der Westen dem Bolschewismus an ideologischer Spannkraft, an Glauben, an Leidenschaft entgegenzustellen?

Mit konventionellen westlichen politischen und diplomatischen Mitteln ist dem Bolschewismus nicht beizukommen; die inneren, die seelische Spannung kommt heute im Westen nicht im entferntesten an den furchtbaren, nie erlahmenden Drang, den „drive“ des Bolschewismus heran. Und doch kann der Bolschewismus nur mit gleichwertig packenden und hinreißenden revo-

lutionären Ideen und Mitteln angegriffen, bekämpft und überwunden werden.

Man muß es klar erkennen: ohne Einbeziehung und ohne Einsatz der Freiheitskräfte Mittel- und Osteuropas und Sowjetasiens kann der Kampf mit dem Bolschewismus niemals gewonnen werden. Jedoch der reine, der klassische individualistisch-demokratische Gedanke, die Charta der nur persönlichen Menschenrechte ist nicht genug, um die gegenbolschewistischen Kräfte dieses Raumes zu entfesseln und in den Kampf gegen Moskau zu führen. Freilich ist die Demokratie diejenige Lebensform, die ausnahmslos von allen von Rußland unterjochten Völkern angestrebt wird. Aber darüber hinaus gibt es im Osten nur **einen** Gedanken von wahrhaft revolutionärer Spannkraft, der eine tödliche Gefahr für Moskau und den Bolschewismus darstellt: den **nationalen**, die nationale Befreiung der Völker.

Zwanzig vollentwickelte Nationen und einige Dutzend Völkerschaften der UdSSR warten mit Sehnsucht auf ihre Chance. Die Möglichkeiten, die in diesem Gedanken beinhaltet waren, boten sich auch Hitler, aber er verstand sie nicht zu nutzen. Nur im Bündnis mit diesen Kräften kann der Westen gewinnen: ohne sie oder gar gegen sie, muß er erliegen. Nur die **nationale Idee** ist die politische Atomkraft, die das russische Völkergefängnis von innen heraus sprengen und die Welt von der ewigen Bedrohung durch den Bolschewismus befreien kann.

Es ist nicht genug, wenn man im Westen, vor allem aber in USA, denkt und sagt: der Bolschewismus muß bekämpft werden, das russische Reich aber, in eine demokratische Form um-

Freiheitsliebende Völker und Menschen der ganzen Welt, vereinigt euch im Kampfe gegen den Bolschewismus für die Freiheit der Völker und des Menschen!

„Gott und Vaterland“ - ABN-Kampfsparole!

gegossen, kann und soll bestehen bleiben. Kein einziges Volk hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang kann sich mit diesem Gedanken befreunden; kein einziges glaubt an die Möglichkeit der russischen Demokratie; kein einziges vermag das eigentliche, beherrschende, kernrussische Volk, die Moskowiter vom Bolschewismus zu trennen. Der Totalismus, die Despotie, die Verachtung und Unterdrückung des Individuums, der Kollektivismus, ganz gleich, ob im weißen, schwarzen oder roten Gewand, waren für immer und bleiben bis heute die angeborene, naturgegebene politische Form des Moskowitums; der Bolschewismus ist nur die letzte Konsequenz dieses moskowitischen politischen Naturells. Jahrhunderte lebte Moskau diese Form, aber nicht ein einziges Jahr der Demokratie. Die durch Moskau unterjochten Völker wollen und werden sich niemals mehr auf das russische „demokratische“ Experiment einlassen; sie wissen aus jahrhundertelanger Erfahrung, wie solche Experimente in Rußland ausgehen. Unter jeder Bedingung und um jeden Preis wollen alle diese Völker nur das Eine: los von Moskau! Sie wollen ihre wirkliche Freiheit.

Der ABN kämpft für diese Freiheit.

32. Jahrestag der Tyrannei

Aus Anlaß des Jahrestages der russisch-bolschewistischen Revolution

Am 7. November 1917 stürmten die Matrosen aus Kronstadt das Petrograder Winterpalais und brachten damit Lenin an die Macht. Sie erschossen ihre Offiziere, verhafteten die Minister und trieben die „Bourgeois“ auf den Straßen zusammen.

Als die verfassungsgebende Versammlung eine antibolschewistische Mehrheit ergab, ließ Lenin sie von seinen Kronstädter Matrosen auseinanderjagen und entfesselte damit den Bürgerkrieg. Der nationale Befreiungskrieg der Völker dauerte schon an. Dank den Fehlern der westlichen Mächte, die auf die antikommunistischen russischen Imperialisten („die Weißen“) setzten

und sie in ihrem Kampf gegen die demokratischen Staatenbildungen im Osten Europas (Ukraine, Weißruthenien, Kosakenländer, Georgien, Armenien, Aserbajdschan, Turkestan etc.) unterstützten, gingen die Bolschewisten aus diesem Krieg als Sieger hervor.

Zweiunddreißig Jahre sind seit der Entfesselung der bolschewistischen „Revolution“ vergangen. Es hat sich gezeigt, daß der Bolschewismus noch viel schlimmer wurde, als die Zaren despotie. Seit der „Liquidierung des Bürgertums als Klasse“ sind die Bolschewisten der Liquidierung des Menschen als Individuum beträchtlich näher gekommen, so daß der Abgrund

zwischen der neuen Herrscherkaste und den Werktätigen im Sowjetparadies heute tiefer geworden ist, als die Klassenunterschiede in irgendeinem kapitalistischen Land. Und die nationale Unterdrückung hat ihren Höhepunkt erreicht.

Die zweiunddreißigjährige Herrschaft der Bolschewisten über die unterjochten Völker ist eine der erbärmlichsten Kapitel in der Geschichte. Die Machthaber im Kreml redeten von Sozialismus und stürzten die Völker in namenloses Elend, sie sprachen von Freiheit, errichteten aber über diese Völker einen schrankenlosen Polizeiterror. Sie wollten die Völker aller ihrer Ideale berauben, sie in den Zustand einer dumpfen und verbitterten Ohnmacht versetzen, um jeden möglichen Widerstand auszuschalten.

Die Pläne der bolschewistischen Machthaber ließen sich als verfehlt erkennen. Die Völker kämpften und kämpften gegen die russisch-bolschewistische Fremdherrschaft und erzielten viele beachtenswerte Erfolge in diesem ungleichen Kampf. Zweiunddreißig Jahre tobt in Osteuropa und Sowjetasien ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod. Zweiunddreißig Jahre nach jenem Novembertag von 1917 stehen die durch den russischen Bolschewismus unterjochten Völker Osteuropas und Sowjetasiens noch immer vor einer dringenden Aufgabe, diesen langen Kampf mit einem Endsieg zu beenden und sich ihre nationale und soziale Befreiung, wie ein weiteres friedliches Zusammenleben aufzubauen.

ABN-Völker kämpfen um ihre Freiheit

Ukrainische Aufständische Armee

(UPA) (I) — Eigenbericht

Das Gebiet der Kampfträtigkeit der UPA reicht weit über die Grenzen der Ukraine. Es wird überall dort gekämpft, wo dazu eine Möglichkeit vorhanden ist. Die Flugblätter der UPA und OUN-Organisation der Ukrainischen Nationalisten, in ukrainischer und russischer Sprache gedruckt, werden nicht nur in der Ukraine, sondern auch in Kasachstan und selbst in Moskau verbreitet.

Die Leitung der UPA hat die Organisationsfrage erfolgreich gelöst und alle bisherigen Bemühungen der Sowjetpolizei, das leitende Zentrum und seine Verbindungen mit einzelnen Aktionsgruppen zu entdecken, blieben ohne Erfolg. Die größeren Abteilungen der UPA, welche bis zum Jahre 1947 manchmal über hundert Mann zählten und ganze Rayons der Westukraine beherrschten, wurden in kleinere Gruppen aufgeteilt, welche ständig verlegt wurden und auf diese Weise ihre Kampfträtigkeit auf große Gebiete ausdehnten. Sie vernichteten Polizeistationen, liquidierten die grausamsten Vertreter der moskowitischen Okkupationsbehörden in der Ukraine, befreiten die Gefangenen und Deportierten, verrichteten Sabotageakte, eroberten Lebensmitteldepots und verteilten Lebensmittel unter den Hungernden, verbreiteten antibolschewistische Propagandaliteratur, veranstalteten Versammlungen usw. Die großangelegte militärische Aktion der moskowitischen Okkupanten in der West-Ukraine, welche die Umkreisung und Vernichtung der dort kämpfenden UPA-Abteilungen bezweckte, fand ein klägliches Ende. Der Leiter dieser Aktion, General-Oberst der MWD-Formationen Moskalenkow, fand dabei, mit seinem ganzen Stab, den Tod. Eine Gruppe der UPA, die durch den ehemaligen Oberleutnant der Sowjetarmee, Taran, befehligt wurde, bestand ausschließlich aus ehemaligen Soldaten und Offizieren der Sowjetarmee und zeichnete sich durch besondere Erfolge aus.

Die Tätigkeit der leitenden Zentren der Freiheitsbewegung, der oberen und unteren Kommandos UPA, der Propagandastellen, der Krankenunterkünfte, der Apotheken usw. findet in unterirdischen Bunkern statt. Jedes

Versteck dieser Art wird anders gebaut. Diese geheimen Unterkünfte werden so gebaut, daß sie den Anforderungen der Sicherheit, der Arbeit und der Hygiene entsprechen. Bei der Abrihtung von speziellen bolschewistischen Polizisten im Jahre 1948 in Stanislau, wurden ihnen von den Instrukteuren nicht weniger als 76 Arten von solchen geheimen Unterkünften angegeben. Die Beschreibungen derselben erscheinen oft auch in der Sowjetpresse. Es wird z. B. ein unterirdisches Spital der UPA mit einem Operationsaal, einer Apotheke und Unterkünften für die Kranken beschrieben. Eine andere geheime Unterkunft, welche durch die Bolschewiken entdeckt wurde, befand sich in einem bewaldeten Hügel oberhalb eines Flusses. Dieselbe hatte 6 Räume 25 Meter hoch, ein Magazin, einen Schlafrum, eine Küche, ein Bureauzimmer, eine Druckerei, einen WC mit dem Abfluß in den Fluß. Die Verbindung mit der Außenwelt wurde mit Hilfe eines Kohnes aufrechterhalten. Ein Notausgang führte in den Wald. Die Unterkunft ist durch Minen gesichert, die zur Explosion gebracht

Es wird weiter deportiert

Diesesmal die Kaukasusvölker

Auf Grund zuverlässiger Nachrichten, die Mitte Oktober d. J. im USA Außenministerium in Washington eintrafen, ist seit Juni 1949 eine massenhafte Deportationswelle im Kaukasus und um das Kaspische Meer herum im Gange, die vor allem Griechen, Türken, Perser und andere nationale Minderheiten erfaßt hat.

Am stärksten scheinen die Griechen betroffen zu sein, von denen 17 000 unter härtesten Bedingungen und menschenunwürdigsten Umständen nach Kasachstan und „Republik Komi“ verfrachtet wurden. Mit welcher Hast die Aktion durchgeführt wird, geht daraus hervor, daß die vertriebenen Leute irgendwo in Kasachstan und Sibirien, jetzt knapp vor dem russischen Winter, längst der Eisenbahnstränge mitten im Felde einfach ausgeladen und dem eigenen Los überlassen werden. Unter diesen Umständen bedeutet das den sicheren Tod für Tausende, vor allem für die Kinder. „Nitschewo ...“ hört man von Moskau.

Es entsteht jedoch die Frage: wegen was, oder richtiger, für was werden kaukasische Sowjetrepubliken wieder einmal „sauber“ gemacht. Das internationale Rätselraten, das durch diese Deportationen ausgelöst wurde, verdichtet sich auf zwei Mutmaßungen: 1. daß hier Atomexperimente durchgeführt werden, 2. der hiesige Raum für Truppenaufmärsche gegen die Türkei, Iran, Persischen Golf und Indien freigemacht und „gesichert“ wird. Man weiß noch nichts mit Bestimmtheit, aber aus der Ortskenntnis heraus kann angenommen werden, daß es sich eher um Truppenaufmärsche als um Atombomben handelt.

Politisch wesentlich ist an der Sache folgendes: abgesehen von aller Niedertracht solch „hoher Staatsmaßnahmen“, diese Deportationen liefern erneut den unwiderlegbaren Beweis, daß die russischen Imperialisten und Kommunisten sich auf kein Volk mehr in der UdSSR verlassen können. Wie tief der Bolschewistenhaß und die erbitterte Ablehnung der Sowjet-„Union“ bereits eingedrungen sein muß, sieht man daran, daß der Kreml, unmittelbarer Herrscher über 190 Millionen, sich vor 285 000 Griechen fürchtet, die das gesamte Unionsgebiet bewohnen, sie als staatsgefährliches Element von der Staatsgrenze vertreibt und dem sicheren Untergang preisgibt.

Dieses ist die unendliche, furchtbare, immer abwechselnde Reihenfolge:

heute Griechen, Türken, Perser, Aserbajdshaner; gestern Esten, Letten, Litauer; morgen Deutsche, Polen, Tschechen, Slowaken; übermorgen Ukrainer, Weißruthenen, Ungarn, Rumänen usw. und wieder von vorne an. Nur nicht vordrängeln, jeder kommt in dieser Russenmühle an die Reihe! Solches ist das wahre Bild der „unver-

nüchlichen Freundschaft“ und der „unzerreißbaren freiwilligen Bande“, die diese Völker mit „Mutter Moskau“ und dem „Vater der Völker“ Jossip Stalin angeblich verbinden. Was von der Revolutionszeit her noch vom Glauben an die „Brüderlichkeit des russischen Volkes“ übrig blieb, hat sich längst verflüchtigt; was verblieb, ist das wissende Moskau, daß es diese Völkerschaften nur mit eiserner Hand, nur mit Knute, Terror, Hinrichtungen und Deportationen in Botmäßigkeit und Reichszusammenhang halten kann. Für immer? Nein. Es ist nicht die

Atombombe, B-36, Raketenferngeschöß, nicht einmal die bakteriologische Gefahr, vor was sich der Kreml in Wirklichkeit fürchtet. Gegen alles nur Technische entwickelt Moskau immer sehr schnell entsprechende Gegenmaßnahmen. Die Technik kann nur siegen in Verbindung mit dem Geistigen: mit Gottesglauben, Freiheit, Humanität, Menschenliebe, gutem Willen. Es ist in erster Linie der **Freiheitswille** dieser unterjochten und gemarterten Völker, der einmal — dann aber endgültig! — das entseelte, furchtbare russische Völkergerängnis sprengen wird. **Freiheit** ist nicht der erzwungene Bund dieser Völker mit Moskau, sondern Antibolschewistischer Block der Nationen gegen Moskau.

Kasanisches Chanat (1437–1552)

Über den Zusammenbruch des tartarischen Staates, der die Ausbreitung Moskaus auslöste

Das **Kasanische Chanat**, ein Staat der Kasanischen Tataren, wurde im Jahre 1437 auf dem einstigen Territorium der Kama-Bulgaren (am Einfluß der Kama in die Wolga) gegründet. Die Hauptstadt des Chanats war **Kasan**, z. Zt. eine Stadt von 400 000 Einwohnern. Die Stadt wurde durch einen Nachkommen Dschingis-Chans, den Chan **Ulu-Machmet**, einen der letzten Herrscher der Goldenen Horde, im Jahre 1485 gegründet.

Der Gründung des Kasanischen Chanats kommt eine starke historische Bedeutung zu; durch diese Gründung hat ein führendes tatarisches Volk eine ausgeprägte historisch-politische Form gewonnen, die bis in unsere Zeit tief nachwirkt.

Nach dem Verfall des Kiptschak (tatarische Bezeichnung für die goldene Horde) und bedingt durch die einsetzende Ausbreitung des Moskauer Staates, wurde das Kasanische Chanat zur politischen Zufluchtsstätte der uralaltaischen (o. ural-idelischen) Stämme, wie Mordwinen, Tschuwaschen, Baschkiren, Mescherjaken. Diese Mischung ergab eines der stärksten und intelligentesten Völker des Ostens, welches z. Zt. über 3 000 000 Bevölkerung zählt. Die „Encyclopaedia Britannica“ (Bd. 21, S. 832) schreibt folgendes: „Sie sprechen einen rein türkischen Dialekt, sind mittelgroß gewachsen, breitschulterig und stark, haben meistens schwarze Augen, gerade Nasen und hervortretende Backenknochen. Sie sind Mohammedaner, Polygamie wurde jedoch nur durch die Reichen praktiziert. Sie sind ausgezeichnete Landwirte und Gärtner, sehr fleißig und erfreuen sich des Rufes einer außerordentlichen Ehrlichkeit.“

Das Kasanische Chanat war im 15./16. Jahrhundert der einzige tatarische Staat, der 115 Jahre lang die Kraft und die Beharrlichkeit aufbrachte, dem moskowitzischen Drang nach dem Süden und dem Osten erfolgreichen Wider-

stand entgegenzusetzen. Der geopolitischen Lage des Staates am mittleren Lauf der Wolga kam die Bedeutung eines starken Sperrriegels zu, der die russische Flut eindämmte und einengte. Der Zusammenbruch des Kasanischen Chanats machte nicht nur den Flußweg der Wolga nach dem Süden für Rußland frei; dieser Zusammenbruch wurde zu einem Startschuß, der die nunmehr 400 Jahre lang andauernde Periode der Ausbreitung des Moskauer Staates, sowie die Unterjochung der Dutzende von Völkern einleitete.

Leicht haben es die Kasanischen Tataren den Russen nicht gemacht. Selten verteidigte ein Volk seine Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit so opferwillig und heroisch wie hier. Die Belagerung Kasans durch die Truppen Iwans des Schrecklichen im Jahre 1552, der opferwillige Tod tausender Männer, Frauen und sogar Kinder in den Festungswerken der Stadt, Brandschatzung und Plünderung, dann gänzliche Zerstörung der Stadt nach der Eroberung, kaltblütige Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Einwohnerschaft — alles das gehört mit zu den unauslöschbaren Erinnerungen dieses Volkes.

Niemals vergaß dieses Volk seine Freiheit, seine Unabhängigkeit, seinen eigenen Staat. Immer wieder flammten die Aufstände auf, immer wieder fiel auf den Nacken dieses freiheitsliebenden Volkes die strafende, züchtigende, mordende Hand des moskowitzischen Eroberers. Die ersten Aufstände fanden 1552 und 1572 statt; sie wurden blutig niedergeschlagen. Weitere folgten in den Jahren 1582 und 1612. Im Jahre 1670 unterstützten die Kasan-Tataren und andere Völker Idel-Urals den berühmten Aufstand **Stenka Rasins**. Der nächste große Aufstand dauerte von 1735 bis 1741, dann anschließend 1741–1745 unter der Führung des tatarischen Freiheitshelden **Karasakal**. 1773 erhoben sich die Kasan-Tataren

wieder; geführt wurden sie durch **Salavat-Julaj**, der sich mit dem kosakischen Aufständischen **Emeljan Pugatschow** verbündete. Noch viermal wurde bei diesen Gelegenheiten die Stadt Kasan zerstört und verbrannt; 1774 richteten die Russen ein Blutbad in der Stadt und im ganzen Lande an, dem Zehntausende zum Opfer fielen.

Durch jahrhundertlange Kolonisationspolitik haben es die Russen erreicht, daß das russische Element heutzutage bis an 46 Prozent der Gesamtbevölkerung des Kasanischen Gebietes erreicht. Trotzdem ist der Freiheitswille der Kasan-Tataren nicht erloschen. Der Befreiungskampf dieses Volkes geht weiter; er wird andauern, bis das russische Völkergefängnis endgültig zerfällt und die Kasan-Tataren ihren nationalen Staat auf ihrem alten historischen Boden werden wieder errichten können. Der Freiheitskampf der ABN-Völker ist zugleich der Freiheitskampf des Kasan-Tatarischen Volkes; in diesem Volke ist ein starkes Verständnis dafür vorhanden, daß nur

ein unverbrüchliches Bündnis aller unterjochten Völker der UdSSR diesen Völkern zur Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit von Rußland verhelfen kann.

Enver Gali

ABN-Politiker in der Schweiz

Zu der diesjährigen Weltkonferenz für die „Moralische Aufrüstung“, die in Caux sur Montreux in der Schweiz tagte, wurden u. a. eingeladen:

der Vorsitzende des Zentralkomitees des ABN, ehem. ukrainischer Ministerpräsident **Jaroslaw Stetzkow**;

der Vorsitzende des Rates der Völker des ABN, ehem. lettischer Minister **A. Berzins**;

der stellv. Vorsitzende des Rates der Völker des ABN, Präsident des Turkestanischen Nationalen Einheitskomitees **V. Kajum-Chan**.

Sie berichteten eingehend über den Befreiungskampf der Völker des ABN gegen den russisch-bolschewistischen Imperialismus.

Erklärung

Der Ungarische Rundfunk vermittelte in der Sendung vom 16. 9. abends 22 Uhr die Aussagen **Ladislaus Rajks**. In diesen wurde unter anderem gesagt, daß sie „mit **Kisbarnaki Farkas Ferenc** in Verbindung standen und daß es einen Plan gab, die in der amerikanischen und englischen Zone Deutschlands und Österreichs lebenden Gendarmen und Horthy-Offiziere in Jugoslawien zusammenziehen zu lassen und diese in geschlossener Einheit mit den Jugoslawen zusammen zum Einsatz zu bringen“.

Hiermit betone ich, daß die erwähnte Aussage **Rajks** nicht in einem Wort der Wahrheit entspricht. Ich kenne **Rajk** überhaupt nicht und stand weder mit ihm oder mit einem seiner Beauftragten in Verbindung und führte keine Verhandlungen.

18. 9. 49 **Kisbarnaki Farkas Ferenc**

Gewalt, Galgen, Gefängnisse...

Es gibt in UdSSR ein Stalin-Lied in dem u. a. gesagt wird: „Außer UdSSR kenne ich nirgends ein Land, wo der Mensch so frei atmet, wie hier ...“ Nachfolgend bringen wir eine bei weitem nicht vollständige Zusammenstellung der Zeitungsnachrichten, Oktober 1949, aus Stalins „freier Welt“.

Ungarn: Am 14. 10. 1949 wurden in Budapest in den frühen Morgenstunden gehängt: der ehemalige ungarische Außenminister, vorher Innenminister, Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der ungarischen KP, Mitglied des Politbüros der ungarischen KP — **Laszlo Rajk**; außerdem seine Mitangeklagten **Tibor Szönyi** und **Andreas Szalai**. Beschuldigung: Nationalismus, Spionage für USA, Verrat, Volksschädigung.

Am 23. 10. 1949 wurden in Budapest in den frühen Morgenstunden gehängt: der ungarische Generalleutnant **Gyorgi Palfy**, ehemaliger Oberkommandierender der ungarischen Armee. Mit **Palfy** wurden gleichzeitig drei weitere ehemalige hohe Offiziere der ungarischen Armee hingerichtet, darunter Oberst **Dezso Nemet**, früher ungarischer Militärattaché in Moskau. Anschuldigung wie oben.

Außer der vollstreckten Todesurteile erhielten in beiden Prozessen weitere 37 Personen Zuchthausstrafen von drei Jahren bis lebenslänglich.

Als nächster ungarischer „Volksfeind“ wird wahrscheinlich der 73jährige Graf **Michael Karolyi** daran glauben müssen, wenn er die Unvorsichtigkeit begehen sollte aus Paris nach Ungarn zurückzukehren. Graf **Karolyi**, ehem. ungarischer Staatspräsident, seit 1946

ungarischer Botschafter in Paris, protestierte öffentlich gegen die Vollstreckung der **Rajk-** und **Palfyurteile**. Die ungarische kommunistische Presse zieht nunmehr über Graf **Karolyi** schlimmer her, als sie dies im Falle des Kardinals **Mindszenty** getan hatte.

Tschechoslowakei: Anfang Oktober setzte in Prag, in der Tschechei und der Slowakei eine Verhaftungswelle ein. Wie nach 1945 in ihren Ausmaßen ohne Präzedenz ist. Bis Ende Oktober — den Nachrichten der Korrespondenten der AP, UP, INS usw. zu Folge — sind bis an 60 000 Menschen verhaftet worden. Die Verhaftungen trafen am härtesten die Mittel- und Intelligenzschicht: Industrielle, Kaufleute, Rentenempfänger, katholische Priester, Ärzte, Juristen, Lehrer, Künstler. Gleichzeitige massenhafte Vermögensentziehungen haben praktisch die Verstaatlichung der Güter vollendet. Begründung wie immer: „Nationalisten“, Verräter, Klassenfeinde, Volksschädlinge. Die historische Entwicklung in der Tschecho-Slowakei scheint bereits auf „höherer soziologischer Ebene“ zu verlaufen als in Ungarn. In Budapest werden zunächst noch einzelne Personen gehängt; in CSR vernichtet man bereits ganze Volksschichten.

Die Säuberung hat in CSR auch die Armee erfaßt; hier greift man gleich schärfer durch. Ein Kriegsgericht in Prag verurteilte am 7. 10. 1949 den Oberst **Tr. Korda**, Chef der Offiziersausbildungsschule in Hranice-Mähren, sowie Leutnant **N. Hacha** zu lebenslänglichem Gefängnis; fünf weitere Angeklagte erhielten Strafen von 3 bis 10 Jahren. In Olomouc wur-

den 55 Offiziere aus der Armee verstoßen und verhaftet.

Im ganzen Staatsgebiet sind im September—Oktober 1949 über 300 Offiziere verhaftet worden.

In **Louny**, Nordwesttschechei, sind am 22. Oktober 1949, offizieller Nachrichtenagentur CTK zufolge, „wegen Spionage für ein unbekanntes Land“ vier Personen zum Tode durch den Strang, vier weitere zu lebenslänglichem Zuchthaus verurteilt worden. Die „Anführer der Bande“ hießen **Josef Horejsi** und **Josef Plzak**; die Urteile wurden vollstreckt.

Am 14. 10. 1949 hat die Tschechoslowakische Nationalversammlung zwei Kirchengesetze genehmigt, die vorsehen, daß die Priester Staatsbeamte werden, und daß ein Kirchenministerium, dem die Aufsicht über alle Kirchen übertragen wird, errichtet werden soll. Begleitmusik: Verhaftung von über 300 katholischen Priestern.

Nicht nur der soziale Aufbau, auch das Kulturleben der CSR soll auf eine „höhere Ebene“ gehoben werden. Am 10. 10. 1949 hat die Regierung eine scharfe Kampagne begonnen, derzufolge Hunderttausende von Tschechen und Slowaken, Kinder wie Greise, zur Teilnahme an einem von den Kommunisten dirigierten Wettbewerb im Erlernen der russischen Sprache verpflichtet werden. Für diejenigen, die dabei die raschesten Fortschritte erzielen, hat die Regierung Preise ausgesetzt. Es spiegeln sich darin die Bemühungen Moskaus, das Gesicht der CSR endgültig nach Osten zu wenden.

werden, wenn die Insassen umzingelt und angegriffen werden, um der Besatzung die Möglichkeit zu verschaffen bis zum Eintritt der Nacht durchzuhalten oder in der entstandenen Verwirrung zu entkommen. Die beschriebene geheime Unterkunft, deren Bau drei Monate in Anspruch nahm, war die höchste Leistung dieser Art, die noch im Jahre 1945 ausgearbeitet wurde. Kleinere Unterkünfte mit nur zwei Zimmern wurden schon in einer Woche hergestellt. Die neuesten Modelle, wie z. B. das Spital in Chreschtschata und besonders das Spital in Truchaniw, im Kreis Stryj, überraschten die Bolschewiken durch ihren Komfort, als sie von ihnen entdeckt wurden. In diesen geheimen Unterkünften befindet sich die eigentliche Leitung des ganzen politisch-militärischen Kampfes; hier wird die illegale Literatur gedruckt, die notwendigen Dokumente für Kurier und Verbindungsmänner hergestellt, Instruktionen ausgearbeitet usw.

Freiheitskampf der Aserbajdschaner

Die Grundprinzipien unserer nationalen Freiheitsbewegung

1. Die Wiederherstellung der national-politischen Unabhängigkeit des Landes, das im Jahre 1920 zum Opfer der sowjetischen Okkupation wurde und die vollkommene Befreiung unseres Volkes von dem Joch Moskaus.

2. Die Schaffung eines national-demokratischen Regimes im Lande, das auf einer tatsächlichen Volksregierung und auf einer sozialen Gerechtigkeit gegründet wird.

3. Die Gründung eines „einheitlichen Kaukasus“ auf der Basis einer freiwilligen, gleichberechtigten, föderativen Vereinigung der Völker mit einer unabhängigen inneren Politik jeder nationalen Republik der Föderation.

4. Die Vernichtung und die endgültige Aufteilung des russisch-bolschewistischen Reiches — der Sowjetunion, da dieses Reich ein Instrument der Unterjochung der Menschheit ist und in diesem Reiche die Aggression zum Zweck der Errichtung der russisch-bolschewistischen Herrschaft über die ganze Welt vorbereitet wird.

5. Die Unterstützung der Idee der Vereinigung aller Völker in einem Block, die durch den Bolschewismus und den russischen Imperialismus unterjocht sind, um auf diese Weise die nationale Befreiungsrevolution erfolgreich durchzuführen und um den gemeinsamen Kampf gegen den gemeinsamen Feind mit jenen Ländern zu führen, die die Prinzipien der Atlantik-Charta anerkennen.

Das Komitee der Nationalen Unabhängigkeit des Aserbajdschan.

Aserbajdschan

Das ethnographische Territorium der Aserbajdschaner liegt zwischen Iran, Türkei, Armenien, Georgien, Nordkaukasus und dem Kaspischen Meer. Es umfaßt etwa 250 000 qkm mit einer Bevölkerung von über 8 Millionen Menschen. Sein kaukasischer Teil ist 97 297 qkm groß mit einer Bevölkerung über 3,5 Millionen Menschen. Über 80% der Bevölkerung Aserbajdschans bildet die einheimische Bevölkerung — die aserbajdschanischen Türken.

Die nationale kulturelle Entwicklung Aserbajdschans, welche schon vor der Geburt Christi begann, ist in den Werken der altgriechischen, arabischen und anderen Historiker und Reisenden dargestellt. Die im Lande zahlreich gefundenen archäologischen Denkmäler sind Zeugen einer reichen historischen Vergangenheit dieses Lan-

Auf die Frage, wie die letzten Monate in der Heimat verbracht wurden, antwortete ein UPA-Offizier folgendes: Den Winter 1948/49 verbrachte ich in einem Versteck ziemlich ruhig. Im März dieses Jahres begannen die Bolschewisten die Bevölkerung, hauptsächlich aus Wolhynien, nach Kasachstan und Sibirien zu deportieren. Die Bevölkerung rettete sich, indem sie die Instruktionen des UPA-Kommandos ausführte. Gleichzeitig wurde eine ähnliche Aktion in Polen gegen die Untergrundbewegung, sowie gegen die Ukrainer, die dort wohnen, und gegen die zahlreichen Deserteure aus der Sowjetarmee durchgeführt. Angesichts dessen, daß in Polen eine Verhaftungswelle wütete, erhielt ich den Auftrag, die Kämpfer der UPA, welche in den polnischen Städten tätig waren, nach /esten zu überführen. Der Auftrag war kein leichter, es gelang mir jedoch, ihn auszuführen.

ten des Landes erweckten ein großes Interesse bei den Nachbarländern und besonders seitens der russischen Eroberer. Die Generaloffensive des russischen Imperialismus gegen das Land begann am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts, zu einer Zeit, als es in mehrere Chanate geteilt war und keine reguläre Truppen besaß. Im Jahre 1802 drangen die russischen Okkupanten in das Innere des Landes ein, begegneten aber einem opferreichen Widerstand des ganzen Volkes, und erst 26 Jahre später gelang ihnen die endgültige Eroberung des kaukasischen Teiles Aser-

Appell der Flüchtlingsjournalisten an die Welt

Am 17. Oktober 1949 fand in Paris eine außerordentliche Plenarsitzung des Vorstandes der „Internationalen Vereinigung der Freien Journalisten“ (FIJL-Federation Internationale des Journalists Libres), die über 1200 Journalisten aus 14 durch Sowjetrußland unterjochten Länder vereinigt. Die Sitzung war der Ausarbeitung eines weltweiten Appells an die demokratischen Völker gewidmet, um vermittels der UN eine Untersuchung der Menschenrechte hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang durchzusetzen. Im Appell wird insbesondere auf die unmenschliche Sklavenarbeit von mehr als 10 Millionen Menschen in den Straf- und Arbeitslagern Sowjetrußlands hingewiesen. Dem Appell ist ein erschütterndes Tatsachenmaterial beigelegt.

bajdschans. Diese Eroberung kostete den Russen Zehntausende von Toten. Der Oberbefehlshaber der russischen Okkupationstruppen, General Sissjanow, wurde von dem nationalen Patrioten Hamsa am Tor der Festung der Stadt Baku erschossen. Im Lande entwickelten sich Aufstände unter der Leitung der Volkshelden Dschawadchan, Katschak Nabi und vieler anderen. Das Volk wollte sich von dem unerträglichen Joch der Russen befreien.

Am 28. Mai 1918 proklamierten die Aserbajdschaner die Wiederherstellung ihrer nationalen Unabhängigkeit und schufen die nationale Republik Aserbajdschan mit eigener Regierung und mit einem demokratischen Regime. Es begann ein in der Geschichte Aserbajdschans noch nie dagewesenes Aufblühen des Landes. Die unabhängige Republik der Aserbajdschaner existierte aber kurze Zeit. Im April 1920 wurde sie von den Truppen der russischen Bolschewiken okkupiert. Aserbajdschan wurde wieder zu einer Kolonie Moskaus. Aber auch nach der zweiten Okkupation des Landes durch die Russen legten die Aserbajdschaner die Waffen nicht nieder. Den Kampf für die Freiheit wird unser Volk solange führen, bis es endgültig die staatliche Unabhängigkeit erkämpft hat. Akis

1. Tagung der Jugendfront des ABN

Am 27. und 28. 9. 1949 fand bei Hannover die **Erste Tagung** der sog. „**Front der Jugend des ABN**“ statt. Die Tagung wurde durch die Vertreter der 12 Teilnehmernationen des ABN beschriftet. Zum geschäftsführenden Vorstand der Tagung wurden erwählt: Vertreter von Lettland, Litauen, Weißruthenien, Ukraine, Rumänien, Turkestan, Idel-Ural.

Im Laufe zweitägiger Beratungen wurde die jetzige Weltlage mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ostprobleme einer gründlichen Erörterung unterzogen. Es wurde eine Reihe von Vorträgen gehalten, die die einschlägigen politischen, kulturellen, religiösen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Probleme unserer Zeit zum Gegenstand hatten.

Die anschließenden lebhaften Debatten ließen folgende Einstellung der Jugend der ABN-Völker zu den Grundproblemen unserer Zeit erkennen:

1. Die Jugend der ABN-Völker lehnt die heutige „Weltordnung“, d. h. die gegenwärtige Zeit „zwischen Krieg und Frieden“ als eine Konsequenz der Abmachungen von Teheran, Jalta und Potsdam mit aller Schärfe ab.

2. Die Jugend der ABN-Völker gibt die Schuld an der Entstehung der gegenwärtigen Zeit „zwischen Krieg und Frieden“ denjenigen Führern der westlichen Demokratien, die die wahre Natur des Bolschewismus nicht erkannt hatten. Moskau zum größten Eroberungszug seiner Geschichte verhalten, und nunmehr, nicht den Mut aufzubringen vermögen, mit Moskau, solange es noch nicht zu spät ist, abzurechnen.

3. Die Jugend der ABN-Völker bekennt sich zum **nationalen Gedanken** in dem Sinne, daß sie, auf dem Prinzip der Selbstbestimmung der Völker fußend, für jedes Volk Europas und des russischen Sklavenimperiums das unabdingbare Recht auf Errichtung des eigenen Staates in ethnographischen Grenzen anerkennt.

4. Die Jugend der ABN-Völker bekennt sich zum **Grundsatz der Demokratie**. Keine Regierung darf ohne Befragung und Zustimmung der Regier-

ten eingesetzt werden und die Regierungsmacht ausüben. Alle Macht kommt vom Volke, durch das Volk und für das Volk.

5. Die Jugend der ABN-Völker lehnt jede **Kompromißpolitik des Westens** Moskau gegenüber entschieden ab und steht auf dem Standpunkt, daß der Weltfriede und der Erfolg der UN nur nach vollständiger Niederwerfung und Vernichtung des Bolschewismus gesichert werden können.

6. Die Jugend der ABN-Völker bekennt sich entschieden zum **Friedensgedanken** in dem Sinne, daß sie den Krieg als Mittel der internationalen Politik ablehnt. Diese Jugend ist entschlossen, nach der Wiedergewinnung der Freiheit ihrer Völker untereinander einen unverbrüchlichen Frieden und Freundschaft zu halten. Der Friede kann jedoch nur unter der Voraussetzung errichtet und erhalten werden, daß jedes Volk sich in seinen ethnographischen Grenzen der staatlichen Selbständigkeit erfreut. Solange dieses nicht der Fall ist, nimmt diese Jugend für sich das Recht in Anspruch, einen revolutionären nationalen Befreiungskrieg gegen Imperialismus aller Art zu erklären und zu führen.

7. Die Jugend der ABN-Völker bekennt sich mit gleicher Entschlossenheit zum Gedanken der **sozialen Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit**. Nur ein freier Mensch, d. h. frei auch von wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Bedrückung, kann einen freien Staat und eine freie Gesellschaft aufbauen. Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und Friede nach außen wie nach innen — das ist der tiefere Sinn der Losung des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen: „**Freiheit den Völkern — Freiheit dem Menschen.**“

Die überaus harmonische und fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit der Jugendverbände der ABN-Völker bietet eine Gewähr dafür, daß auch in Zukunft die Harmonie und Freundschaft unter den Völkern Mittel- und Osteuropas nach ihrer Befreiung gepflegt und bewahrt bleiben wird.

UPA kämpft weiter

Neue Schlachten zwischen der Roten und der Ukrainischen Aufständischen-Armee. — Verhaftung 1600 ukrainischer Revolutionäre. — Westliche Diplomaten berichten über die UPA.

Radio München brachte am 15. 10. 1949 Nachrichten über die umfangreichen Kämpfe, die in der ersten Hälfte Oktober, insbesondere am 9. 10. 1949, in verschiedenen Orten der Ukraine zwischen der Ukrainischen Aufständischen Armee (UPA) und starken Einheiten der Roten Armee sowie NKWD-Truppen stattgefunden haben. Die Ausdehnung der Kämpfe auf das Gebiet der gesamten Ukraine läßt auf eine sehr weite Verzweigung der Organisation der UPA sowie ihre einheit-

liche Leitung schließen. Desgleichen läßt die Gleichzeitigkeit sowie der Umfang der blutigen Unruhen darauf schließen, daß es sich hier um einen Teilaufstand in der Ukraine handelt. Bei der einsetzenden bolschewistischen „Säuberung“ sollen 1600 ukrainische revolutionäre verhaftet und gefangen gesetzt worden sein.

Der Ausbruch der Unruhen und der Kämpfe wurde durch ausländische, in Moskau akkreditierte Diplomaten, an ihre Regierungen berichtet.

Trotz schärfster sowjetischer Nachrichtenkontrolle verbreitete sich die Kunde über die neuesten UPA-Kämpfe in der ganzen Bevölkerung, die, wie schon immer vorher, der UPA stärkste Sympathien entgegenbringt und alle nur mögliche Unterstützung angedeihen läßt. Wie schon immer aus solchen Anlässen ergeht sich die moskauhörige offizielle Presse in der Ukraine in wüsten Beschimpfungen und Diskriminierungen des „verräterischen“ ukrainischen Nationalismus.

Vernichtung von 100 000 Litauern

Außenminister Lozoraitis klagt Moskau vor UN an.

Der Außenminister der litauischen Exilregierung, **Stasys Lozoraitis**, wurde am 26. 10. 1949 vom Präsidenten der Generalversammlung der UN, Brigadegeneral **Carlos P. Romulos**, sowie vom stellvertr. Generalsekretär der UN, **Andrew Cordier**, zu einer offiziellen Demarche in Lake Success empfangen. Minister Lozoraitis brachte eine, durch umfangreiches Beweismaterial gestützte Klage ein, derzufolge die Regierung der Sowjetunion im Laufe 1948/49 zumindest 100 000 Litauer, meistens Angehörige der Mittel- und Intelligenzschicht, in Speziallagern vernichtet hatte. Minister Lozoraitis gab der Hoffnung Ausdruck, daß die litauische Klage zum Gegenstand einer Debatte in der Generalversammlung der UN wird, und zwar anläßlich der Beratungen über den durch die UdSSR vorgeschlagenen 5-Mächte-Pakt.

Eingabe der Slowakei an die UN

Das „Slowakische Befreiungskomitee“, die höchste politische Repräsentation der Slowakischen Nationalen Widerstandsbewegung, hat sich mit einer Petition an die UN gewendet, in der die Bildung einer besonderen Kommission zur Überprüfung der Religionsverfolgungen in der Slowakei gefordert wird.

Außerdem wird gefordert, daß die Tschechoslowakei aus den UN ausgeschlossen wird.

Der Kongreß der Slowakei-Deutschen in Ludwigsburg (Westdeutschland) hat sich für die Wiedererrichtung der selbstständigen Slowakischen Republik ausgesprochen.

Millij Turkistan

Das Organ des National-turkestanischen Einheitskomitees „**Millij Turkistan**“ erscheint nach einer Unterbrechung wieder. Es bringt aufschlußreiches Material über den Befreiungskampf des turkestanischen Volkes gegen die bolschewistische Diktatur und gegen den russischen Imperialismus.

Die Redaktion der „ABN-Korrespondenz“ wünscht der turkestanischen Zeitschrift die besten Erfolge.

Die größte staatspolitische Sensation der CSR ist jedoch im November 1949 zu erwarten. Es handelt sich um die höchstwahrscheinliche Absetzung — und vielleicht auch Verhaftung — des Staatspräsidenten **Klement Gottwald** und des Außenministers **Dr. Vladimir Clementis**. Schon seit längerer Zeit sickerten in die Weltpresse Nachrichten durch, daß Moskau mit beiden Genannten höchst unzufrieden sei.

Die Stellung Dr. Clementis ist derart schwach geworden, daß sein Rücktritt unmittelbar nach der Sitzungsperiode der UN und seiner Rückkehr aus Lake Success, wo er die CSR vertritt, erfolgen dürfte. Als sein Nachfolger ist **Zdenek Fierlinger** vorgesehen. Bezeichnend für diese Entwicklung ist, daß eine Reihe nächster und zuverlässigster Mitarbeiter Gottwalds und Dr. Clementis u. a. der Pressechef des Außenministeriums **Eugen Klinger**, spurlos verschwunden sind. So fängt dieser Weg hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang an, am Ende stehen immer — Wand oder Galgen.

BULGARIEN. — Mit dem Tode des bulgarischen Bauernführers **Nikola Petkoff**, der am 25. 9. 1947 in Sofia gehängt wurde, war der Leidensweg des bulgarischen Volkes noch lange nicht abgeschlossen. Inzwischen starb, Juli 1949, unter sehr verdächtigen Umständen auch der Henker **Petkoffs**, vorm. Ministerpräsident **Dimitroff**. Bei der Liquidierung **Petkoffs** hat sich am meisten der ehem. bulgarische Vize-ministerpräsident **Travtscho Kostoff** hervorgetan. Nun kam jetzt auch **Kostoff** an die Reihe. Anklage: „Nationalismus“, „Liederlichkeit in der Führung der Staatsgeschäfte“, Spionage, Volksschädigung. Mit **Kostoff** wird eine Reihe prominentester Kommunisten die Anklagebank teilen; es wird ein bulgarischer „Rajk-Parallellprozeß“ vorbereitet, der die Bulgaren noch schwerer treffen soll, als er die Ungarn traf. In der zweiten Hälfte Oktober 1949 soll eine bisher nie dagewesene Welle von Verhaftungen durch den Staatsapparat gegangen sein, die viele Minister und hohe Staatsbeamte in die Gefängnisse gespült hatte. Verhaftet wurden mit Sicherheit u. a.: der Finanzminister **Petko Kunitsch** und sein Stellvertreter **Georgi Petroff**, der Verkehrsminister **Stefan Torscheff** und sein Stellvertreter **Wassil Markoff**, der Wirtschaftsminister **Georgi Stefanoff**, der stellvertretende Außenminister **M. Topentschanoff** und das Mitglied des Politbüros der KP Bulgariens **Todor Perge-scheff**. Auch in Bulgarien stehen Galgen als Ecksteine der Stalinischen „neuen freien Gesellschaft“.

RUMANIEN. Der Vatikansender meldete am 9. 10. 1949 aus Rumänien, daß hier im ganzen Lande Ende September und Anfang Oktober 1949 Massenverhaftungen vorgenommen worden sind. Unter den Verhafteten, von denen die Mehrzahl der 1947 aufgelösten Bauernpartei und der Liberalen Partei angehörte, sollen sich auch der frü-

here Leiter des rumänischen Roten Kreuzes **Costinesti** und der ehemalige rumänische Gesandte beim Vatikan, **Jean Luvovani** befinden.

DEUTSCHLAND. — Dunkle Wolken ziehen sich über dem deutschen Ostzonenstaat zusammen. Unmittelbar nach der Einsetzung der Pieck-Grotenwohl-Regierung meldete **Drew Middleton**, der Korrespondent der New York Times aus Berlin, daß als Begleiterscheinung der Schaffung der Ostzonenregierung eine starke Verfolgungs- und Verhaftungswelle erwartet werden darf. Am 23. 10. 1949 setzte sie auch tatsächlich ein. Betroffen wurden vor allem die führenden Elemente der Ost-CDU und LDP in Mecklenburg, Sachsen-Anhalt und Sachsen, da sie angeblich eine „oppositionelle Stellung gegenüber der Ostzonenregierung“ eingenommen hätten. Die Opposition soll sich darin ausgedrückt haben, daß einige Mitglieder dieser Parteien die Abhaltung der für Oktober 1949 in der Ostzone angesetzten Wahlen verlangten.

In Erwartung der Verhaftungswelle werden die Ostzonengefängnisse von politischen Gefangenen mit langjähri-

gen Haftstrafen geleert und die letzteren werden nach UdSSR abtransportiert. So sind in der Nacht zum 22. Oktober 1949 600 politische Gefangene aus Zwickau und 1250 aus Brandenburg abtransportiert worden. Bis Ende Oktober wurden bis an die 2000 Personen verhaftet.

Als treibende Kraft steht hinter dieser Entwicklung der Leiter der sowjetischen diplomatischen Mission im Pieck-Staat **Georgij M. Puschkin**, bis dahin sowjetischer Botschafter in Budapest. Auf seinem „diplomatischen“ Konto steht die scharfe Säuberungsaktion, die in den letzten 6 Monaten in Ungarn durchgeführt wurde und der u. a. **Laszlo Rajk** und General **Gyorgy Palffy** zum Opfer fielen.

Die bevorstehende Vernichtung der bürgerlichen Scheinparteien der Ostzone stellt den logischen Abschluß der normalen „soziologischen Entwicklung“ dar, derzufolge die bürgerlichen Elemente durch den „Aufbau des Sozialismus“ abgelöst werden. Diese „Ablösung“ bedeutet praktisch: Verhaftungen, Gefängnisse, Deportationen, Prozesse, „Liquidation als Klasse“, Folterungen und Vernichtungen. Kein Mitläufer ist je diesem Prozeß entgangen.

„Oktober-Revolution“

Mit dem November 1917 begann eine neue grausame Unterdrückung der Völker, die erst vor kurzem das Joch des russischen Zarismus abgeschüttelt hatten. Der Bauer wurde in den Kolchofen versklavt, der Arbeiter zum Sklaven des Staates und seiner Wirtschaft, die arbeitende Intelligenzschicht zum Zwangsarbeiter für den Feind gemacht. Unsere Soldaten, deren Pflicht es wäre, in nationalen Armeen die Freiheit unserer Völker und unsere nationalen und demokratischen Staaten zu schützen und zu verteidigen, müssen in den Reihen der feindlichen Armeen für fremde, unseren Völkern zuwiderlaufende Interessen kämpfen.

Nicht in Minsk, Kyjiw, Riga und Kaunas, nicht in Tallin, Tbilisi und Taschkent, nicht in Warschau, Prag und Sophia, nicht in Budapest, Bratislava und Bukarest werden unsere nationalen Angelegenheiten entschieden, sondern im Moskauer Kreml von den dortigen despotischen Tyrannen zu unserer Vernichtung und unserem Verderb.

Die Gefängnisse der Tscheka-GPU-NKWD-MWD-MGB, die Konzentrationslager der sibirischen Taiga und Tundra sind von den besten Söhnen unserer Völker überfüllt. Unsere Völker aber legten die Waffen nicht nieder. Der bewaffnete Kampf der ukrainischen, weißruthenischen, baltischen, turkestanischen, kaukasischen u. a. Aufständischen wird weitergeführt und der Wiederhall der Schlachten und des Freiheitskampfes erinnert die Tyrannen im Kreml — besonders aber am Jahrestag des blutigen „Oktobers“ — daran, daß ihre Tage und Stunden gezählt sind.

Unser Schwur zum Jahrestag der Völker-Versklavung lautet: Noch mächtiger die Reihen der Freiheitskämpfer zu verstärken, die Kampf-front auf alle Lebensgebiete unserer Völker zu erweitern, unerschrockene Träger der nationalen Befreiungsidee zu werden und den Kampf gegen den kommunistischen Bolschewismus in die ganze Welt zu tragen, um endlich der Tyrannei ein Ende zu bereiten.

Die Befreiungs-Revolution der Völker wird unsere souveränen, national-geeinten Staaten wiedererrichten und sie wird allen Menschen und Völkern ihre Freiheit, Gleichberechtigung und soziale Gerechtigkeit geben.

Der ABN — der Antibolschewistische Block der Nationen — ist somit zu der „Dritten Kraft“ von Weltumfang geworden, die in der zukünftigen Auseinandersetzung eine der wichtigsten Rollen übernehmen wird. Denn nicht die entfesselte Atomkraft, deren Gespenst die Menschheit schon heute erzittern läßt, wird unserem Zeitalter sein Gepräge geben, sondern die mit Sprengkraft geladene nationale und soziale Idee der Befreiung der Völker und der Menschen vom Joch des Bolschewismus. In der Avantgarde einer solchen Welt von freien Völkern und freien Menschen, einer Welt ohne Furcht und Not, ohne Unterdrückung und Kriege steht der ABN.

Die Chronik

ABN-Denkschrift an das „Amerikanische Komitee für Freies Europa“

Das Zentralkomitee des „Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen“ (ABN) hat an den Präsidenten des „Amerikanischen Komitees für Freies Europa“, Botschafter **Joseph Grew**, eine weitere Denkschrift übersandt, in der noch einmal die Ansicht der im ABN zusammengeschlossenen Völker zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, daß nur die Aufteilung des russischen Imperiums in unabhängige nationale Staaten einen dauernden Weltfrieden sichern kann.

ABN an den Botschaftsrat

Die Delegation des „Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen“ (ABN) für Großbritannien sandte an den Rat der Botschafter der USA aus den Ländern jenseits des Eisernen Vorhangs, eine Deklaration, die rechtzeitig in der Presse veröffentlicht sein wird. Dieselbe Deklaration ist auch dem britischen Außenminister **Ernest Bevin** und dem Botschafter der USA in London, **Mr. Douglas**, überreicht worden.

Neue nationale Delegationsführer im ABN

Die Führung der ungarischen Delegation im „Antibolschewistischen Block der Nationen“ (ABN) hat Generaloberst **Ferenc Farkas** von Kisbarnak, Präsident der „Antibolschewistischen Ungarischen Freiheitsbewegung“ (HALM) übernommen. Generaloberst Farkas ist durch eine freundschaftliche Haltung den nationalen Aufständischen gegenüber — besonders der UPA — während des deutsch-sowjetischen Krieges bekannt.

An der Spitze der Kroatischen Delegation steht jetzt General **H. Alabanda** als Bevollmächtigter der „Kroatischen Nationalen Freiheitsbewegung“.

Der Präsident des Tschechischen Nationalen Komitees, General **L. Prchala**, hat den Beitritt dieses Komitees zum ABN bekanntgegeben.

Verbreitung der Ideen des ABN

Die Lebendigkeit und die Auswirkung der Ideen des ABN haben in der letzten Zeit verursacht, daß im ganzen Westdeutschland die neuen Organisa-

tionszentren entstanden sind. Infolgedessen hat sich die Tätigkeit des ABN bedeutend vertieft und an Bedeutung zugenommen. Die Idee des Kampfes gegen den Bolschewismus, als die schrecklichste und blutigste Tyrannei aller Zeiten schreitet mit Erfolg vorwärts und mobilisiert neue Kräfte unter den unterjochten Völkern.

So z. B. die Delegatur des ABN in Hannover hat ihre Filialen in Rheine, Hallendorf, Seedorf und Braunschweig eröffnet. In Lindau wurde eine Filiale des ABN für die französische Zone gegründet.

Es entstanden die Filialen des ABN in Landshut und Rosenheim (amerik. Zone). Die Mitglieder der neugegründeten Filialen setzten sich von den Vertretern folgender Nationen zusammen: Esten, Letten, Litauer, Weißruthenen, Tschechen, Ungarn, Rumänen, Ukrainer, Idel-Uraler, Turkestaner, Aserbajdschaner und Armenier. Es ist sehr erfreulich, daß ungeachtet der Auswanderung der DP's aus Deutschland, die Zahl der Kämpfer des ABN steigt. Damit wird bewiesen, daß das Programm und die Taktik des ABN die richtigen sind und der Auffassung der breiten Massen entsprechen. Die Massen wollen gegen den Bolschewismus für ihre nationale und soziale Freiheit kämpfen. Sie vereinigen sich deshalb in den Reihen des ABN mit seinen Losungen: „Freiheit den Völkern! Freiheit dem Menschen!“

Eine Sammelaktion für politische Flüchtlinge aus dem Sowjetbereich

„The New York Times“ (International Air Edition) vom 20. 10. bringt aus New York folgende Meldung:

Hier wurde der Beginn einer Spendenaktion bekanntgegeben, die zum Ziele hat, eine Million Dollar für politische Flüchtlinge aus dem durch Sowjets beherrschten Ländern Osteuropas einzusammeln. Es wurde bekanntgegeben, daß die Aktion von „International Rescue Committee“ unter dem Schlagwort: „Iron Curtain Refugee Campaign“ durchgeführt wird.

Es wird berichtet, daß der Sammelaufruf durch 150 prominente Amerikaner, darunter 27 Staatsgouverneure, unterschrieben wurde. Die Sammelaktion begann Donnerstag, 22. Okt. und wird bis einschließlich Weihnachten 1949 andauern. Es zeichnen: Vizeadmiral **Richard E. Byrd**, berühmter

Südpolforscher als Vorsitzender, und **Mr. Summer Welles**, früherer Unterstaatssekretär im US-Außenministerium, als Ehrenvorsitzender des Komitees.

„Diese Aktion — heißt es im Aufruf — ist ein Mittel, durch welches wir unsere Mißbilligung über das Todesurteil aussprechen möchten, das über diese heroischen, darbenden, moralisch unterdrückten Menschen verhängt wurde. Sie sollen nicht sterben, wenn wir unseren Teil dazutun.“

Admiral **Byrd** brachte gleichzeitig zum Ausdruck, daß „die Zukunft der Freiheit in Europa davon abhängt, daß diese Menschen alles wagen und alles auf sich nehmen, um die totale Finsternis zurückzuhalten. Hilfe an diese Flüchtlinge ist nicht nur ein Gebot unserer Menschlichkeit, sondern auch der politischen Klugheit. Die Amerikaner dürfen nicht — und werden nicht — diese unsere standhaften und tapferen Verbündeten in der Schlacht um Freiheit in der Stunde ihrer Not im Stich lassen.“

Neue Filialen des ABN

In Landshut fand am 12. 10. 1949 eine Sitzung der Vertreter der von dem bolschewistischen Rußland unterjochten Völker statt, mit dem Zweck, eine Filiale des ABN für das Gebiet Landshut zu gründen.

Zur Verwaltung der Filiale wurden gewählt die Vertreter der Serben, Ukrainer, Litauer, Letten, Ungarn.

In Rosenheim, wo Ukrainer, Weißruthenen, Bulgaren, Turkestaner, Serben und andere Nationalitäten konzentriert sind, ist seit dem 27. August 1949 die Filiale des ABN unter dem Vorsitz eines Vertreters der Weißruthenen tätig.

Am 2. 10. 1949 begann die neugegründete Filiale des ABN in Lindau ihre Tätigkeit. Die Leitung dieser Filiale steht unter dem Vorsitz eines Vertreters der Ukrainer.

Am 15. 10. 1949 wurde eine Filiale des ABN und eine Filiale der Front der Jugend des ABN für das Gebiet Braunschweig in Norddeutschland gegründet.

HERAUSGEBER:

Press-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN)

Verantwortlicher Schriftleiter:
K. W. Orlecky

Der Abdruck unter Angabe der Quelle (ABN-Kor.) gestattet.

ABN kämpft gegen den Totalitarismus jeder Art und für eine echte, unverfälschte Demokratie, für volle Demokratisierung des gesamten staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens der unterdrückten Völker.

ABN KORRESPONDENZ

ANTI-BOLSHEWIST CORRESPONDENCE

Deutsche Ausgabe

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Anläßlich des 6. Jahrestages der Gründung des ABN:

Völker steht auf!

Am 22. November feierten die Albanier, Armenier, Aserbaidshaner, Bulgaren, Esten, Georgier, Kosaken, Kroaten, Letten, Litauer, Nordkaukasier, Rumänen, Serben, Sibirien-Völker, Slowaken, Slowenen, Tschechen, Turkestaner, Ukrainer, Ungarn, Weißruthenen, Idel-Uraler den sechsten Jahrestag der Gründung des „Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen“ — ABN.

Es war Herbst des Jahres 1943. Das ukrainische Volk geriet zwischen zwei Mahlsteine: die deutsche und die russische Okkupation. Es kämpfte an zwei Fronten: gegen Hitler und gegen Stalin. Es kämpfte für die Freiheit und staatliche Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine. Über jene Ereignisse in der Ukraine wußte damals die Außenwelt nichts, da die nazistische wie die bolschewistische Presse absichtlich darüber keine Berichte brachte.

Zu jener Zeit entstand bei den ukrainischen Freiheitskämpfern der Gedanke, daß sie ihren Kampf für die Wiedergewinnung der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine mit dem Freiheitskampf anderer, im Laufe der Jahrhunderte durch die Russen unterjochten Völker koordinieren sollen.

Der Stab der „Ukrainischen Aufständischen Armee (UPA)“ berief zu diesem Zwecke eine vorbereitende Kommission und infolge ihrer Tätigkeit fand im November 1943 die erste Konferenz der unterjochten Völker des Ostens statt, an welcher die Vertreter der Ukrainer, Weißruthenen, Aserbaidshaner, Baschkiren, Armenier, Georgier, Kabardiner, Turkestaner, Ossetiner, Ta-

taren, Tscherkessen und Tschuwaschen teilgenommen hatten.

Einen Tag vor dem Beginn der Konferenz wurde die Tagungsortschaft in der Ukraine, im Gebiet von Schytomyr, von einem deutschen Polizeibataillon angegriffen. Der Angriff der Deutschen wurde von den Truppen der UPA mit Erfolg abgewiesen. Auf dieser Konferenz wurde der „Antibolschewistische Block der Nationen“ (ABN) gegründet, an den sich in der Folgezeit die Befreiungsorganisationen einer Reihe anderer Völker angeschlossen hatten.

Millionen Opfer des planmäßigen Terrors, Millionen Häftlinge der Konzentrationslager, die neue Leibeigenschaft in der Form der Kolcho-sen, die Beraubung der Werktätigen, die Verfolgung der Kirche, Sklaverei und Armut — das sind die Folgen der bolschewistischen Herrschaft in unseren Ländern.

Ein riesiges Gefängnis der Völker haben die Russen während der letzten Jahrhunderte errichtet. Eines nach dem anderen, in einer erschreckend gleichmäßigen Reihenfolge wurden alle obenerwähnten Völker zu Opfern des nimmersatten russischen Imperialismus. Die äußerlichen Formen der Unterdrückung aller dieser Völker ändern sich mit der Zeit, der Inhalt der Unterdrückung bleibt jahrhundertlang immer derselbe.

Mit Feuer und Schwert, vor allem aber mit Lug und Trug, mit Hinterlist und Verrat hat das imperialistische Rußland in den Jahren 1918/19 die damals wiederhergestellten selbständigen Staaten der Ukrainer,

der Donkosaken, der Völker des Kaukasus und Mittelasiens vernichtet und zum zweiten Male in der Geschichte diese Völker versklavt.

Mit Zwang und Erpressung, mit Blut und Terror, mit Einschüchterung und Druck hat dieses ewig imperialistische Rußland während der letzten Jahre die Länder Ost-, Zentral- und Südost-Europas in ihre Satellitenstaaten umgewandelt und in ihnen terroristische totalitäre Regierungen geschaffen.

Die Freiheit und Souveränität wurden unseren Völkern mit Gewalt genommen. Was uns mit Gewalt genommen wurde, werden wir auch mit Gewalt zurückholen. Wir erheben heute die Fahne der Befreiungsrevolution und gehen in den letzten entscheidenden Kampf für unser heiligstes Recht: die Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit unserer aller, im ABN vereinigten Völker.

Die Parolen auf unseren Fahnen lauten:

„Freiheit den Völkern! Freiheit dem Menschen!“

„Jedem Volke sein freier selbständiger Staat! Jeder Staat in seinen natürlichen ethnographischen Grenzen!“

Solange diese Parolen nicht erfüllt sind, wird es und kann es keinen Frieden in der Welt geben. Wer den Frieden in der Welt haben will, muß für die Verwirklichung dieser Parolen kämpfen. Die Verwirklichung dieser Parolen ist aber ohne die nationalen Revolutionen der unterjochten Völker nicht möglich; wer den Frieden in der Welt haben will, muß die Freiheitskämpfer dieser Völker unterstützen.

Das Schwert des Demokles schwebt heute über der ganzen Welt. Das grausame Gespenst des russischen Imperialismus erscheint in einem Lande nach dem anderen. Wie phantastisch und verstiegen dieser Gedanke auch klingen mag, er bleibt trotzdem wahr: die Bolschewiken wollen die Völker der gesamten Welt in ihr Völkergefängnis einsperren! Und niemals wird Rußland auf seine Expansionspolitik verzichten, es sei denn, daß es dazu mit Gewalt gebracht wird.

Es gibt nur einen Weg zur Freiheit unserer Völker: die Verjagung der bolschewistischen Okkupationsheere aus unseren Ländern. Die Agenten der Bolschewiken in den Reihen unserer Völker, die mit Moskau offen oder geheim kolaborieren, müssen vor die revolutionären Tribunale der eigenen Völker gestellt und bestraft werden. Darum rufen wir:

Völker, steht auf!

ABN-Völker kämpfen um ihre Freiheit

Ukrainische Aufständische Armee

UPA (II — Eig. Bericht)

Auf die Frage, wie die ukrainischen Aufständischen die Wintermonate in den geheimen Unterkünften verbringen, erzählte der Kommandant folgendes:

Der Winter ist für die meisten Aufständischen die Zeit der Ausbildung und Vorbereitung zu neuen Aufgaben. Jeder Kämpfer muß gleichzeitig auch ein Propagandist der nationalen Befreiungsrevolution sein, die feindliche Propaganda bekämpfen und sich in jeder Situation zurechtfinden. Die UPA-Kämpfer werden über die Ideen und Ziele des nationalen Befreiungskampfes, über andere unterdrückte Nationen, über den ABN, über die internationale Lage usw. genau unterrichtet. Sie bekommen eine sorgfältige militärische Ausbildung, genaue Kenntnisse im Partisanenkampf und in der Bekämpfung der bolschewistischen Polizei. Die Ausbildung wird durch Vorlesungen der ukrainischen Geschichte, Geopolitik, Literatur usw. ergänzt. Es wird eine strenge militärische Ordnung beibehalten. In vielen Unter-

Bereitet euch zum entscheidenden Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus — die neueste Form des ewigen russischen Imperialismus!

Tod dem russischen Imperialismus aller Farben und Gattungen!

Immer lauter und lauter erklingt unsere Stimme in der Welt. Die Zahl unserer Anhänger vermehrt sich von Tag zu Tag, von Stunde zu Stunde. Während der 6 Jahre seines Bestehens ist der ABN zu einer mächtigen internationalen Organisation geworden. Nicht umsonst greift Moskau mit Hilfe seiner bezahlten Agenten den ABN in Westeuropa unerbittlich an.

Zwei Kräfte stehen sich heute in der Welt gegenüber: der russische Bolschewismus und die westliche Demokratie. Es erscheint nunmehr auf dem politischen Horizont eine dritte Kraft — **der Antibolschewistische Block der Nationen — ABN.** Die Zukunft gehört dieser dritten Kraft.

künften sind Radioapparate aufgestellt, die es den Aufständischen ermöglichen, ausländische Radiosender abzuhören. Viel Vergnügen bereiteten uns deutsche Radiosender, welche Konzerte ukrainischer Musik brachten. Sehr gerne hören die Aufständischen den schweizerischen Rundfunk von Beromünster. Eine große Enttäuschung bereitete ihnen die „Stimme Amerikas“ und BBC in russischer Sprache. Sie sind dermaßen moskaufreundlich eingestellt, daß wir daraus nichts für uns herausfinden konnten. Äußerst empört waren die UPA-Kämpfer darüber, was die „Stimme Amerikas“ über den nationalen ukrainischen Dichter Taras Schewtschenko am Gedenktag seines Todes sagte: er wurde nämlich als „russisch-ukrainischer Bauerndichter“ bezeichnet. „So etwas brachten nicht einmal die Sender von Moskau und Kiew...“, sagten die empörten UPA-Männer. „Begreifen die Herren von der „Stimme Amerikas“ nicht, daß z. B. ihre Glorifizierung Peters I. des Vorgängers Stalin und eines der grausamsten Despoten der Welt,

Die Verteidigung der Menschenrechte

Der französische Schriftsteller und ehemaliger Häftling der deutschen Konzentrationslager, Dr. David Rousset, hat sich in der Pariser Wochenzeitung „Figaro Littéraire“ an die Häftlinge der deutschen Konzentrationslager und an alle Menschen der gesamten Kulturwelt mit einem Appell gewandt, in dem er zur Schaffung einer Kommission, die die Lebensbedingungen in den Konzentrationslagern der Sowjetunion nachprüfen soll, aufforderte.

Durch seinen Appell wurde David Rousset auch zum Sprecher unserer Forderungen, mit denen wir uns mehrmals an die für unsere Aufrufe taube westliche Welt gewandt haben. Wenn aber endlich ein Bürger dieser Welt die wichtige Frage gestellt hat, so ist es unsere Pflicht, ihn zu unterstützen, weil die Sache, die er vertritt, auch unsere Sache ist.

Es ist notwendig, der Prüfungskommission und der ganzen Kulturwelt zu beweisen, daß nicht nur in den sowjetischen Konzentrationslagern, aber auch im ganzen Raum jenseits des Eisernen Vorhanges die elementarsten Rechte des Menschen mit den Füßen getreten werden. Darum wenden wir uns an alle ehemaligen Häftlinge der Konzentrationslager und an alle Bürger der Sowjetunion und derer Satelliten mit dem Appell: sendet uns ausführliche und möglichst eidesstattliche Berichte über eure Verwandten und Bekannten in den Konzentrationslagern, auf der Zwangsarbeit und in „der Freiheit“.

Um Übersendung solcher Berichte bitten: Pressebüro des ABN, die nationalen Delegationen und die Filialen des ABN.

Die statistische Überprüfungskommission bei dem Zentralkomitee des ABN.

keine konstruktive Propaganda der westlichen Ideen ist und eine Herausforderung an die Adresse aller freiheitlichen Völker des Ostens darstellt?“

In den heimlichen Unterkünften werden Lieder nicht nur gesungen, sondern auch kollektiv komponiert. So entstehen neue Lieder, die immer originell, kämpferisch und temperamentvoll sind. Wenn ein Lied im Winter komponiert wird, verbreitet es sich im Frühjahr über die ganze Ukraine. Oft haben diese Lieder ihren geheimen nationalrevolutionären Sinn, der nur den Eingeweihten verständlich ist. Sie werden jetzt in der Ukraine, in Turkestan, Kasachstan und in Sibirien gesungen. Sie stellen eine lyrische Geschichte der UPA dar.

Im Frühjahr erneuern die UPA-Abteilungen ihre Tätigkeit und führen die Pläne aus, welche im Winter ausgearbeitet wurden. Die Kurier- und Verbindungsmänner treten ihre weiten Reisen an. Die Propagandaliteratur wird versandt.

Die UPA-Abteilungen erscheinen dort, wo sie am wenigsten erwartet werden. Die „Rächer“ machen den bolschewistischen Würdenträgern das Leben sauer. Der Widerhall ihrer Taten breitet sich wie eine Welle über die Felder und Steppen der Ukraine aus und vertreibt die Furcht der Bevölkerung vor den bolschewistischen Okkupanten. Das Volk sieht, daß selbst der grausamste Terror die Taten der Tapferen nicht verhindern kann.

Es gibt hunderttausende von Ukrainern, welche den Kampf der UPA unterstützen. Ohne diese Unterstützung könnte die UPA nicht vier Jahre nach dem Krieg bestehen, es könnte sich der geheime militärische und politische Kampf des ukrainischen Volkes nicht entwickeln.

Man muß zum Schluß erwähnen, daß die UPA-Kämpfer gewöhnlich in ihrer Uniform, mit dem Zeichen des souveränen ukrainischen Staates, dem Dreizack auf der Kappe, auftreten. Nur für die Diversionsangriffe im Lande werden Zivilkleider oder bolschewistische Uniformen verwendet. Am liebsten

verwendet man dazu die Uniformen der bolschewistischen Polizisten. Diese Maskierung half oft die ärgsten Feinde des ukrainischen Volkes zu vernichten. Es gibt aber auch unter diesen Polizisten und den Beamten des MWD Leute, die aus ideologischen Gründen, aus Furcht vor der Rache der UPA, oder für Bezahlung, besonders in den Grenz-zonen die ukrainische Untergrundbewegung begünstigen. Selbst dieses „Schwert der Revolution“ beginnt zu rosten.

*

Der Kampf der Ukraine geht weiter

Seit Sommer 1947 schlagen sich aus der Ukraine immer neue Abteilungen der „Ukrainischen Aufständischen Armee“ (UPA) nach Westeuropa durch. Sie bringen auf Befehl des Oberkommandos der UPA wichtige Informationen an die Auslandsvertretung des ukrainischen Freiheitskampfes.

Am Tage, an dem diese Zeilen geschrieben wurden, besuchte eine neue Gruppe eben durchgekommener UPA-Soldaten die Redaktion unseres Blattes.

Viele Zeitungen Westeuropas, darunter Schweizer „Basler Nachrichten“ (Nr. 519), brachten die Mitteilung der „United Press“ über eine neue Gruppe gut bewaffneter ukrainischer Aufständischen, die sich in der amerikanischen Zone Österreichs bei den amerikanischen Behörden gemeldet haben und die Waffen ablieferten.

Alle Soldaten der UPA erklären, daß das ukrainische Volk den fanatischen Kampf für seine Freiheit und staatliche Unabhängigkeit ununterbrochen fortsetzt und bis zum endgültigen Siege weiterführen wird.

Wirtschaftsstellungen verbleiben zu können.

Deshalb haben sie bei allen Aktionen mitgewirkt, die von Kommunisten oder direkt von Moskau befohlen und hervorgerufen wurden; deshalb haben sie die sogenannte Mairevolution im Jahre 1945 unterstützt; deshalb haben sie alle Befehle, die von der kommunistischen Zentrale kamen, und zwar Verstaatlichungen, Verbot aller antikommunistischen Parteien, die Liquidierung der Mitglieder usw. gutgeheißen, mit dem Ergebnis, daß infolge ihrer Hilfe der legale antikommunistische Widerstand gebrochen wurde.

Schon 1945 hat das tschechische Volk von allen alten Parteien in seiner Heimat die Repräsentanten eines grundsätzlichen antikommunistischen Kampfes vermißt; falls es jedoch manchmal zu Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der kommunistischen Partei und den Vordermännern der „Nationalfront“ kam, so handelte es sich niemals um grundsätzliche politische und soziale Staatsprobleme, dafür aber immer um Streitigkeiten wegen Sicherstellung der persönlichen Vorteile oder einträglicher Stellungen.

Niemand von den Repräsentanten der alten Parteien widersetzte sich in CSR der Sowjetunion. Niemand kämpfte gegen ihre wirtschaftliche Ausbeutungspolitik, gegen Raubzüge der Roten Armee, gegen Vergewaltigungen der tschechischen Frauen, gegen Folterungen und Morde an der tschechischen Bevölkerung.

Ab Februar 1948 übernahmen die Kommunisten die Staatsführung in ihre Hände. Der ehemalige Präsident, Dr. Benesch, traurig berühmt durch seinen im Dezember 1943 in Moskau abgeschlossenen tschechoslowakisch-sowjetischen Freundschaftsvertrag, durch den die Unterwerfung des tschechischen Volkes, durch den der Kommunismus seinen eigentlichen Anfang nahm, bestätigte die neue kommunistische Gottwald-Regierung und legalisierte sie dadurch vor der ganzen Welt.

Nachdem die Kommunisten so leicht die Macht ergreifen konnten, fingen

Tschechische nationale Freiheitsbewegung

I.

Gerade in diesen Tagen macht das tschechische Volk die schwerste Terrorzeit seiner Geschichte durch. Die blutige Hand des Kommunismus dringt in alle Bevölkerungsschichten ein. Rücksichtslos werden alle diejenigen niedergemäht, die willig sind sich gegen das kommunistische Regime zu stellen. Die riesenhafte Säuberungswelle hat bis Dezember 1949 bis an 60 000 Opfer mit in den Abgrund gerissen. 60 000 vernichtete Schicksale stellen nicht nur eine Anklage gegen das gegenwärtige kommunistische Regime dar; sie sind gleichzeitig eine Warnung für die ganze Welt.

Aber nicht nur die Kommunisten sind für die heutigen blutigen Geschehnisse in der Tschechoslowakei und darüber hinaus in ganz Osteuropa verantwortlich zu machen. Schuldig sind auch alle diejenigen, die durch ihr schwächliches Benehmen den Kommunisten zur Machtergreifung verholfen haben. Dazu gehören in erster Linie, und zwar ohne Unterschied, die Vordermänner aller politischen Parteien in der CSR, die in der sog. „Nationalfront“ bei der Bildung des neuen politischen Begriffes „Volksdemokratie“ zusammenarbeiteten und sich bemühten mit den Kommunisten einig zu werden, um durch ihre Hilfe in führenden Staats- und

sie an, von Tag zu Tag mehr und mehr zu wüten. Nicht weniger als 250 000 Kommunistengegner werden in kommunistischen Konzentrationslagern und Gefängnissen festgehalten; von diesen wurden Tausende „legal“ aber ohne jegliches öffentliches Verfahren zum Tode verurteilt und hingerichtet. Die ehemaligen Mitarbeiter der Kommunisten, die Repräsentanten der sogen. „nichtkommunistischen Parteien“, führen entweder ihre Kollaboration mit den Kommunisten noch enger durch, oder sind ins Ausland geflüchtet, um das politische System, durch welches der Kommunismus seine Macht ergreifen konnte, trotz allem, zu verteidigen.

II.

Hier im Auslande leben jedoch auch die Männer, die bereits seit dem Jahre 1939 auf der alliierten Seite das tschechische Volk vor dem Kommunismus warnten, sich nach dem Abschluß des tschechoslowakisch-sowjetischen Vertrages, Dezember 1943, offen gegen jede Kollaboration mit Kommunismus und gegen alle politischen Prominenten, die die mörderische Politik Dr. Benesch's unterstützten, stellten.

An ihrer Spitze General Lew Prchala, um den sich die gleichgesinnten tschechischen Patrioten im „Tschechischen Nationalkomitee“ in London versammelten. Das „Tschechische Nationalkomitee“ ist für alle Tschechen, die mit dem Kommunismus nicht übereinstimmen, zur Verkörperung und zum Inbegriff des antibolschewistischen Widerstandes geworden. Durch das Unrecht, welches seit 1945 am tschechischen Volk begangen wird, richten Millionen gute Tschechen ihre Augen mit großen Hoffnungen zu ihrem Nationalkomitee auf.

Die Prager kommunistische Regierung ist sich dessen sehr wohl bewußt, was für eine Gefahr ihr durch die Vereinigung aller antikommunistischen tschechischen Kräfte im „Tschechischen Nationalkomitee“ droht. Daher bemüht sie sich durch Lügen und Verleumdungen die Beliebtheit dieser Bewegung zu schwächen.

Das tschechische antikommunistische Exil besteht nicht erst seit

Februar 1948, also nicht erst seit der Zeit, wo die ehemaligen Mitarbeiter der Moskauer und Prager Kommunisten die Grenze westwärts überschritten haben. Das tschechische Exil besteht seit Dezember 1943; dieses Exil war immer einig und stellte sich kompromißlos gegen jedes Übereinkommen mit den flüchtigen Moskauer Liebedienern. Das „Tschechische Nationalkomitee“ in London lehnt die Prominenten der Nachfebruar-Emigration, den Rat der freien Tschechoslowakei, entschieden ab. Das Ziel dieses „Rates“ besteht in der Aufrechterhaltung der alten „Positionen“; seine ganze Tätigkeit erschöpft sich in unendlichen inneren Streitigkeiten und in der Verteidigung der unglückseligen Politik Dr. Benesch's, seiner Regierung, seiner Taten und seiner Gesetze.

Im Programm des „Tschechischen Nationalkomitees“ wird die Zusammenarbeit aller nationalen Gruppen im gemeinsamen Kampf gegen den Kommunismus betont. Aus der Erklärung des „Tschechischen Nationalkomitees“ in London, die am 1. 5. 1948 veröffentlicht wurde, gilt als wichtigste folgende Feststellung:

„... Wir sind vor allem für wirkliche Freiheit und Demokratie, die in allen Konsequenzen durchgeführt wird. Wir sind gegen polizeilichen Terror und Vernichtung der bürgerlichen Freiheiten. Wir sind für eine politische und wirtschaftliche Verfassung, die Privatinitiative in jeder Richtung verbürgt. Wir vertreten den Grundsatz des Privateigentums, welches nur im Inter-

esse des Ganzen und nur in Sonderfällen beschränkt werden darf.

Wir sind für soziale Gerechtigkeit, welche jedem das Recht auf Arbeit und entsprechende Belohnung verbürgt. Wir sind für gerechte Lösung des Verhältnisses des tschechischen Volkes zu allen Nachbarvölkern ...

Traditionsgemäß betrachten wir die christliche Zivilisation des Westens als die Grundlage unserer Nationalkultur und die Voraussetzung jeglicher Moral.“

Das „Tschechische Nationalkomitee“ ist eine Dachorganisation, welche vier tschechische politische Strömungen koordiniert, und zwar: „Tschechische Christlich-Soziale Bewegung“, „Bund der Arbeit“, „Landwirtschaftliche Bewegung“ und „Demokratische Vereinigung“. Alle vier arbeiten einheitlich in allen Ländern der Emigration im Kampfe für die Befreiung; alle vertreten den Grundsatz der Zusammenarbeit der antikommunistischen Kräfte und Richtungen ohne Unterschiede der Nationalität.

Heute, wo die Völker hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang zum offenen Kampf gegen ihre Vergewaltigung gezwungen sind, protestieren wir vor aller Welt im Namen des tschechischen Volkes gegen die Verbrechen der kommunistischen „Volksdemokratie“! Wir fordern alle auf, die sich durch dieselbe Idee mit uns verbunden fühlen, sich im Interesse der Erhaltung der Christlichen Zivilisation gegen die Pest zu stellen, welche die ganze Welt zu vergiften droht.

VI. Pekelsky

Tito — Moskaus Schrittmacher

Die Geschichte der Völker Westeuropas zeigt uns deutlich, daß sie nie an eine Gefahr aus dem Osten glauben wollten.

Als im Jahre 1941 das serbische Volk unter der Führung Draza Michajlovic dem Feind entgegentrat, fühlte es gleichzeitig auch die Gefahr vom Osten — den Bolschewismus.

Wie kann man heute die Abkommen von Teheran und Jalta bezeichnen? Churchill nennt sie einen Fehler, und dieser „Fehler“ kostete uns über 500 000 Menschenopfer — das Resultat der Machtergreifung Titos.

Schon zu Anfang war es Tito gelungen, die Alliierten zu täuschen und erst

dann, als er ihre Flugzeuge abschoß, begriffen sie, daß er Kommunist ist. Den kleinen Rest der nationalen Intelligenz, den Hitler aus Zeitmangel nicht hatte vernichten können, hat Tito vernichtet, und eine enthauptete Masse läßt sich leicht am Bändel führen.

Die heutige OSNA mit ihrem blutrünstigen Chef Rankowic ist eine würdige Stellvertreterin des NWKD. Es wäre der größte Unsinn zu behaupten, daß die Politik Titos dem Willen der Völker Jugoslawiens — der Serben, Kroaten und Slowenen entspricht.

Wenn Tito jetzt mit Moskau um den Führertitel ringt, so bedeutet es nicht, daß er um eine andere Ideologie

kämpft. Der Aufstieg Titos ist bekannt: österreichischer Korporal, Kriegsgefangener 1914–17, einer der besten Schüler des Tscheka (NKWD) und Stalins Freund. Er führte zwei Bürgerkriege: einen in Spanien, den er verlor, und einen in Jugoslawien, den er mit Hilfe der Alliierten gewann.

Es ist möglich, daß Tito sich von Moskau unabhängig gemacht hat: ein Diktator duldet keinen Vormund. Ist es aber möglich zu glauben, daß er und alte Parteigenossen wie Moscha Piade, Kardelj, Bebler und die übrige Gesellschaft um ihn plötzlich Demokraten geworden sind?! Sie selbst betonen in ihren Reden, daß sie treue Anhänger des Marxismus und Leninismus sind.

Gegen den Willen des Volkes ist unsere Nationalfahne mit einem roten Stern beschmutzt. Hammer und Sichel herrschen nicht zum Aufbau, sondern zur Vernichtung. Die Westeuropäer leben in der angenehmen Illusion, daß jetzt Frieden ist. Es existiert ein Stück Papier, das man Atlantikcharta nennt, welches einem jeden Volke die Freiheit sichert. Leider ist es nur ein Stück Papier geblieben. Die Völker Jugoslawiens, Osteuropas und Sowjetasiens

sind unter das Joch des Kommunismus gezwungen worden. Darf jemand behaupten, daß die genannten Völker diese Regierungsform freiwillig angenommen haben?

Der Haß der Völker Jugoslawiens gegen das bestehende Regime wächst mit jedem Tage. Nicht nur die Intelligenz, die schon fast ausgerottet ist, sondern auch der kleine Mann — der Bauer und der Arbeiter — leidet und flucht. Obwohl von den Alliierten fallen gelassen, kämpft das Volk gegen den Kommunismus. Wenn auch Tito an Stelle von Stalin ist, so ist der Kommunismus nicht durch die Freiheit ersetzt. Das heutige Jugoslawien ist ein Zucht haus, wo es keine Freiheit gibt. Nationalkommunismus ist eine Lüge und ein Betrug.

Um die Situation in Europa zu „bessern“, wird ein Volk nach dem anderen geopfert. Soll das die Rettung anderer bedeuten? Es ist bedauerlich, daß viele aus der Geschichte nichts gelernt haben. Bei der Gelegenheit möchte ich an die Geschichte mit dem „Trojanischen Pferde“ erinnern.

BALSHA SINOBAD

Idel-Ural

Nationale Befreiungsorganisation der Türko-Tartaren und Ugro-Finnen zwischen Wolga und Ural

I.

„Kampfbund für Befreiung Idel-Urals“

Antibolschewistische Vertreter sämtlicher national-politischer Gruppen der **Türko-Tataren** (Tataren, Baschkiren, Tschuwaschen) und der **Ugro-Finnen** (Mordwa, Mori, Udmurt), die die Wolgaa- und Ural-Gebiete Europas bewohnen, haben sich in einer gemeinsamen nationalen Befreiungsorganisation unter dem Namen **Neuer Kampfbund für die Unabhängigkeit des Idel-Ural** zusammengeschlossen.

Diese Organisation umfaßt die europäische Gruppe der Türko-Tataren und der Ugro-Finnen der Wolga- und Ural-Gebiete und organisiert den revolutionären nationalen Befreiungskampf ihrer Völkerschaften, indem sie sich auf die fortschrittlichsten demokratischen antikommunistischen Ideen stützt. Sie macht die Verteidigung der eigenständigen Bevölkerung dieser Gebiete zu ihrer vornehmsten Pflicht.

Die wichtigsten Aufgaben und Ziele dieser Organisation sind:

1. „Neuer Kampfbund für die Unabhängigkeit des Idel-Ural“ erklärt sich zum unversöhnlichen Feind der neuen Abwandlung des russischen Imperialismus — des Bolschewismus. Der „Bund“ vertritt den Gedanken der Aufteilung des russischen Imperiums in unabhängige national-demokratische Staaten; er plant seinen Befreiungskampf in enger Anlehnung an andere Völker des ABN.

2. Als seine Grundaufgabe erachtet der „Bund“ die Wiedererrichtung der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit der Türko-Tataren und der Ugro-Finnen der Wolga- und Ural-Gebiete. Dieses kann nur infolge ihrer Befreiung von der russischen Botsmäßigkeit, der vollständigen Abtrennung von Rußland und im Wege der freiwilligen Vereinigung in der Föderativen Republik „Idel-Urals“ verwirklicht werden.

3. „Neuer Kampfbund für die Unabhängigkeit des Idel-Urals“ kämpft für die Verwirklichung einer wirklichen demokratischen Rechtsordnung in seinem Lande, für gesetzmäßig verankerte volle politische, religiöse, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Freiheit der Bürger, sowie für die Schaffung der Voraussetzungen für den Aufstieg der nationalen Kulturen der Türko-Tataren und Ugro-Finnen der Wolga-Ural-Gebiete.

Was ist Idel-Ural?

„Idel“ — ist der tatarische Name für den Wolga-Fluß. Dieser Name wird als die Gesamtheit der zwei Territorien begriffen, die zwischen dem Fluße Wolga und dem Ural-Gebirge sich ausdehnen und einen Teil Westsibiriens umfassen. Hierzu gehören folgende Landschaften: das Becken des mittleren Wolga-Flußlaufes, der größere Teil des Kama-Flußbeckens, die Gebiete zwischen unterer Wolga und dem Flusse Ural, die mittleren und südlichen Gebiete des Ural-Gebirges.

Die Bevölkerung Idel-Urals bildet sich aus autochthonen Türko-Tataren (Tataren, Baschkiren, Tschuwaschen) und Ugro-Finnen (Mordwa, Mori, Udmurt). Russischen Statistiken zufolge, die auf Grund der Bevölkerungszählung des Jahres 1939 zusammengestellt wurden, zählt die rassisch bodenständige Gesamtbevölkerung Idel-Urals etwa 9 000 000 Menschen, davon 6,3 Millionen Türko-Tataren und 2,5 Millionen Ugro-Finnen. Eigene nationale Berechnungen ergeben jedoch eine Zahl weit über 10 Millionen Idel-Uraler.

Alle erwähnten Gebiete bildeten das Territorium der Föderativen Türko-Tatarischen und Ugro-Finnischen Republik, die im Dezember 1917 in Ufa, auf Grund des Beschlusses der turkotatarischen und ugro-finnischen Nationalversammlung unter dem Namen der „Idel-Uralischen Republik“ ausgerufen wurde.

Die erwähnte Nationalversammlung des Idel-Ural lehnte es ab die staatsrechtliche Zuständigkeit russischer, zu jener Zeit bereits bolschewistischer Regierung in Moskau über die in Frage kommenden Gebiete anzuerkennen. Leider war die junge Republik Idel-Ural nicht imstande aus eigenen Kräften die Aggression sowohl des roten Bolschewismus, wie des Admirals Koltshak abzuwehren und der junge Staat fiel alsbald unter den vereinten bewaffneten Schlägen der russischen Eroberer.

Erneute russische Unterwerfung des Idel-Ural

Am 12. 4. 1918 besetzten die Sowjettruppen das Territorium des Idel-Ural. Die provisorische nationale Regierung des Idel-Ural wurde verhaftet und zum größten Teil ermordet. Dem Präsidenten des Idel-Ural, Sadri Maksudi, und einem Teil der Regierung gelang die Flucht nach dem Auslande. Herr Sadri Maksudi ist z. Zt. als Professor der Universität in Ankara (Türkei) tätig; andere setzten ihre Tätigkeit in Paris, London, Tokio usw. fort. 1928 hatten sie ein „Komitee für die Befreiung des Idel-Ural“ unter dem Vorsitz des Herrn Ayas Ishaki gegründet.

Um die bodenständige Bevölkerung wie auch die einheimischen National-Kommunisten zu beruhigen, hatten die Bolschewisten nach der durchgeführten Eroberung die Bildung einer „unabhängigen“ Tataro-Baschkirischen Sowjetrepublik versprochen. Dieser Plan wurde alsbald fallen gelassen, dafür aber setzte die konsequente Politik der Zerstörung der angestammten Kulturwerte der autochthonen Bevölkerung ein. Es wurde nicht eine Republik, aber sechs Autonome Sowjetische Sozialistische Republiken (ASSR) in diesen Gebieten gebildet: Tatarische ASSR, Baschkirische ASSR, Tschuwaschische ASSR, Mordwinische ASSR, Mori ASSR, Udmurtische ASSR — und als siebente: die Wolga-Deutsche ASSR. Daneben gab es noch einige „Autonome Gebiete“ (AG): Tschelabinsker AG,

Tschkalower AG, Kujbyschower AG usw.

Das Territorium aller 6 ASSR umfaßte tatsächlich nur ein Drittel des gesamten national-ethnographischen turko-tatarischen und ugro-finnischen Gebietes; zwei Drittel bleiben außerhalb der Grenzen dieser Regelung. Z. B. wurden nur 30% der Tataren Idel-Urals in der Tatarischen ASSR zusammengefaßt; die übrigen befinden sich organisatorisch und staatsrechtlich getrennt in den Gebieten von Tschelabinsk; Astrachan, Tschkalow, Pensa usw.

Die Politik Moskaus läßt sich in bezug auf die Turko-Tataren und Ugro-Finnen in folgenden Punkten zusammenfassen:

1. Territoriell-administrative Zersplitterung des turko-tatarischen und ugro-finnischen Volkes;
2. Vernichtung der angestammten bodenständigen Kultur;
3. Vernichtung der gesonderten national-wirtschaftlichen Existenzgrundlage;
4. Ausrottung der nationalen Intelligenz und der Geistlichkeit;
5. Ausplünderung des nationalen Reichtums des Idel-Ural für die Erwerbszwecke des russischen Chauvinismus.

Die unmenschlichen Taten sowie die Ausrottungspolitik des Bolschewismus hatten auf dem Gesamtgebiete Idel-Urals eine Reihe unterirdischer Wider-

standsbewegungen, Freiheitsorganisationen und Nationalaufstände ins Leben gerufen. Die bekanntesten darunter sind:

1. der Abwehrkampf der Turko-Tataren und Ugro-Finnen gegen die bewaffneten Banden Moskaus zur Zeit des sogenannten Kriegskommunismus, bekannt im Idel-Ural unter dem Namen: „Senek Sugesch“;
2. 1922—1929 Untergrundbewegung der nationalen Intelligenz gegen den Bolschewismus, bekannt unter dem Namen: „Sultanglewschtschina“;
3. 1929—1931 der passive Widerstand gegen die Kollektivisierung;
4. die antimoskovitische Tätigkeit der tatarischen und baschkirischen National-Kommunisten, die 1936—38 unter dem Deckmantel des Kampfes gegen „bourgeoise Nationalisten“ und „kapitalistische Agenten“ blutig liquidiert wurden.

Der nationale Befreiungskampf der Turko-Tataren und Ugro-Finnen Idel-Urals der für die Wiederherstellung der Selbständigkeit der Republik jahrelang gegen Moskau geführt wurde, hat während des zweiten Weltkrieges neuen starken Auftrieb gefunden. Die Turko-Tataren und Ugro-Finnen traten aktiv gegen den Bolschewismus überall dort hervor, wo sie es nur irgendwie konnten. Darüber genauer im zweiten Teil dieses Artikels.

G. S. Julaj

(Fortsetzung folgt)

Turkestan — Kolonie Rußlands

(Aus der Zeitschrift der turkestanischen Freiheitsbewegung „Milly Turkistan“ Nr. 63.)

England hat Indien, Pakistan, Burma und Irland die Souveränität zurückgegeben. Damit hat England diesen Ländern die Möglichkeit gegeben, in Glück und in Freiheit zu leben.

Ganz anders ist es in Turkestan. Die leitenden Leute des Landes werden in Moskau ernannt. Bei den „Wahlen“ werden die Listen mit Kandidaten aus Moskau nach Turkestan geschickt; die Wähler werden gezwungen ihre Stimmen den Leuten zu geben, die sie gar nicht kennen.

Was machen die Russen in unserem Lande? Wer schickte sie? Wer wählte sie?

Die Sowjetrepubliken sind von Moskau abhängig. Sie werden verpflichtet, die wirtschaftlichen Pläne Moskaus zu erfüllen. Die leitenden Männer der einzelnen Republiken kontrollieren nur die Erfüllung dieser Pläne; darüber müssen sie systematisch Berichte nach Moskau schicken. Wenn der Plan nicht erfüllt ist, werden sie zur Verantwortung gezogen.

Turkestan produziert viel Baumwolle, Wolle, Seide und verschiedene

landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse; das Volk lebt aber im furchtbaren Elend, da alles nach Rußland abtransportiert wird.

Die Sowjetverfassung verspricht jedem Volke der Sowjetunion das Recht auf Selbstbestimmung und auf den Austritt aus der Sowjetunion, falls dies gewünscht wird. Als aber einige turkestanische Politiker den Austritt Turkestans aus der Sowjetunion forderten, wurden sie verhaftet und als „Verräter“ erschossen.

Der Minister für Volksbildung Turkestans hat kein Recht die Schulpläne für seine Schulen selbständig auszuarbeiten. Als seinerzeit die turkestanischen Kulturforscher Batu Ramis und Kajum Ramasany solche Pläne zu entwerfen versuchten, wurden auch sie auf Befehl Moskaus als „Nationalisten“ erschossen.

In den Schulen Turkestans wird alles nach dem russischen Muster gemacht; die Schulen sind in ein Instrument der Russifizierung unseres Landes verwandelt worden.

Wie lächerlich sieht angesichts dessen der Vertreter Moskaus Gromyko aus, wenn er in der UN als „Verteidiger der Interessen der Kolonialvölker“ auftritt!

V. Jurtei

Vor 6 Jahren

Anläßlich der Entstehung des ABN hat die Organisation Ukrainischer Nationalisten“ (OUN) folgenden Aufruf im Jahre 1943 in den Gebieten der unterdrückten Völker in zahllosen Flugblättern veröffentlicht:

„Unterdrückte Völker!

Weißruthenen, Moldawier, Litauer, Esten, Polen, Kosaken, Kaukasus-, Sibirien- und Mittelasien-Völker!

Unser Boden, unsere Reichtümer, unsere Völker sind zum Objekt bolschewistischer und nazistischer Imperialisten geworden!

In einem Krieg ohnegleichen bekämpfen sich zwei imperialistische Konkurrenzkräfte, um in alleinigen Besitz unserer Schätze zu gelangen und unsere Völker für alle Ewigkeit zu unterjochen.

Zwei imperialistische Regierungen machen ihre Rechnung ohne Wirt, d. h. ohne uns, alleinige Herren unseres vaterländischen Bodens.

Osteuropa-, Kaukasus-, Sibirien- und Mittelasien-Völker! Unser Schicksal liegt in unseren eigenen Händen. Insgesamt zählen wir über 100 000 000 Menschen! Unsere Kräfte sind mächtig und groß. Uns fehlt es nur an Einigkeit. Wir müssen uns aufraffen und unsere bis jetzt zersplitterten Kräfte und einzeln geleiteten Befreiungsaktionen in einem einzigen Zentrum zusammenfassen.

In unserem eigenen Interesse müssen wir unsere Kräfte vereinigen! Der Grundsatz dieser Vereinigung muß heißen: gegenseitige Achtung, Anerkennung der gegenseitigen Rechte auf politische Selbständigkeit und Eigenstaatlichkeit, vollkommene Völkergleichheit!

Wir vereinigen unsere Kräfte, um gemeinsam den gemeinsamen Feind zu schlagen!

Das ukrainische Volk ist tief davon überzeugt, daß die bolschewistischen wie die nazistischen Imperialisten uns dasselbe Schicksal vorbereiten.

Dieses Schicksal heißt: unbarmherzige Ausrottung! Nur durch Vereinigung unserer Kräfte und unserer Anstrengungen können wir diesem Schicksal entgehen.

In diesem mörderischen Selbstbehauptungskampf wird kein Volk sich selbst und die eigene politische Unabhängigkeit retten können, wenn es sich nicht an die Hilfe anderer Völker anlehnt.

Es lebe die Ukraine! Es lebe die Freundschaft aller unterdrückten Völker Ost-Europas, Mittelasiens, Sibiriens und des Kaukasus!“

Freiheitsliebende Völker und Menschen der ganzen Welt, vereinigt euch im Kampfe gegen Bolschewismus für die Freiheit der Völker und des Menschen!

ABN im Spiegel der deutschen Presse

Nachdem im Sommer des Jahres 1949 der Antibolschewistische Block der Nationen (ABN) in verschiedenen Städten Westdeutschlands, Westeuropas und Amerikas antibolschewistische Straßendemonstrationen und öffentliche Kundgebungen durchführte, widmet ihm die deutsche Presse immer mehr und mehr Aufmerksamkeit.

Die Zeitung „Freies Europa“ brachte am 4. November 1949 einen Artikel unter dem Titel: „Was bedeutet ABN?“ Der Artikel begann mit folgenden Worten:

„Die Emigranten der osteuropäischen Länder sprechen viel von dem ABN. Was ist ABN? Diese Abkürzung bedeutet: Antibolschewistischer Block der Nationen. Es ist eine Vereinigung aller Kräfte der unterdrückten osteuropäischen Völker, z. B. Untergrundbewegungen, Befreiungsorganisationen, in der Heimat wie im Exil, und kämpft gegen den Bolschewismus und den russischen Imperialismus jeder Art.“

„Münchner Allgemeine“ brachte am 13. November 1949 einen großen Artikel über die Ukrainische Aufständische Armee (UPA), in welchem darauf hingewiesen wird, daß ABN aus der Initiative der UPA im November 1943 in der Ukraine entstanden ist. Es wird weiter ausgeführt, daß die vom ABN im Sommer des Jahres 1949 durchgeführten Demonstrationen gezeigt hätten, daß er eine starke Massenorganisation ist.

„Die Neue Zeitung“, offizielles Blatt der amerikanischen Besatzungsmacht in Deutschland (Berliner Ausg.), brachte am 14. August 1949 einen großen Artikel über Georgien. Diesen Artikel beendete der Verfasser mit der Feststellung: „...Den Kampf für die Freiheit führt jetzt die georgische Emigration im Antibolschewistischen Block der Nationen.“

Über die Demonstration in Neuburg berichtete „Neuburger Tagepost“ am 8. November 1949 unter anderem:

„Ein Ukrainischer Journalist, Vertreter der Organisation ABN (Antibolschewistischer Block der Nationen) sprach in temperamentvoller Ausführung zu den Versammelten.“

Er erinnerte an die im Jahre 1943 in der Ukraine erfolgte Gründung des ABN, der nunmehr zu einer starken Untergrundbewegung in den Ländern des Ostens geworden sei und für das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker in allen von der Roten Armee oder den Kommunisten beherrschten Staaten rückhaltslos eintrete.“

Die „Schwäbische Donauzeitung“ brachte am 7. November 1949 folgenden Bericht über die Demonstration in Ulm:

„Anläßlich der 32. Wiederkehr des Tages der bolschewistischen Revolution am 7. November 1917 hielten gestern 7000 DP's aus Ulm, Neu-Ulm und Leipheim in der Münsterstadt eine große antibolschewistische Kundgebung ab. Um 15 Uhr verließ je ein Zug mit 1000 bis 2000 Personen die Sedan-, Reinhardt- und Hindenburgkaserne. Kleinere Gruppen zu 100, 500 und 700 Personen, die sich nach Nationalitäten wie Turkestaner, Slowaken, Weißruthenen und Balten zusammensetzten, schlossen sich an. Aus Leipheim waren 500 DP's in Ulm eingetroffen. Die einzelnen Züge waren wohlgeordnet. Zwischen den Reihen liefen durch Armbinden gekennzeichnete Ordner. Die Züge wichen den Straßenbahnen aus. Über 50 Transparente, Bilder, Landkarten und ein Dutzend Fahnen wurden mitgetragen. Auf einem Pferdefuhrwerk war eine sowjetische Landkarte zu sehen, auf der die unzähligen russischen KZ's eingetragen waren.“

Der Höhepunkt der Kundgebung fand auf dem westlichen Münsterplatz statt. Nacheinander bestiegen zehn Redner aus sechs verschiedenen Nationen, 5 Ukrainer und je 1 tschechischer, slowakischer, turkestanischer, ungarischer und kaukasischer Vertreter die durch einen Pferdefuhrwerk gebildete Rednertribüne. Die Gruppe der Letzten bekundete ihre Solidarität durch Verlesung eines Briefes. Rechts und links der Rednertribüne standen die Fahnenabordnungen einzelner Nationen, die jeweils vortraten, wenn ihre Redner an der Reihe waren.

Die meisten Reden wurden in der Landessprache gehalten und waren auffallend aggressiv. Die Anwesenden folgten gespannt den teilweise mit großer Begeisterung vorgetragenen Reden, während deren die Männer die Häupter entblößten. Der Vertreter des slowakischen Volkes wurde mehrere Male durch Beifallskundgebungen unterbrochen. Ein ukrainischer General wurde schon beim Besteigen des Wagens mit großem Applaus empfangen.

Der Inhalt der Reden gipfelte in der Charakterisierung und Verurteilung des bolschewistischen Systems und in dem Gedenken an die Freiheitskämpfer der einzelnen Nationen.

Am Schluß der Kundgebung nahm die im großen Viereck um das Rednerpult aufgestellte Menge auf Vorschlag des Vertreters des ABN, des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen, eine Resolution an, in der sie „kategorisch die bolschewistischen Lügen verneinten, durch ihre Anwesenheit die unsagbaren Verbrechen der Bolschewiken an den unterjochten Nationen bezeugen wollten und das Abendland zum Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus aufforderten“.

Nach Absingen eines ukrainischen Kirchenliedes, in dem das Volk zur Einigung aufgerufen wird, zogen die einzelnen Demonstrationzüge ebenso wohlgeordnet wieder ab, wie sie gekommen waren.“

Die Zeitung „Rheiner und Steinfurter Nachrichten“ vom 8. November 1949 hat die Demonstration in Rheine folgenderweise beschrieben:

„Am Vortage des 7. November, der in der kommunistischen Welt zum Andenken an die russische „Oktober-Revolution 1917“ mit großen Festzügen begangen wird, waren Hunderte von Ukrainern, Männer und Frauen, die in der ehemaligen Damloup-Kaserne wohnen, auf dem Marktplatz in Rheine zu einer Gegenkundgebung angetreten.“

Voran flatterte die blaugelbe Nationalfahne des selbständigen Ukrainersstaates. Im Zuge wurden Transparente mitgeführt, die Protest einlegten gegen die verlogene Propaganda der Bolschewisten, gegen ihre Vergewaltigung von Freiheit, Menschenwürde und Religion, und die alle Völker aufriefen zum Kampf gegen diese Weltseuche. Hauptzweck der Kundgebung war neben dem Protest die Aufklärung der deutschen Öffentlichkeit über die bolschewistische Wirklichkeit.

Verhältnismäßig zahlreich war die Rheiner Bevölkerung der Einladung gefolgt. Im Sinne des Hauptzweckes wurden die Ausführungen in deutscher Sprache gehalten. Sie waren trotz des fremden Tonfalls gut verständlich und kamen aus tiefster Überzeugung...

Es wurde dann eine Resolution verlesen, die in 5 Punkten die Anklagen gegen den Bolschewismus zusammenfaßte. Im Punkt 4 wurde auf das Schamgefühl für die gesamte zivilisierte Kulturwelt hingewiesen, die im 20. Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt diesem verbrecherischen System zusehen kann, anstatt sich wie ein Mann gegen den Feind alles Göttlichen und Menschlichen zu erheben.

Den Abschluß der Kundgebung bildete ein ukrainisches Lied, aus dessen sehnstigen Weisen sich leicht die Weite des Raumes und die Tiefe der ukrainischen Seele heraushören ließ. Mit entblößtem Haupte hörten die Anwesenden diesem Sehnsuchtschrei zu.“

Die Chronik

Die diplomatische Tätigkeit des ABN

Das Presse-Büro des ABN teilt mit, daß das Zentralkomitee des ABN ein umfangreiches Memorandum mit der Darstellung der Ziele und der Methoden des Freiheitskampfes der durch Bolschewismus unterjochten Völker an General W. B. Smith, den ehemaligen USA-Botschafter in Moskau, übersandte. Ein ähnliches Memorandum wurde an Admiral R. E. Byrd gesandt, den Leiter des Komitees für die Hilfe an politische Emigranten.

*

November-Demonstrationen des ABN

Anläßlich des 32. Jahrestages der bolschewistischen Revolution haben die Anhänger des ABN in vielen Städten Westdeutschlands (in Ulm, Rheine, Neuburg, Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Mühlendorf, Braunschweig, Seedorf u. a.) am Sonntag des 6. November 1949 antibolschewistische Demonstrationen durchgeführt.

Zehntausende Ukrainer, Weißruthenen, Litauer, Letten, Esten, Slowaken, Kroaten, Ungarn, Turkestaner, Angehörige anderer Völker, die Mitglieder des ABN sind, marschierten mit unzähligen Transparenten durch die Straßen der deutschen Städte. Allein in Ulm beteiligten sich an der Demonstration über 7000 Teilnehmer. Überall konnte man Plakate mit den Überschriften lesen: „Es lebe der Antibolschewistische Block der Nationen — ABN!“, „Es lebe die Ukrainische Aufständische Armee!“, „Ins Gefängnis mit Stalin und seiner Bande!“

Die Redner des ABN sprachen in den Massenkundgebungen über den unerschütterlichen Willen der Völker des ABN den Freiheitskampf bis zum siegreichen Ende zu führen. Solange nicht jedes Volk in seinem eigenen selbständigen freien Staate leben wird, solange wird es keinen Frieden in der Welt geben. Sie riefen die freiheitsliebenden Völker der ganzen Welt zum Kreuzzuge gegen den Bolschewismus und gegen den russischen Imperialismus aller Farben und Gattungen auf.

In einigen Städten gab die amerikanische Militärregierung am 6. November früh bekannt, daß die Demonstrationen verboten seien.

Dank der Führung der Funktionäre des ABN wurden die Demonstrationen überall in größter Ordnung durchgeführt. Sie wurden lebhaft in der deutschen Presse diskutiert.

*

Die Flugblätter des ABN kursieren in der Sowjetarmee

25 Zigaretten für ein Flugblatt des ABN

Anläßlich des 32. Jahrestages der bolschewistischen Revolution gab der ABN verschiedene antibolschewistische Flugblätter in mehreren Sprachen heraus. Eines dieser Flugblätter begann mit den Worten: „Tod den Tyrannen!“

Kurz vor dem 7. Nov. teilten die Agenturen UP, AP und DPA aus Berlin mit, daß unter den Angehörigen der Roten Armee und in zahlreichen sowjetischen Dienststellen während der letzten Tage Flugblätter mit der Aufschrift „Tod den Tyrannen“ verbreitet wurden. Eine Anzahl sowjetischer Offiziere, die unter dem Verdacht standen eine Widerstandsbewegung organisiert zu haben, wurden verhaftet.

Der Widerstandskampf innerhalb der sowjetischen Besatzungsmacht wird besonders stark in dem Uran-Bergbaugbiet Sachsens beobachtet. Hier wurde vor allem zur Sabotage und zur Flucht aufgerufen. Die sowjetische Geheimpolizei hatte für jedes Flugblatt, das zugeliefert wird, eine Prämie von 25 Zigaretten ausgesetzt.

Zu welcher Sensation die Verbreitung der Flugblätter des ABN in der Roten Armee wurde, sieht man daraus, daß z. B. die kommunistische Zeitung „Die Wahrheit“ („Deutsche Zeitung für die Bevölkerung Niedersachsens“) diesem Thema am 12. November 1949 den Leitartikel widmete, in dem sie sich zu beweisen bemühte, daß in der Sowjet-Armee keine Widerstandsbewegung existiert. Im Leitartikel lesen wir:

„Am Montag, 17. November, veröffentlichte die „Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung“ auf der ersten Seite, auch die „Hannoversche Presse“ ebenso groß aufgemacht, über illegale „antikommunistische“ Flugblätter, die in Ostdeutschland kursieren und von einer Widerstandsbewegung in der Roten Armee.“

„Sensationelle Enthüllungen“ schrieb daraufhin der Berliner Korrespondent der „Allgemeinen Zeitung“ und zitierte dann den Westberliner „Telegraph“ (SPD).“

In demselben Artikel lesen wir weiter, daß der „Antibolschewistische Block der Nationen“ (ABN) in Hannover aktiv geworden ist.

Wir sind beauftragt der kommunistischen Zeitung „Die Wahrheit“ mitzuteilen, daß ABN nicht nur in Hannover, sondern überall dort aktiv ist, wo es Menschen gibt, die es auf ihren eigenen Rücken erfahren haben, was der Bolschewismus in der Wirklichkeit ist. Eben darum wurden die Flugblätter des ABN in solch einer großen Anzahl in der Roten Armee verbreitet.

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Ungarische Zeitschrift über ABN

Die ungarische Wochenzeitschrift „Bujdoso Szemle“ („Nachrichtenblatt des Flüchtlings“) brachte am 21. Nov. 1949 einen großen Artikel über ABN, in dem das Problem des russischen Imperialismus und die Konzeption des ABN betreffend der zukünftigen neuen Ordnung in Zentral- und Osteuropa und Sowjetasien erörtert werden. Der Artikel stammt aus den Kreisen der ungarischen Freiheitsbewegung, welche mit ABN zusammenarbeitet.

Russischer Schmuck aus fremden Federn

Kommentar von maßgebender Seite

Es kommt immer häufiger vor, daß die weißen russischen Emigranten, insbesondere diejenigen Kreise, die sich um A. Kerenskyj in USA scharen, den revolutionären UPA-Kampf als Verdienst des „großrussischen Volkes“ hinstellen.

Hierzu ist folgendes festzustellen:

Die „Ukrainische Aufständische Armee“ (UPA) ist das Ergebnis einer fast übermenschlichen Anstrengung des ukrainischen Volkes und seines unabbringbaren Willens den eigenen von Moskau unabhängigen Staat zu erneuern. Dieser Kampf wird nicht nur gegen das heutige kommunistische Regime, aber auch gegen diejenigen pseudo-demokratischen, imperialistischen, russischen Kreise geführt, die sich einen russischen Staat ohne Ukraine nicht vorstellen können.

Die Behauptung der russischen Emigranten beruht auf dem nicht aufhörenwollenden imperialistischen Wahn, daß das ukrainische Volk einen Bestandteil des großrussischen Volkes bildet.

Diese lügnerische russisch-imperialistische Propaganda erzielt bis heute noch im Westen gewisse Erfolge. Es wird hiermit gewarnt, derartige russische Unterstellungen ernsthaft zu nehmen.

Kominform im Fernen Osten

Das Exekutivkomitee des kommunistischen Weltgewerkschaftsbundes hat am 11. November dieses Jahres in Peking eine Sitzung abgehalten. 5 Tage später fand eine Konferenz der kommunistisch beeinflussten Gewerkschaften der Länder Asiens und Australiens statt, der die Regierungen Südasiens viel Aufmerksamkeit schenkten. Die Konferenz schuf ein ständiges Sekretariat, welches im Fernen Osten die Rolle des Kominform spielen und die Tätigkeit der fünften Kolonnen in den Ländern Asiens ausüben soll.

HERAUSGEBER:

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Verantwortlicher Schriftleiter:

K. W. Orlecky

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The Anniversary of Tyranny and the Moscow Party Congress

(Text of the declaration made by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. at the press conference held in Munich on the anniversary of the bolshevik October Revolution)

Vanished Revolution-Myth and New Strategy / Revised Edition of Marxist Doctrine / Double-tongued Bolshevik Propaganda / Comfort for the Famished and Suffering in the East / Appeal to the Inexperienced and Gullible in the West / Perfidious Avowal of Nationalism and Democracy / Strengthening of Russian Imperialism / Deception on a Large Scale — A Cry of Warning to the Western World

The 35th anniversary of the bolshevik October revolution is predominated by the Kremlin's new strategy, announced at the recent Party Congress in Moscow by the first representatives of Soviet Russian dominion.

As early as 1937, Stalin, in his book "On the Shortcomings in the Party Work", expressed a warning against losing contact with the broad masses, comparing the bolshevik party with the Greek god Antaeus who remained undefeated as long as he was in touch with mother Earth, but who was conquered and strangled by Hercules when he succeeded in tearing him away from the earth. What the earth meant for Antaeus, as an invincible source, the constant contact with the people according to Stalin, was to be for the bolshevik party.

That metaphor and with it the express warning seems to have been the pole star at the Moscow meeting. Thirty-five years after the rise of bolshevist dominion, it has become perfectly clear, apparently, to the party leaders how far reality is from that Stalin "ideal" and what deadly peril threatens bolshevist rule through losing feeling with the millions and with the different peoples who have been governed only by force and deceit for 35 years.

The despots in the Kremlin appear to have no illusions, now that the realization of the truth, which is dawning more and more among people on both sides of the Iron Curtain, threatens to crush their regime with Herculean power. Taken as a whole the speeches and publications at the Congress were nothing but desperate attempts to revive the vanished bolshevist revolution myth on which the Kremlin has lived for 35 years, and win back the confidence of the masses. The resolution to drop the once proud epithet "Bolsheviki" which was bound up with the much praised October revolution, alone points to the fact that the word for the world means brute force, slavery, fraud and genocide and that it has thus become and unbearable burden

which even the chiefs wish to shake off.

Stalin's remarkable publication, appearing under the innocent guise of "Remarks on Economic Questions" and ostensibly intended as a directive for the congress, was actually meant to be a grand piece of propaganda which was, at the same time, to give its stamp to the new Soviet "Manual for Political Economy". It would appear from Stalin's directives that that "Political Economy", a still unfinished work, is a new gospel and weapon in the service of world communism, in which the much weakened doctrine of Marx is to be repaired and the worn-out thesis of bolshevist ideology to be freshened up and the Kremlin's whole strategy for psychological warfare adapted to present needs.

Moscow's new strategy is two-sided and double-faced. On one side it is to take effect on the people and nations within the Soviet sphere of influence and on the other is directed at the free western world. The confused doctrine and the impudence of the new dialectic thesis cannot conceal the fact that the bolshevist rulers depend on the endurance of the ground-down masses, while in the free world they appeal to the gullibility of inexperienced people and the blindness of naive political leaders.

The trump card in the social section is the announcement of an imminent change from socialism to communism. For anyone who is familiar with bolshevik doctrine and practice, that move is easily understood. The direct object of the announcement is to comfort the miserable masses in the U.S.S.R. in that the hard transition time of "building up" socialism, when each was rewarded according to the work achieved and the strength of the workers drained by the Stakhanov system, is over at last, after 35 years of deprivation, and is giving place to a new era of actual communism when each is to be rewarded according to his ability and his actual requirements, so that everyone will have as much as his heart

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Stepan Bandera

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Labour in Vain

All attempts, whether open or disguised, to put the Ukrainian cause in the service of Russian imperialism have met with a decided failure, because it is contrary to the firmly fixed Ukrainian policy. In Ukraine, as well as in exile, the whole national community reacts as one man against any such endeavour to break through the united front, making it futile from the off set.

Nevertheless, some American groups have undertaken to alter the consistent Ukrainian attitude, for the sake of psychological warfare against bolshevism. By every possible means the attempt is made to couple the national liberation struggle of the peoples subjected to Moscow with the opposition in Russia against the bolshevik regime. The prospect of a political system tinged with democracy is to serve as the foundation of the unity aspired to; the Russian imperium, however, incorporated to-day in the U.S.S.R., is to remain with the inclusion of Ukraine and all the other oppressed peoples. The possible "concessions" to be granted the nations in the future debolshevized imperium are only to be discussed at some later date. The first object to be attained for the moment, is the overcoming of the bolshevik system of government, for which our peoples are expected to shed their blood, without being allowed to question the "indivisibility" of the Muscovite empire.

Unanimous Resistance

Such catchwords and aspiration uttered by Russian emigrants, backed by certain American patrons, have, from the very beginning, aroused the opposition of Ukrainians of all political directions, as well as the national representatives in exile of the other subjected peoples, in spite of which the American patrons insist on a one-sided russophile conception which, in course of time, is likely to become the official political course of the United States. It has gone so far that all kinds of political pressure has been exercised to break the unanimous national resistance and win weak individuals among the emigrants, for the Russian cause. Finally, America's attitude towards the political emigrants of those peoples,

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desires of the good things of this earth. For the satellite states which are in the process of "socialist construction" the announcement is to induce them to endure the ordeal of "people's democracies" and follow the example of the Soviet Union blindly and eagerly, in order one day to enter into the joys of communist "ideal economy".

In the national section the Congress in Moscow outdid everything bolshevist propaganda has achieved hitherto in deceitfulness, lies and cynicism. While representatives and members of the enslaved peoples of the U.S.S.R. and vassal states are arriving in their thousands in concentration camps for "national deviationism", Beria boasted in his great speech of the equality and enviable prosperity of these peoples, prepared and given them by the Soviet government. Stalin himself played the part of standard-bearer of the national idea, appealing to the national feeling of colonial peoples and even pretending to be troubled at the limited sovereignty of the free nations in the West, without being at least disturbed by the gallows standing everywhere in the satellite states of the Soviet, erected there even for "national communists": Nationalism which till yesterday was despised in the doctrine of Marx and defamed in the west by bolshevist propaganda as fascism, is now to be a weapon for world communism and exported to help restore bankrupt bolshevist enterprise.

That move in strategy and tactics on the part of the bolsheviks, should be the focus of public interest in the West, as a lasting lesson. Recognizing the inexhaustible power of the national idea Moscow is trying to seize it from the West and turn it as weapon against the western powers, regardless of the fact that within the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet sphere, everything is done to extirpate all national characteristics and the last trace of national independence.

Finally, in the strategic section Stalin and the other speakers at the Congress threw some more trumps on the scales, such as: war between the Soviet block and the western world was not unavoidable. Communism and ca-

pitalism could very well live peaceably side by side. The old Marxist thesis of capitalist encirclement which had to be broken through to help the proletarian world revolution to victory, was dropped. Stalin assured his hearers the Soviet block need not wage a war, as the capitalistic world would break up through its own discord and that the capitalist countries were heading for a war among themselves. What these speakers are driving at is obvious: Political leaders in the West must be convinced of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union, to promote a conciliatory spirit and readiness for concessions towards Moscow, encourage the pacifist atmosphere in the West and lull it in the illusion that war with Moscow is not unavoidable, so that all the defence preparations, and the self-sacrifice and restrictions entailed thereby were in vain. In this way Stalin expects to gain time until the western production and armament potential has been caught up with and, if possible, surpassed. By quenching the thought of war, all hope of any imminent salvation for the enslaved peoples in the Union and satellite states will be crushed and the spirit of resistance paralysed.

The suggestion that the establishment of a western defence under America's direction carried a hidden peril with it because it limited national sovereignty, reduced the nations to vassals of the United States and exposed them to exploitation by "American imperialism" was another trump card. The reconstruction of Japan and Germany and the restoration of their potential forces was an acute danger in itself, which the western world had unnecessarily brought to pass against its own interests, simply because it had fallen into the error of imagining itself menaced by the peaceful Soviet Union. These whisperings aim at sowing suspicion and discord and frustrating any effective combination of forces for the subjection of Soviet Russian tyranny.

Still another trump was Stalin's championing democratic freedom and civil rights which to-day in the West were being trampled under foot. To save "threatened" democracy and the freedom of the West, the bolsheviks once more call upon the "progressive" democratic and socialist forces, as well as the peasant parties, to co-operate, with the pious assurance that the bolshevist party, in spite of all its power is not arrogant, but on the contrary, needs the support of all these forces and offers them its hand in their common cause. That is a new edition of the threshed out parole of the so-called "peoples front", regardless of all the experiences of so many burnt sacrifices for collaboration with communists, and is not only an irony but also reveals at once the weakness and isolation of the communist fifth column in the West. Should any one in the West still require authentic instruction let him read Lenin's will, for that is what is most consistently followed in bolshevist practice. "Victory can only be achieved for the proletariat by the most revolutionary party of Marxism and by a ruthless campaign of extermination against all other parties."

In spite of all the assertions of equal rights among nations, Stalin was not able to refrain from pointing out Russian priority, not alone in the Soviet state but in the bolshevik world altogether, for he emphasized that the October revolution could never have taken place if it had not been for the Russian communist party and thanks to the special qualities inherent in the people by which victory was so systematically achieved. Emphasis on Russian messiahship, in spite of all contrary considerations was not a random shot. It was evidently necessary as a reason for and strengthening of bolshevist russification policy and is another proof of the fact that bolshevism in reality is merely another and stronger form the traditional Russian imperialism.

A summing up of the bolshevik congress in Moscow in the 35th year of Soviet rule, must not be closed without a word as to the achievement of its leaders; a tremendous array of subtle dialectic and rhetoric, all bent on one object: to make the world this side and that of the Iron Curtain believe words which the speaker himself knew to be froth to deceive the world.

In view of all that, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) looks upon it as a duty to warn the world once more against falling into Stalin's trap. The representatives of the national and liberation movements of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states, wish today to place before the governments and peoples of the West the following warning:

Give no heed to the hypocritical assertions of peace made by the bolsheviks who are arming day and night for war, but prepare seriously to put down the never-ceasing Soviet Russian aggression, if you do not want to be a victim too.

Against Moscow's new ideological weapon in the form of the coming "Political Economy" with its dissembling thesis of national equality, peace and democracy, set your own ideological weapon with a real avowal of the national idea and social justice and real guarantees of national freedom and independence.

Do not allow the bolsheviks to sow discord and dissension among you, but hold out your hand honestly to one another and seize the hand offered by our subjugated peoples in time, by active co-operation with the competent bearers of the immortal national idea.

Do not allow the greatest slave owner of all time, Josif Wissarionovich Stalin, in whose concentration camps more than 20 million people are languishing and in whose dungeon state more than 25 nations are facing dissemination or russification, to boast of being the patron of national sovereignty and surety for civil rights, only in the end to hand out the same fate to your own peoples.

Do not allow bolshevist propaganda to knock your strongest weapon in the fight against bolshevism, — the national ideal, — out of your hand, and use it against you in the service of a satanic world conquest.

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Christo Stateff, Former Bulgarian Minister

The Echo of a Political Myopia

A Question of "Fascism" and „Fascists“

The most decisive permanent factor for the success of Soviet policy is propaganda. The Soviet regime has succeeded in convincing the peoples of the U.S.S.R., as well as communists all over the world, that it is no business of theirs to know what Stalin and his friends are planning, but rather that they should believe what they are told. The fundamental aim of Soviet propaganda is to camouflage the secret intentions of its policy, to keep up certain basic errors, to preach Soviet-Russian messiahship, ad absurdum and, at the same time, to incite conflicts, mutinies and war. One of the preliminary bases in the U.S.S.R.'s fight against the West is so-called "anti-fascism". That does not mean Italian fascism or German national-socialism. When the war ended that was all a closed chapter. Soviet propaganda has given these expressions quite another sense, without touching their real character at all.

In false, bloated form the words fascism and fascists have been forced upon the public as a metaphor of a political pest which must be exterminated, and yet not so very long ago Stalin himself was a partner with Hitler and Mussolini.

This post-war campaign "against fascism" was only to conceal the political trend which was actually directed against the West. At the time it was not convenient to take up a position and make a frontal attack, nor was the time ripe for calling a spade a spade. All the lances had therefore to be pointed at fascism. At the same time, however, communist propaganda marched against institutions, social forces, cultural institutions, economic and political programmes, charitable movements and Churches, in fact against everything that did not harmonize with the interests of the Soviet Union. To bring discredit upon all such institutions it was enough to label them "fascist". In that way a real mass psychosis was produced. Due to that propaganda the term fascist has come to be used to express everything that is perfectly mad and accordingly every "fascist" should be despised, ostracized and even liquidated.

Having ascribed every vice to "fascism", Soviet propaganda proceeded to generalize all opponents of the Soviet Union and communism under the common denominator "fascist", and to-day Moscow attacks indiscriminately with this artificially constructed new weapon, everything that does not suit her. Churchill and the English Queen, even the Pope are branded as "fascists", i. e. enemies of progress and the working classes. They are no longer "bourgeois", "capitalists", "reactionaries", but something very much worse, "fascists".

During the weeks and months after the "victory" in the west this far-reaching agitation was given practically no serious attention. When the western allies needed the co-operation of the Soviet Union for organizing peace, many leading politicians, especially in the case of coalition governments with communist members, adopted that agitation. The activities of a number of committees and public organizations were scrutinized in that light and many vied with one another in that direction in



order to appear more "progressive". Those unhappy people never dreamed that the conception of "anti-fascism" thus forced upon them would one day become a kind of guillotine, not only to cut their heads off, but also for the intellectual and

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depends entirely on the position they take concerning that Russian-inspired action.

Our answer to that is to declare unequivocally that our attitude towards all initiatives, plans, actions, respecting the future of our people depends alone on the standpoint of our national liberation policy. The rejection of Russian dominion and the sponsorship of our nations by an indivisible Russian state, no matter what its form of government may be, has become vital for our peoples and an irrevocable injunction for their leaders. No tactical consideration for combating the bolshevik system can outbid the fundamental element in our political will and action. The American plan of collecting all parties on the basis of an indivisible Russian empire is consequently doomed. The national liberation struggle with which our peoples are engrossed, makes that idea of "indivisibility" impossible.

Our attitude towards the various Russian groups and plans can only be determined in conjunction with the national fate of our peoples. There can be no deviation from that principle, much as we estimate the best possible relationship with the powers and forces supporting that Muscovite bias, as it would appear merely from tactical opportunism.

In the question of our liberation policy we brook no compromise and can approve of no adaptations, because that would be fatal for the future of our peoples. Co-operation with the supporters of Russian imperialism, no matter how much they oppose commun-

material achievements of all Christian culture and western civilization.

While for some of the misled politicians the abolition of fascism meant merely the abolition of a system which was contrary to democratic principles, the catchword "Death to Fascism!" maintained the sense given it and was carried out in practice by all dictatorial communist regimes. Tens of thousands of innocent people became victims of the masses systematically stirred up and incited against them, merely because their political conceptions were different. In town and country people were beaten to death as "fascists", people who had never heard the word and who had no idea what it meant. Even political activists who had been prominent in fighting against fascist regimes were driven to the wall.

"Death, Death, Death!" was the cry of the masses, the gist of resolutions passed at meetings, the inexorable will of red prosecutors who turned over their victims to the executioners, many of whom had been delivered up by the West for the purpose.

The campaign contrived by Moscow against fascism is still going on and, paradoxically, the Yugoslav radio stations close

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ism would be an antinomy based on the absolute difference between the "partners" as to fundamental aims. Our peoples who are striving for national freedom and independence, with which they include the fight against bolshevism, and, on the other side, the Russians whose object is the retention of the Russian empire and for whose anti-bolshevik aims and campaign our peoples are to be harnessed and who presuppose their sponsorship for us in the future.

The objectives of our liberation struggle are crystal clear: Absolute freedom from brutal domination by Moscow in general and from its present bolshevik system of government in particular. Destruction of the communist regime and establishment of our independent national states on the hereditary ground of each people, far away from Moscow, and free from any commitments with the Russians.

Lasting Lessons of History

Historical facts teach us that traditional Russian imperialism without regard to state policy or social system, has remained unaltered in its thirst for the conquest of alien peoples and lands. In every epoch and under every regime all possible means have been taken to bleed and crush our peoples and keep them under subjection, and never have the Russian people raised a hand to prevent it. On the contrary, the political powers and systems were only sure of their support when they were successful in their championship of imperialism.

The Russian state in all its different forms, tsarist, democratic or bol-

shevik, has again and again employed cunning and perfidy to transform every kind of federation into the dreadful oppression of Russian dictatorship.

Irrevocable Aims

Independent national states, that is the irrevocable aim and object of our struggle, and it cannot be substituted for anything else. The mere change of the ruling system, with the retention of dependence on Moscow, will not lead to that end. The anti-bolshevik struggle of the present cannot be separated from the struggle against the Russian empire, because, at bottom, bolshevism is only another phase of the same imperialism.

There are no Russian elements, even to-day, who would be willing to give up imperialism and accept our national liberation plan. Rather do they affirm our subjection and only seek to draw a veil over it for present purposes. The various Russian organizations and parties in exile are concentrating all their efforts to combat our movement for independence and its representatives in the free world. As far as the integrity of the Muscovite empire is concerned, they are tugging at the same rope as the bolsheviks, and carry on the work of the latter in places they cannot reach.

The gloomy spectacle of 1917/20, when red and white Russian forces, in spite of their ideological antipathies, joined hands to wreck the independence of Ukraine and the other restored national states, is being repeated. The resources of the West, which were put at the disposal of Denikin to fight against the bolsheviks, were employed by him against the Ukrainian army, although it, too, was fighting bolshevism. In just the same way, the Russian imperialists in exile, under the plea of a common front, are trying to influence the policy of the western powers in favour of the indivisibility of the Russian empire that will not only undermine the liberation of our peoples but must infallibly weaken the forces fighting bolshevism.

The Russian centres are working to blot out the national problems from the political field and the public in general, by saying that the solution of the present world crisis is only to be achieved when the bolshevik regime is abolished. The integrity of the Russian empire is to be taken as a matter of fact.

The Vital Condition

The world to-day must realize that there are forces in the Russian camp which reject the cause of freedom as a stabilizing factor in the present situation, are even enmical towards it, whether they call themselves bolsheviks or anti-communists. Thus every attempt made to co-ordinate the liberation policy of the West with the Russian anti-communist course, is to deny that policy itself and capitulate

DDr. T. Baron de Collas

About "Free Europe"

Reading always with great interest the articles about world politics, finance and economy in the American Press, I follow with special interest those dealing with our mutual enemy World communism. The press of the whole world reports the subversive activity of the Fifth Column. Unfortunately features discussing this question thoroughly and in detail, relating what is happening to the people behind the Iron Curtain are rare. In my country in Hungary for instance, since their occupation in 1945, the communists have driven away, imprisoned and liquidated 95% of the intelligentsia. Where is that to lead and what will become of this country in a few years under such circumstances? The Korean war has awakened the world at last and has shown America the danger of communist aggression. Without sparing expense and entirely with American funds the "Free Europe Committee" was created, with Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens as president.

This Organization is intended to awaken the people behind the Iron Curtain by way of broadcasts, to keep them alive by proving to them that free people still exist in free countries and to strengthen their hearts by fostering their hope for a free life in the nearest future. For this reason, with high expenditure, this transmitting station "Free Europe" was built in Munich, Germany. As that is the purpose it is meant to serve, it is of great importance, who the political leaders of the different sections are. We are grateful to the American people for their sacrifice and I feel the American taxpayer has a right to know how the money he has contributed is going to be used. I also declare it to be the duty of all concerned to criticise in order to help, to point out possible faults to the public, before it is too late to remedy.

We Hungarians, who within one generation have experienced communism twice (first in 1919), we know that no compromise with it exists. I am a Hungarian refugee myself, and have experienced personally

to Moscow's imperialism. As far as our peoples are concerned, any connection with the enemy on any such basis would be a betrayal of our liberation work and a crime against our national destiny.

The fight against Moscow, against bolshevism and every sort of imperialist plunder will continue implacably till the Russians give up the attempt to act as guardians of Ukraine and all other oppressed peoples, till they consent to full independence and declare themselves willing to take up peaceful relationships on a basis which respects the sovereignty of all. Until then there can be no common language with the Russians. There can be no co-operation or co-ordination of the exile forces and no discussion of same, until politicians in the Russian camp recognize our irrevocable rights and approach us with a positive programme in that sense. That is and remains the vital condition.

(Based on an article which appeared in Ukrainsky Samostiynyk No. 42 [143]/1952)

the atrocities during the first communism in my country, and also recently I was imprisoned for years, before my escape.

The public does not know, that Rakosi, who since the Russian occupation in 1945 until the present day rules in Hungary, held already under the regime of Bela Kun in 1919, during the first communism there, the important position of a People's Commissar. For this activity he was sentenced later to 15 years imprisonment.

Some naive men (who called themselves politicians) sustained the opinion, that they could compromise with communism and lent themselves as tools to Rakosi and his comrades. This was more than an error! The "Small Landowners Party" which under the regime of Admiral Horthy (head of the Hungarian government from 1920 to October 1944) represented an opposition, gained an absolute majority at the elections of October 1945. Together with the communists and the social democrats they created the ill-famed "People's Court". Ferenc Nagy became prime minister. With the active collaboration of the "Small Landowners Party" the People's Court passed thousands and thousands of sentences, among which many hundreds were death sentences. The most highly appreciated intelligentsia, the best patriots, ended their lives on the gallows. The methods of the "People's Court" have become especially well known through the ill-famed process of Cardinal Mindszenti. Most of the condemned are still languishing in Hungarian prisons, if they are still alive or have not been deported to Russia. The "Small Landowners Party" sent a magistrate and even a prosecutor to each session of the "People's Court". The abhorrent sentences were pronounced and the atrocities went on, with the consent of the president of the Government Tildi, of Ferenc Nagy as Premier, of Monsignore Varga, President of the Parliament (the head of the "Hungarian National Committee" in New York at present), who were the rulers at that time. They watched with open eyes what was going on. They confirmed the death sentences. Ferenc Nagy, official representative of his country, traveled to Moscow, to be received by Stalin, who, for his valuable services presented him with an automobile. Nevertheless, in 1946, together with Rakosi, he took a trip to the U.S.A. and broadcast a speech from Washington, in which he proclaimed, that Hungarians are free people, living in a free country, denying thus before the whole world the subjugation of the Hungarian people by the Russians.

Later Ferenc Nagy and his colleagues the ministers became superfluous, it was their turn now to be tried by the "People's Court". One by one they took a posder to save their skins. Ferenc Nagy, who not so long before in his speech in the U.S., when talking about a free Hungary, praised the Russians, escaped overnight though Switzerland to the U.S.A. in the same car Stalin had given him as a gift. The leaders of the "Small Landowners Party" are at present in the U.S.A., where, sponsored by certain official American places, they created the so-called "Hungarian National Committees" in New York.

The lack of a clear political programme is a reproach raised against "Radio Free

Turkistan's Immortal Fight for Freedom

By Dr. M. H. Ertürk

Under the Russian Yoke

Since Russia conquered the country of Turkistan by force and robbed the Turkistanian people of their independence, there has been a continuous struggle for independence in Turkistan. By his superior military power the Russian conqueror tries to transform the Turkistanians into slaves, without any will of their own and to enforce a rapacious colonial government on their country. The systematic Russian policy of extirpation and the tenacious resistance of the Tukestanians, that in the course of history became apparent again and again in sanguinary rebellions and wars, has roused on both sides a hostility, which lasts undiminished up to this day. This explains the fact that by the Turkistanians the Russian is considered the arch-enemy, with whom there is neither peace nor reconciliation before the independence of Turkistan is restored.

The impulse for the numerous and sanguinary rebellions in Turkistan, lies not only in the brutal acts of violence of the Russian government, but principally in the deeply founded national self-reliance of the Turkistanians, which was strongly marked by a century-old national and political tradition. So the Turkistanians demonstrate again and again their love for freedom by a self-sacrificing resistance against the alien government of the Russians, a resistance, which is furthered by the knowledge that the Russians are not only undermining Turkistanian independence, but are, moreover, aiming at the destruction of the treasures of civilization, at the annihilation of the Islamic spirit and the plundering of Turkistan.

By an elementary impulse of self-preservation the Turkistanian people rose in mass-revolts against the alien government of the Russians, no less than twelve times during the Tzarist period only, that is in the years:

- 1805—14 under the leadership of Sultan Qaraty
- 1836—38 under the leadership of Isatay Tayman
- 1837—46 under the leadership of Sultan Kenasary Qazim
- 1856—57 under the leadership of Cahhan Hodsch Normammed
- 1868—69 in the district of Samarkand
- 1860—70 in the districts of Ural and Turgay
- 1874—76 under the leadership of Pulat Chan
- 1892 in the district of Taschkent
- 1889 under the leadership of Madali Eschan
- 1916 under several leaders.

In the time from 1898 to 1916 the Turkistanians accomplished, besides these mass revolts, altogether 4,922 sorties and plots against the foreign alien dominion of the Russians, which were, however, only of local character.

Turkistan Faces the Tsar

The last great rebellion against Tsarist Russia occurred in the year 1916. It originated in the refusal of frontline service in the Russian army. To carry through the order of the Russian Tsar, by which all the "foreign people in Russia" had to be mobilized as frontline workers, the male population of Turkistan was pulled by force into the barracks. Yet the erroneous belief of the Russians that the long years of a policy of russification had made the Turkistanians compliant instruments for the service of the "greater Russian brother, was profoundly disappointed. Moreover, the Turkistanians were not at all to be frightened by the force and brutality of the Russian army, which was shown them more than once. In July 1916 a mass revolt broke out in the whole country. The whole population of Turkistan, young and old, men and women and even children, went to attack with all available means, even the most primitive arms such as woo-

den sticks and stones, prepared for any sacrifice and with firm decision met Russian military forces, with their modern equipment. The balance of this legendary revolt says: 4,725 Russian corpses, 2,683 Russians missed and 9,000 houses of the Russian invaders burnt down. The exact number of the killed Turkistanians is nowhere officially stated. But it is possible to make an approximate estimate on behalf of the fact that, according to Russian statements alone 337 leaders of the rebels were condemned to death and about 168,000 Turkistanians were sent into exile to Siberia. In the Jetti-suv district not less than 205,000 Turkistanians fled for eastern Turkistan. 50 villages in the surroundings of the historical town of Samarkand and, according to an explicit order from the district governor, it was forbidden for all eternity to mention their names any more. The Kirgises in Issiqköl, in the valley of Tschu and Narin were driven from their home-country.

After the revolt of the year 1916 had been suppressed Kerensky came with a commission of inquiry to Turkistan and seeing the corpses of thousands of hanged rebels in the ruins of the destroyed historical town of Dschizzach, even he could not refrain from weeping.

Kerensky's Faithlessness and Cunning

The February revolt of 1917 did not change the fate of Turkistan. The sentence of death against the 347 leaders of the revolt in 1916 was neither annulled nor mitigated, but cruelly executed. By this the Russian "democracy" showed its chauvinistic features, that resembled exactly those of the suppressive government of the Russians. The promise of Kerensky that "Turkistan should be given its independence" was forgotten and his declaration, that "Russian democracy has no responsibility for all that happened in Turkistan" turned out to be a lie. During the seven months reign of the provisional Russian government the revolts in Turkistan continued. Kerensky, who had grown up in Turkistan, who knew the language like a native and who was said to be a great friend of the Turkistanians, gave order for new and very rigorous measures to prevent any national revolt, measures which adjusted exactly to the plan of General Kuropatkin, the sanguinary suppressor of the revolt in 1916.

Cunningly Kerensky now promised to solve the Turkistanian problem by the legislative assembly of Russia and by this he gained confidence of the larger part of the Turkistanians, who expected that a territorial autonomy with a government of its own would be established.

After the bolsheviks seized power, the Turkistanians tried to make use of the Soviet catchwords of national freedom and equal rights, and put the central government before accomplished facts. In the former Turkistan "Ge-

Europe". Well, how could those people, who have in such way cheated and deserted their country and their countrymen, indicate a political program through "Radio Free Europe"? Can those so-called exile politicians, who now play at political leadership, have credit at home or in exile, could they be trusted? Those men have badly disappointed and betrayed their people. The fact alone, that they saved their own hides is bad enough propaganda for them among their compatriots.

As manager of the Hungarian section of "Radio Free Europe" at Munich a Count Julius Dessewffy has been appointed. It is not irrelevant who the political director of such an important propaganda office is. This count is a newspaperman. He also belonged to the "Small Landowners Party" and before the war to the "Kiss Ujsag" (Little Newspaper), a daily paper he took over after the Jewish owner was evicted

and which he had to return to the same after the Russians marched in. Dessewffy was allowed to keep 500 acres of his properties, as a premium for his personal attitude towards the regime at times (1946) when 100 acres were the maximum a landowner might own! Where are the requirements, the knowledge qualifications and necessary principles for such a responsible job at "Radio Free Europe"? Gone are the times when the title "Count" itself meant a political program.

At present such men work at "Radio Free Europe". Is this the proper propaganda? Should the patriotic national idea be proclaimed among Hungarians at home and in exile by the same individuals who from 1945 to 1951 broadcast communist propaganda and who now overnight have become active collaborators of "Radio Free Europe" at Munich.

Communiqué

The Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) on the Establishment of the so-called Co-ordination Centre of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign in Munich

After a thorough study of the resolutions passed at a conference of the four Russian and five non-Russian splitter groups, (10, to 18, October, 1952, in the Regina Palast Hotel in Munich), at which the establishment of what is called a Co-ordination of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign was announced, we, the representatives of the liberation organizations of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, have to say the following:

1) We beg to call the attention of the whole free world to the danger inherent in the political principles with which certain American groups are approaching the problem of the U.S.S.R. These principles are likely to cause the hundred million non-Russian peoples to waver in their friendly attitude towards the West, which they regard as their natural allies in the struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

neral Gouvernement" as well as in the former Steppe-General Gouvernement, an autonomous government of Turkistan was proclaimed, in December 1917, which requested Petersburg to dissolve the Soviet commission in Tashkent, and to withdraw the Russian forces from there. This demand was answered by Stalin, then commissioner for the nationalities, literally by the following perfidious declaration: "If the working masses have enough power at their disposal, they shall expel the Soviet commission of Tashkent themselves".

That was the first open breach of the demagogic bolshevik promises to the "nationalities". For it was certain from the very beginning that the unarmed Turkestanians were not able to attack the heavily armed Soviet Russian military forces. The congress of the Moslems of Turkistan in the town of Kokand, decided to discuss the question of national independence of Turkistan at the planned constitutional assembly of the country the following spring, 1918. Shortly before that assembly was due to meet, the Red Russian troops opened fire on the government buildings and occupied the whole town of Kokand. Attempts were made to defend and reconquer the town, but the Soviet forces, superior in number and well armed, as they were, gained the day. Thus in February 1918, in the town of Kokand, the fight of the Turkestanian nationalists against the alien bolshevik regime and the forced dissolution of the autonomous Turkestanian government introduced that inexorable fight for freedom waged by the Turkestanian people and known in history as the "Basmachi" movement. The intention of the bolsheviks to discredit the Turkestanian fight for independence by that name (Basmachi means "robber") failed, for the name

2) We consider the political platform and structure of the Co-ordination Centre as an expression of complete misunderstanding of the actual situation in the sphere of national conditions in the Soviet Union. We therefore stand in strict political opposition to this Co-ordination Centre.

3) We call upon our peoples to look upon this Centre as a dangerous attempt of certain American groups which doubt our hard-earned right, granted us by the natural order of things, to re-establish an independent national state, or wish our peoples to give up their rights in favour of Russian imperialism, within the limits of the year 1939.

The fact alone, that the great majority of the emigrants belonging to these peoples have taken a stand against the programme of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, throws a light on the pos-

remained to become the symbol of Turkestanian heroism. For the western world, too, the name means to-day essence of national resolution for the liberation of Turkistan, a fact, that has had to be admitted even by the Soviets.

Supporters of the National Revolution

To sum-up the history of the Basmachi Movement, even concisely, as a bearer of the national fight for independence in Turkistan, it would be necessary to write whole volumes. The effect of the movement which has lasted through decades of heroic fights for freedom, may be summarized in the following five periods:

1.) 1918—1919 — The beginning of armed resistance. On the initiative of the population itself the rebellion spreads spontaneously;

2.) 1919 — Mass revolts with a distinct political aim: the independence of the country;

3.) 1923—1926 — The fighting units are suppressed by the Red Army;

4.) 1926—1937. Retreat of the fighting units and of single fighters for freedom into the steppes, woods and mountains. Single attacks on railways, munition depots and N.K.V.D. officials;

5.) 1938—1952. Underground work and organization of passive resistance.

In the period from 1940 to 1945 there were different rebellions as a protest against mobilization for the Red Army. Specially to be mentioned is the revolt, organized by Usman Batur in eastern Turkistan, the revolt in March 1951 in the trans-Caspian district and that in the Pamir Mountains, under the leadership of Rahmanqul.

The resistance of the Turkestanians against Soviet Russian policy communist party machine and the bolshevik propaganda system have never ceased.

(To be continued in the next issue)

sible effects of such a policy. The Committee only succeeded in winning over, for money, a small number of emigrants who declare themselves willing to co-operate in that programme, also the fact that the Co-ordination Centre resp. the American Committee, in spite of all efforts, has been unable to find a single Ukrainian organization which would be ready to work with it politically. The Ukrainians have the largest population among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union.

In particular we note:

a) In the political platform of the Co-ordination Centre, a new sort of right to self-determination for our peoples is demanded as the first condition of their separation from Russia, viz. by way of a general plebiscite of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly or National Assemblies of our peoples.

To that it may be stated, that our peoples, through their long uninterrupted and selfless struggle against Russian subjection have already expressed their determination, and most clearly in 1917—1918 when they founded their independent states.

It may also be mentioned that no national state in all history has ever been founded by a plebiscite. That was not the case, either with the United States, or the liberation of Ireland or Belgium, and the same may be said of the restoration of the Polish, Rumanian, Greek and the Baltic States. Recent examples are, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, the Philippines and Indonesia.

b) The platform of the above Centre claims that the whole territory of the Soviet State must be freed from bolshevism before the self-determination of our peoples can be set in motion. In that demand we detect a mental reservation, to have self-determination effected under the pressure of a strengthened, post-bolshevik Russian state. The suggestion that the self-determination should be undertaken by an all-Russian assembly points to the real motive behind it all.

c) In the structure of the Co-ordination Centre we see a tendency to give preference to the Russian people before the non-Russian.

Of the 60 seats in the council of the Co-ordination Centre, 50% are reserved for Russian organizations and 50% for the other five non-Russian peoples, which means that the Russians dispose of a 50% influence, while the single non-Russian peoples have only 10% each.

That preference does not correspond to international custom, or to the efforts of the Russians in the struggle against bolshevism. The "Co-ordination Centre" rejects the idea of equal rights among the nations, while A.B.N., by contrast, maintains that to every nation, whether great or small, the same unconditional rights should be accorded and respected, without discrimination as to race, religion or riches.

d) We should like to remind the free world that the non-Russian peoples can only become allies of the West if the right to national independence and definite separation from Russia is granted them unreservedly.

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Ten Years of Heroic U.P.A. Fighting

By M. Wernyhora, Captain of the U.P.A.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) celebrates the ten years of its existence in October this year. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), the underground government of Ukraine, has named October 14, as the festival of the U.P.A. and Ukrainian weapons, and thereby the U.P.A. and the Ukrainian people are to be associated, for all time to come, in the fight for independence. Although the liberation struggle of 1918 to 1921 led to no result, it has become a motto of the young generation who are carrying on the fight in invarious forms and with varying intensity, in spite of alien occupation.

The beginning of World War II and the subsequent occupation of almost all the Ukrainian countries by bolshevist Russia and later by Hitler Germany, gave the Ukrainian people the opportunity, by the act of June 30, 1941, — the proclamation of an independent state, — to manifest its will before the occupation authorities and the whole world. This will for a free life in a national state was so strong and so determined that it could not be broken by the terrorism of occupation, by the storms of war, or by the "logic of facts" i. e. by the mighty ones of this world, who grudged Ukraine its place in the sun.

In the autumn of 1941 small armed detachments of the O.U.N., the largest political organization, began to take action and that was "the commencement of the new form of the revolutionary liberation fight, the setting up of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army". The U.P.A. grew rapidly, people of different political views joined

up, people who realized that the plan of the U.P.A. was right, people who wanted to take an active part in the liberation of their country." (From the U.P.A. Chronicle).

The ten years of fighting were passed under incredible difficulties. "The U.P.A.



O.U.N. - Fighters nerve themselves to new action.

were faced the whole time by vastly superior numbers and technical equipment. Five years they have fought on in peace time, when the enemy is held by no war front, and all know that the U.P.A. receives no help from outside, that they are dependent

entirely on their own resources" (U.P.A. Chronicle). When one considers Soviet reality with all its peculiarities, the N.K.-V.D. with its unlimited powers, mass arrests, deportations to Siberia, collective responsibility, individual terrorization and mass terrorism, shrewd methods of provocation, the blockade of whole areas, the razing of forest villages and combing the woods etc., as well as the stricter collective system, hunger and forced evacuation of the west Ukrainian frontier area, the mobilization of the young for labour in canal construction and so-called afforestation and the floods of lying propaganda, all of which is intended to bring about a change in the psychology of our people; when one realizes all that, one may gain some idea of what the Soviet reality means under which our revolutionary underground forces have not only persevered in their lonely struggle, but have perfected their tactics and methods and even widened their sphere of activity.

And the source of strength from which they draw? The strength of the U.P.A. lies in that, that it is an army of the people, of its own people, and is fighting for its vital interests, national and social liberation and for an independent state. "The strength of the U.P.A. lies in the support it receives from the people who are fighting heart and soul with it. The strength of the U.P.A. lies in its courage, in its perseverance, in the heroism of its soldiers and commanders and in its able partisan tactics". (U.P.A. Chronicle). That alone made the unequal fight possible during the last ten years and also explains the success. General Taras Chuprynka, its Commander-In-Chief, wrote: "The successes achieved by the U.P.A. have surpassed all the ex-

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A Warning to the World

400 Years Since the Conquest of Kazan

By Ayas Ishaki Idelli, Chairman of the National Centre of the Turko-Tartars of Idel-Ural Abroad

Exactly 400 years ago, on October 15, 1552, the capital of the Turko-Tartar state Kazankhanat, the legendary town of Kazan, fell into the hands of the Russian conquerors. Russia seeking expansion to the east and south was firmly determined to make of that key position of the Turko-Tartar country a spring-board for imperialism and began a policy of ruthless denationalization and assimilation. Despotism, expropriation, deportation, forced labour eviction resp. settlement and russification were the principal features of Russian terrorization in conquered Kazankhanat. The usual means of government exercised by tsarist-Russian imperialism.

In spite of all the brutal measures that were in force, the subjected Turko-Tartars never lost their national feeling and sense of belonging together and they have carried on an unceasing struggle for liberation ever since, a struggle which has many historical dates. Their love of freedom was manifested too, in the last two world wars when the Turko-Tartar prisoners of war combined in volunteer units against tsarist and later against red Russia. During the years of the revolution 1917/18 this brave people went actively to work to organize its national and state independence. In June 1917 the autonomy of Idel-Ural was established and a few months later the independent democratic Republic of Idel Ural was proclaimed by the National Assembly (Kurultaj) of the Turko-Tartars at Ufa. There, too, the national government (milli Idara) was chosen which ruled the country until its occupation in April 1918 by red Russia. Part of that government still exists in Turkey as exile representation.

Even to-day the Turko-Tartars commemorate the fall of their capital, Kazan, — October 15, — as a day of national mourning. We have taken this occasion to ask the well-known Turko-Tartar statesman, Mr. Ayas Ishaki Idelli to let us have an article for our paper. We are publishing his article with special pleasure as, coming to-day 400 years after those events, it may be a portent to the world and instructive for many a western politician.

The author is known as a Turko-Tartar politician and writer, he was deputy in the National Assembly at Ufa and an authoritative member of the national government. He is one of those statesmen who called the Turko-Tartar state into being again in the revolutionary years. From 1928—1941 Ayas Ishaki Idelli edited the paper of the Idel-Ural emigrants "Jana milli jul". The Kurultaj (National Assembly) of the Idel-Uralians in exile



Co-founder of the U.P.A., Chairman of the 1st Congress of the U.H.V.R. and of the 1st conference of the subjugated nations. Fell in 1946.

which met before the second world war in the Far East, elected him as chairman of the National Centre. The more recent political emigrants and their liberation organization founded during the last war, "Fighters for the Independence of the Turko-Tartars of Idel-Ural" which has directed the armed resistance of 40,000 Turko-Tartars, acknowledges Ayas Ishaki Idelli's leadership, for he is working for the independence of Idel-Ural.

Historic Performance of Duty

The numerous wars between the Khanat of Kazan and the princes of Moscow arose from various causes but were fought for definite political and economic aims. By succeeding to the heritage of the Turko-Tartar state, Altyn-orda, the Khanat of Kazan was called upon to defend the way to the rich countries of Nagay, Astrakhan, Crimea and Siberia, — the populations of which were of the same nationality, — from the advance of the Russian conquerors. It was the fall of all those Khanats that made the Russian occupation of Turkistan and Caucasia possible.

The warriors of the Kazan Khanat, involved as they were in incessant fighting against attacks by the Russian armies, well knew that they were defending, not only themselves, i. e. the countries which had belonged to them for centuries, but were guards on the main Russian route to the wealth of their kin in the Orient and as such had to prove their worth. When they met the furious onslaughts of the Russians and launched desperate counter-attacks themselves, their one object was to throw the enemy back at all cost, not alone to save their mothers and fathers, wives and children from a slave's lot, but also the peoples of the same race in the other Khanats. Thus victory was a duty imposed by history and which the warriors of Kazan honourably fulfilled for 115 years until their fortress fell. In the course of that



Ayas Ishaki Idelli,
Chairman of the
National-Centre of
the Turko-Tartars
of Idel-Ural
Abroad

performance of duty the Kazan soldiers had carried out 15 victorious campaigns, though suffering terrible losses and enduring unthinkable privations.

Unequal Struggle for a Key Position

The Turko-Tartar Khanat with its mighty fortress, Kazan, dominated the valley of the Volga, thus forming a perfect position for the defence, both of the roads to the treasures of the Urals and Asia and the road from the east to the Caucasus. For that very reason the Muscovites considered every means justified that would destroy that bulwark against Russian expansion. In order to give their marauding incursions striking power, the Russian princes incited the religious feelings of their followers, starting wars of conquest as crusades against Islam. Churches and cloisters were put into the service of extravagant propaganda against the "Tartar infidels" and Russian priests exhorted the soldiers to "do their duty as Christians" and utterly destroy the Tartars. Where religious exhortation failed, Russian propaganda resorted to other "convincing arguments" and sought to arouse the poverty-stricken Russian peasants by illusory ideas of Tartar wealth in "chickens and geese", in order to make the raiding campaigns savoury.

In spite of that "psychological" preparation, however, at all encounters with the superior numbers of the Russians, the Kazan Tartars proved morally superior in their desperate fight. Although they, like the Turko-Tartars of the other Idel-Ural khanats, were a peace-loving people ready to live in concord with their Russian neighbours, they showed boundless courage and self-sacrifice when it came to defending themselves against the invaders. The men of Kazan who had only been trained for purposes of self-defence, displayed more endurance, discipline and pluck than the Russian masses put in the field against them. That may be explained by the fact that the former were fully conscious of the justice of their cause and the historic responsibility for the fate of the neighbour lands of their brothers, while the Russians were filled with a lust for gain from which they could not even free themselves on the field of battle. That is why, too, that their ranks were often broken at the first impact with the Tartars and they suffered such heavy losses, so that more than once an army fled, panic-stricken.

Although the repeated attempts made by the Kazan Khanat to get help from the

Khan of Crimea and the Turkish Sultan, against the inroads of the Russians were in vain, the Kazan Tartars kept up the unequal struggle till it reached the limit of endurance.

Russian Treachery and Intrigues

Besides the invasions of armed forces the Russians tried to achieve their plans of conquest by all manner of treacherous, crafty political manoeuvres and court intrigues, above all to break the succession of the national dynasty by having the direct successor of the Kazan Khanat dynasty, founded by Olug Muhammed, Prince Abdul-Latif, murdered. When in 1519, on the death of Muhammed Emin Khan, last heir of the dynasty, the throne was left vacant, it was offered to Prince Sahib Girey of Crimea. The new Khan was also a descendant of Olug Muhammed and was related to the Turkish Sultan, Chuis Selim, so that a connection with the ruling house of the Turkish Empire, then regarded as the first world power, was formed. Shortly after, the Sultan was acknowledged as Kahan, i. e. King of Kings, by the peoples of Kazan and, at the same time, the Mohammedans of the Khanat recognized him as the head of all Mohammedans. By these events the Khanat of Kazan seemed to be protected from further incursions from the Russians, as it was so closely connected with the Crimea and great Turkey as regard dynasty and religion.

The interruption of the dynastic line, however, and the succession of the Prince of Crimea to the throne of Kazan caused disquiet, envy and competition among the rulers of the other Khanats. Russian princes took advantage of the occasion to make trouble in Kazan and drive the Girey dynasty from the throne through a favourite of the Muscovite court, the Khan of Kasim, Sheikh Ali, an adventurer and upstart.

The Muscovites then developed great activity on the Bosphorus, where just at that critical time for Kazan, the wise statesman-like Sultan Selim died. His successor was Sultan Suleiman.

Mistakes followed by Nemesis

The new Turkish ruler made the fatal mistake of burdening himself with a useless war with Austria. Russia availed herself of the opportunity to forward her affairs with Kazan behind Turkey's back. Through the daughter of a Russian priest, who under the name of Karam Sultan and as the wife of the Turkish ruler, reigned in the palace on the Bosphorus, the Russian wire-pullers, by means of gold and intrigue, managed via Constantinople to gain influence over the Khan of Crimea, so that he should "live at peace with Russia". From that time on all the Kazan delegations who wished to lay their political and military cares before the Sultan were sent away as "mischief-makers and useless visitors".

Thus Russia succeeded in isolating the Khanat of Kazan from all friends and protectors. At that critical moment Khan Safa Girey, too, suddenly died and the throne was again vacant. The people of Kazan begged the Sultan to place a relation of the late Safa Girey, Prince Bulak-Girey on the throne, but their request was refused.

The indifference of the mighty Turkish Empire towards the Khanat of Kazan encouraged the Russian princes in Moscow, who in the meantime had declared themselves the tsars of all Russia, to stir up all

The Declaration ...

Continued from Page 2

Support the process of national liberation in the U.S.S.R. and wherever the Soviet system reigns, in order to shatter Russian imperialism from within.

Root out the fifth columns from your countries and isolate the Soviet Russian war-machine from all the sources which are still open to it, or from which supplies are still flowing surreptitiously in quantities.

Give no support to any new imperialistic initiatives started by Russian emigrants in the West, or collaborators and profiteers of a communist dictatorship, as that will only have the effect of laming the liberation movement. Give no protection to artificially constructed states where independent civilized European nations, such as Croatia, Slovakia etc. are forced to live under duress. Make an end of the domination of national minorities by alien states.

Set up, at long last, a common front with the victims of Soviet Russian imperialism on the basis, freedom for all peoples and the unconditional recognition of their future independence.

See that the anniversary of shameful bolshevik tyranny is not celebrated much longer in Moscow as a day of freedom, peace and equality of nations, as it is an insult to civilized mankind.

Freedom-loving peoples and individuals in the whole world unite in the struggle against bolshevism and for the freedom of nations and individuals!

the malcontents in the Khanat-so that when in 1551 the Russians once again approached the frontier a revolution was started by russophile elements, giving the ambitious Sheikh Ali the chance to seize the throne. Without any outside support, with no resources but their own, the Kazanians gathered their last national forces, deposed Russia's minion and called Prince Yadkar Khan of Nogay to the throne. Under his leadership Kazan prepared to offer determined resistance to the imminent Russian menace.

The Fall of the last Bastion against Russian Expansion

By 1552 the time had come. From Moscow, Tsar Ivan IV started the fifteenth war against the bastion of Kazan. Under his personal leadership an army of 200,000

Kazan will rise again as an Outpost

It is 400 years since that tragedy overtook the Turkish peoples and to-day it appears as if the unbounded imperialism of the Russians in bolshevik garb, is preparing to bring the same tragedy to the whole world.

During the past centuries no generation of the Idel-Uralians has left a stone unturned in the attempt to shake off the yoke and regain the liberty of the country. By revolts and availing themselves of momentary international complications they have succeeded in restoring Kazan's freedom at times, but it was always short-lived. The Tartars of Idel-Ural, however, never lost hope or confidence and have belied the words of Russian rulers that "there are no more Tartars, there are only Russians now" by maintaining their national sense all



After blowing up the fortress wall of Kazan, murderous Russian hordes burst into the palace garden.

(Historical picture by an Estonian painter)

men attacked the peaceful countryside of Kazan and soon the fortress, with its 30,000 brave defenders was invested.

Attack and counter-attack lasted 40 days. After having lost nearly half of their whole army, the Russian hordes poured into the town on October 2, (15.) 1552. In order to spare the peaceful population the battles had been fought by the defenders outside the town. Nevertheless the Russians wreaked their vengeance for the heroic, stubborn defence on the citizens, not even sparing women and children.

Once the fortress of Kazan had fallen the way was open to all the riches of Asia and the Caucasus. Two years later the care-free Khanat of Astrakhan was destroyed, the shores of the Caspian Sea reached and the Caucasus threatened. In 1561 the Russian army occupied the Khanat of Siberia and began to threaten Turkistan. 1773 the Khanat of Crimea was destroyed and Constantinople in danger. In 1864, having broken Dagestan's 30 year resistance, the Russians entrenched themselves in the Caucasus and menaced Turkey from still another side. Finally in 1884 they took possession of Turkistan and threatened India.

Thus the fall of the fortress of Kazan removed the last obstacle to the occupation of all the other Turko-Tartar Khanats and led to a dangerous expansion of Russian domination over Turkistan and the Caucasus, right to the frontier of Turkey itself. The neighbour Khanats, the Turkistanian and Turko-Mohammedan Caucasians who failed to aid Kazan in its distress thus, so to speak, themselves made the bed of Russian subjugation upon which they have been forced to lie.

through. Not even brutal bolshevik terrorism has been able to shake their national will and character.

To-day the Turko-Tartars of Idel-Ural dispose of their own forces, trained for every kind of state and military service and they stand ready to fulfil their duty to the nation at the first opportunity.

The Tartars will get possession of the fortress of Kazan, destroyed by the Russians 400 years ago, once again and will restore it to its old importance as a town of international trade and culture. They want to organize a peaceful, happy life in their independent state of Idel-Ural and once more serve as guards for the peace and welfare of their related peoples in Turkistan and Caucasus.

If the nations of Europe and Asia which are now menaced with subjection to the same power, desire to gain and maintain their freedom, it can only be accomplished by restoring the freedom and full independence of those first victims of Russian imperialism, among whom our Turko-Tartars peoples must be named first.

Activity of the Cossacks

The Chairman of the supreme Cossack Representation in Exile, civil engineer, Vassyl Glaskov, in September and October this year, visited Cossack organizations in Belgium, Great Britain and France. At the same time he called on branches of the A.B.N. in those places and enquired about the work there. He also conferred with different exile politicians of many peoples behind the Iron Curtain on the question of closer co-operation and the co-ordination of the liberation struggle.

Dr. D. Donzow

How to become a Dictator

My old schoolfellow, an old communist whom I have not seen for 50 years kindly disclosed to me last night the great riddle: how to become a dictator?

— All the dictators, I asked, ascend from the poor people. How do these little men suddenly become so powerful?

— The little ones, he answered, become great when the great become little.

— When the great become little?

— Yes, and then we overthrow them.

— But why was your revolution successful?

— By proceeding step by step.

— You mean?

— We made the revolution against the tsar, then against the landlords and the great bourgeois; then against the petty bourgeoisie and rich peasants, who became meanwhile the exploiters of the people, then . . .

— And when is the end of this movement?

— It is not so easy to stop. In Russia and abroad we call to our aid every kind of oppressed people: the "have-nots" against the "haves", the women against the men, the children against their parents, pupils against teachers, soldiers against officers, the bald against the shaggy, the illiterates against the educated, manual workers against the intellectuals, the idiots against the psychologically normal, the black and yellow against the white, and so forth.

— Until?

— Until the issue finally becomes a war of all against all, and then the common cry will be for a salutary dictatorship or a dictator armed with a big stick.

— The late Roosevelt spoke also of the big stick. . .

— But did not use it, and we do.

— And from where do you get this stick?

— From where?! The people itself has given it to us — sometimes by its own vote to crush down its enemies, and once in our hand, we never let it go.

— "We"? Who is that, this "We"?

— Our party, the party of the people, the defenders of the poor, its acknowledged leaders. As such, we become managers of all property of dispossessed people's enemies, endowed with all executive power of the state. We give to this regime the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the new democracy, but really. . .

— But really I don't see any difference between new and old. Your dictatorship doesn't differ from the overthrown absolutism, except in name!

— Oh, it makes a great difference. To rebaptise one thing means to deprive it of all its *odium*, to make it more appetizing for the stupid masses. The same *aqua distillata* with a different label on the bottle can heal or kill a credulous man.

Our dictatorial government is called the government of the workers and peasants, and it is no more a tyranny! Our political inquisition is called the People's Court of Justice and it is no more an inquisition! Our Empire, moulded according to old Atilla patter, we called the association of free nations! The inner order of our immense prison state we called the most democratic constitution of the world, and it is no more a prison! Our new serfdom of

*A Milestone on the Way to Byelorussia's Freedom***The Insurrection of Sluzk**

November 27, 1920

The young Byelorussian National Republic was forged from the first days of its existence in the fire of battle. The insurrection of Sluzk is written in golden letters in the history of that struggle.

In November 1920, when the Polish-bolshevist plan to divide Byelorussia became evident, preparations for an armed struggle were made. In that, the Byelorussian National Committee played the most important part, in close connection with the council and government of the Republic.

A national militia of 500 men was organized in the cause of self-defence. In order to carry on, on a wider basis, the Committee decided to call a meeting of the whole Sluzk area. It took place on November 14, 1920 in Sluzk, attended by 107 delegates from 15 districts and in the presence of *Pawel Zawrid*, authorized by the government of the Byelorussian National Republic for Sluzk.

It was a critical time and every minute precious. The Assembly hastened to finish its work on the same day. A *Council of Sluzk* (*Rada Sluchchiny*) was chosen which took over the administration of Sluzk.

The assembly passed the following resolution:

"The first Byelorussian Assembly at Sluzk welcomes the Council of the Byelorussian National Republic and declares that it will do all in its power for the building up of the country. The Assembly protests against the occupation of our country by the alien and illegal Soviet power.

Long live the free and independent Byelorussian National Republic within its ethnographic borders."

Then the preparations for an armed insurrection began. The young people followed the call of the Council and the forces grew. Very soon the first regiment of Sluzk was organized and after a few days the regiment of Hrozaw and other small military formations. They, altogether, formed the Sluzk division of ten thousand men. The peasant women of Sluzk gave each military organization a flag with the inscription "We march to die, so that our country lives". The division was commanded by Colonel *Sokal Kutylowsky* who fought in World War II in the Byelorussian formation against the bolsheviks and was after-

wards handed over by the allies to the Soviets and liquidated.

On November 26, 1920, part of the Sluzk division engaged the enemy. The battle developed along the line of the villages of Bystryzi-Charnahubowa-Dashnava. The insurgents took the little town of Zimkavichi, the bolsheviks suffering heavy losses in dead and wounded. Some of the red soldiers surrendered. Thereupon the bolshevik command put their most faithful communist detachments in against the insurgents and mass arrests and executions began among the population. In spite of the enemy's superior numbers and terrorism, the insurgents defeated the bolsheviks at the small towns of Kopyl, Zimkavich and Wyzna. Only lack of arms and munition forced the insurgents to retire to the river Lan, where they succeeded in making a few counter-attacks, but they were not able to save Byelorussia from the bolsheviks. It was an unequal fight, the insurgents were forced to leave the fields of Sluzk and cross the river Lan and were disarmed by the Polish and interned in Byelostok. Another group retired into the woods of Sluzk with their arms, organized themselves into detachments and kept up the fight for a whole year with incredible endurance.

32 years have passed since those November days when Byelorussian blood was shed for the home land by its faithful sons. The heroic example which they gave will be followed by a future generation in the fight against the enemy for an independent Byelorussian state.

Free and independent Byelorussia for which the insurgents fought and died will be the monument erected to them by their spiritual descendants, one day. A. W.

slaves we called the free cooperation of workers and our new tyrant we call — the beloved protector of all classes and nations exploited by bad western capitalists, and millions believe us! To give a new name to old things that is . . .

— But that is a terrible lie!

— Many western newspapers and politicians voluntarily repeat this lie every day. Don't forget that the persuasive force of a perpetually repeated lie is immense. *Plebs vult dacipi.*

— But if the deceived masses should, after years, realise that under the attractive label on the bottle you offer them, you are giving them a poison? Would they not make a revolution against you?

— A revolution against us, who liberated the people from execrable capitalism? It would be a counter-revolution! Besides, don't forget one thing: the people would have no possibility to make a new revolution. . .

— No possibility?

— You see, to achieve socialism the masses have to work all day and sometimes the night through. Then they must attend our meetings and theatres; the fulfilment of this duty takes all their leisure, so that they have no time to contemplate their situation or to imagine a new idea against us. And without a leading idea there can be no great political movement, no revolution. We have directed all thoughts of the masses to such a degree towards their stomachs that they think only of food and amusements — *panem et circenses* — and all that is under our control.

— And why do they still run after that promised golden future of socialism, which they can never obtain?

— Why not? They run as the dogs at greyhound races run after a false rabbit. By our promises or terror, by their stupidity or fear. You see, having made them dependent on us for their physical existence; having deprived them of their

courage, we can terrorise them; having killed in them every habit of free thinking, having deprived them of their wisdom we can easily deceive them; having made them vile, miserable, materialistic creatures without a notion of conscience and of God's commandments, having deprived them of every nobleness, we can corrupt them. What force in the world could break our power on this mob? It is true, there is in our Empire a bad resistance — movement. . . But do you support it? Have you enough courage for that?

— But there are still free peoples outside of your gigantic slave factory!

— Oh, outside. . . Outside. . . There is our 5th column. There is our 6th column of the so called "neutrals", who label as imperialism, chauvinism and reaction every attempt to prepare any mental or physical resistance against us. There are Endilots, Johnsons, Fuchs, Hiss, Rosenbergs and millions of others. There are some newspapers and films which systematically disarm the people intellectually and morally. . . There are pubs and bars full of people and there are empty churches. . .

At these words I was so furious that I cried:

— Stop this nonsense! With our freely elected leaders we will not let you terrorize or deceive us!

But while I was speaking so, I noticed my friend gradually becoming red as Walt Disney's Donald Duck when the devil invaded his soul and brain, and he began to shake with laughter. This laughter became as deep as the laughter of Mephistopheles in Gounod's "Faust" and awoke me from my terrible dream. . .

In the streets, in the new magazines I saw the happy laughing faces of lucky people, and their leaders. The picture theatres were full of a smiling crowd. Apparently the international situation was not so bad as it seemed to me after my conversation with the red ghost.

The Echo of a Political Myopia

Continued from Page 3

their broadcasts with the words "Death to Fascism, Freedom for the People!" and are thus in this point still in harmony with Moscow.

The threat concerns the whole western world, wherever the communists succeed in putting up the sign "fascists". The ladder up which the Soviet propaganda has been able to climb so high, was supported for a long time by short-sighted western politicians.

Gradually, it is true, realization dawned, but even now not too clearly. The effects of that political myopia, trouble the consciences and convolutions of many a member of the different committees, diplomatic chancelleries and intelligence services which are still making microscopic investigations concerning emigrants in the west, in order to detect that poisonous germ "fascism".

The importance ascribed to the national idea in our times and the driving power within it, was made manifest once again, paradoxically, by Stalin, at the last bolshevik congress in Moscow when he tried to pose as the protector of the "national sovereignty" of the peoples.

That may be a lesson to the world and it is to be hoped that the western democracies will take note in time that the hour has come to revise their attitude and no longer fail to realize the role the national idea plays in the struggle against bolshevism, otherwise Stalin may seize the trump card in this historical conflict.

The Tragic Fate of Rumania

A Noteworthy Lecture by General Ion Gheorghe

Ion Gheorge, a well-known Rumanian general and a member of the Rumanian National Representation in exile, gave a striking report to the Stuttgart Society for East European Problems dealing with the past and present situation of his oppressed native land. The extract published here gives a survey of present conditions in Rumania. (Ed.)

The Rumanian people is a victim of the geographical situation and the strategic importance of its country. At present the Soviets aim at turning Rumania into a huge arsenal. As the Rumanians were probably fully aware of Soviet intentions, they fought on the side of Germany in the last war, not as a result of German pressure, but by their own free will and because it was to their own interest to do so.

The issue of the Battle of Stalingrad and the subsequent retreat of German and allied troops had repercussions on the internal situation in Rumania. Representatives of the parties in opposition to the government tried to extricate Rumania from the war, and, as they put it, to lead the country back into the camp of the Big Democracies. But the Soviet Union was then in that camp and democratic politicians in Rumania knew all too well what that meant, which did not make their decision any the easier...

As early as spring 1943 the leaders of the parties in opposition — particularly Julius Maniu, chief of the Peasants' Party — had put out feelers through Prince Barbu Stirby and Constantin Visoianu and with the support of King Michael to the Western Powers in Cairo. Their demand that the Western Powers should guarantee the independence and integrity of Rumania as a condition of laying down arms was refused. Nor were the Rumanians able to convince the Western Powers of the danger of allowing the Soviets to be sole and supreme rulers of South Eastern Europe. Soviet resistance to the Western Powers exercising any influence at all in that area threatened to be so strong that the Western representatives finally supported Moscow's demands; they even persuaded the Rumanian spokesmen to drop their fears and to end hostilities immediately. Rumania then capitulated on August 23, 1944. The entire country being occupied by Soviet troops, an armistice was signed in Moscow, the severity of whose conditions far exceeded anything that had been discussed in Cairo. The Soviets had thus secured all they wanted, and very cheaply. Even at that time there was no repairing the damage done by the short-sighted policy of the West and the thoughtlessness of Rumania's representatives.

After the Potsdam Treaty was signed, the Soviet dropped all pretences. Vychinsky arrived in Bukharest, curtailed the powers of the King, who was still under the illusion that he could exercise his constitutional rights, dismissed the comparatively democratic government and installed a purely communist regime under Petru Groza.

After the King had been forced to abdicate and a communist dictatorship had

been introduced, a vigorous purge, which did not even stop at the democratic politicians who had signed the armistice in Moscow, nor at all leaders of business, journalism and cultural life, Church and Army...

The Soviets are systematically trying to give the Rumanian people a Russian coat of paint as quickly as possible. The mastery of the Russian language is essential to any advance in life; Russian is constantly gaining ground in the Army, the schools and in offices. The fact that the Rumanian people and their language are Latin in origin is considered a crime, and they are made to suffer for it...

The masses in Rumania have lost all interest in life. The resistance in the mountains and the forests, which began so hopefully, is to a great extent paralyzed, and all hope of help from the West or elsewhere has vanished. The Soviets de-

Press-Conference of the A.B.N.

35 Years of Bolshevik Tyranny Enslavement, Genocide, Concentration Camps and Forced Labour

Under the above motto, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) called a press conference on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the October Revolution, on November 6, at 4 p. m. in the rooms of Café Deutsches Theater, Munich.

The conference was attended by more than 50 representatives of the press agencies and newspapers of Germany and other countries, as well as the emigrant press, and presided over by Prof. Wilhelm von Szepesvaralyay-Haendel, representative of the Hungarian National Delegation. After his short introductory speech, the A.B.N. declaration, given below, was read by the secretary general of the Central Committee, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny. The declaration pilloried bolshevik tyranny and at the same time contained a warning to the western world of the new deception as practised by the bolshevik despots at the recent Moscow party conference.

The following representatives of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. were present at the press conference: President Yaroslav Stetzko, former premier of free Ukraine, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, secretary general, and vice-president of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Tursunbay Dehkanbay, representative of the National Turk-estanian Unity Committee, Prof. Wilhelm von Szepesvaralyay-Haendel, representative of the Hungarian Liberty Movement, Prof. Rudolf Wierer, vice-president of the Czech Democratic Federalists, Major General Hinko Alabanda, vice-president of the Military Commission, as representative of the Croatian army, V. Glaskov, Chairman of the Supreme Cossack Representation in Exile, Kyrill Kamenoff, member of the National Bulgarian Delegation, J. Gytis, editor, leader of the Lithuanian Regeneration Movement, Sergei Hokh, member of the executive of the Byelorussian National Committee, Dr. Stjepan Buc, secretary general of the Croatian National Committee.

liberately keep the standard of living of the people as low as possible so as to kill their interest in politics and make them forget the past...

In the meantime the bolshevization of Rumania has made huge strides, for which the complete indifference of the West is much to blame. And still the despots in the Kremlin are not content. There are still many headaches for the regime. The peasants, whether collectivized or not, are a constant thorn in the flesh. Memories of Western culture surviving in various classes give the secret service some trouble...

Although the annual production of oil is still over 5 million tons, oil for lighting purposes is still exorbitant. Bread is still strictly rationed in an agrarian country like Rumania. The low standard of living is leading to the complete proletarianization of all classes... Increased production is not intended to raise the standard of living, but to satisfy the requirements of Soviet economy...

Rumanian youth is being systematically influenced in schools and Rumanian youth organizations, though they by no means turn out convinced and enthusiastic communists. And still that influence is the most dangerous feature of the bolshevization of Rumania...

The peasantry are more or less passive. It might be more serious for the regime if the interference with church life goes deeper, for in that respect the Rumanian peasants are most sensitive.

That is why the regime takes care to leave externals of ritual apparently unchanged. Dignitaries of the Rumanian Orthodox Church have long since been sent to prison on all sorts of pretexts... Some of the clergy have yielded for the sake of their positions, but there were many others who have gone to prison, and even to death, for the sake of their faith. The clergy of the Greek-Catholic Church, the Uniates, have been particularly courageous...

The Rumanian peasants being suspicious by nature are more or less immune to propaganda... Although workers get favoured rations, there is a great deal of discontent, in consequence of increased targets...

The regime is particularly concerned about the army. In spite of purges it has not become the willing tool the Kremlin desires... The period of conscription is not long enough to win the sympathy of peasant recruits. The decision not to use the army at the front in case of war, but only as an occupation force in the rear, shows how much the Soviet command relies on it. The most reliable instrument of state, on the other hand, is what is known as the People's Police, a troop composed of tried communists, and the real support of the regime. It is better equipped, fed and paid than the army...

The People's Police regard former non-communists, whose leaders have long since been imprisoned, as possible cells of resistance. The same may be said of the officers who were dismissed in the course of army purges. Nor do the Soviets trust the minor clergy or the former intellectual classes. Even the opportunists among them are not sure of their position or their future. By degrees all former intellectuals are being replaced, by those who are trained communists. This process is advancing slowly but surely...

A Myth that has Vanished

(Continuation of the lecture held by Mr. Michael Balsamoff before the Stuttgart Society for the Study of East European Questions, on "The Bulgarians and their Liberators" of No. 9/10 of "A.B.N.-Correspondence".)

II

After the experiences they have had, the Bulgarians have become immune to all pan-slavic slogans. But in Europe, the public continued to cling to the alleged "liberation myth" in connection with Bulgaria, which made the Bulgarian people in the eyes of their diplomatic chancelleries appear as ready and willing victims of Russian expansion in the Balkans, although by their steadfast attitude after the liberation they had given convincing proof of the contrary.

It was this myth which was at bottom to blame for the mutilation of the country by the Great Powers at the Berlin Congress and which sealed its fate for some time to come, so that Bulgaria was never destined to achieve its full liberation and unity.

An episode that occurred in World War I is a striking example of how far from any sentimental pan-slavic attraction the Bulgarian people were. Assuming that the Bulgarian soldiers would not fight against the army of their Russian liberators, strong Russian elite troops were sent to Dobruja in 1916 to clear the way to Bulgaria for the Rumanian troops. General Koleff's cavalry regiments went against the Russian invaders with such determination that they were completely defeated and fled across the Danube.

Moscow, too, took up the pan-slavic idea again later, to disguise imperialist intentions and presented itself in the second world war in the guise of a "double liberator", for as tsarist Russia had freed Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke, the bolsheviks then maintained that they were freeing Bulgaria from Hitler's slavery and a fascist regime. All the while Moscow took up an attitude towards Bulgaria that beat everything for perfidy.

In September 1944 Stalin declared war on Bulgaria and, in spite of Bulgaria's strict neutrality towards Russia, marched the Red Army into the country at a time when the German troops there had not only been disarmed but had left Bulgaria to the last man. At that moment too, Bulgaria was negotiating a truce with the Western Allies and the latter were only waiting for Stalin's agreement for it to take effect, which meant that Bulgaria would be out of the war and then Moscow would have no excuse to march in. To make matters worse Russia's declaration of war came on the same day that Bulgaria declared war on Germany, so that according to international law it was a belligerent power with the others. London and Washington only heard of that arbitrary and perfidious act through the Moscow radio...

The reason for that highly extraordinary behaviour by the Soviet Union, wanting at all cost to occupy Bulgaria, is not far to seek. Moscow had no illusions as to the attitude of the Bulgarian people who had already cold-shouldered repeated all-Russian annexation aspirations. It was well-known that the tiny communist party of Bulgaria and its accomplices in the "Fatherland Front" would never be able to seize

power alone. A fact that is moreover confirmed by Bulgaria's new masters, who never lose an opportunity to declare that without the presence and support of the Red Army, the revolution of September 4, 1944 and the establishment of a communist regime would have been unthinkable.

The whole development in Bulgaria since the present regime was forced upon the people against their will and which is only upheld by mass murder and continuous terrorism, is an undoubted proof that our Soviet-Russian "twofold liberators" were only able to introduce their regime with the help of the steam-roller of the Red Army. This fact alone is an historical justification for the attitude of the Bulgarians and an eloquent proof of their stubborn resistance against their undesirable and hated "liberators". That is why, when they are compelled by militia terrorism to celebrate the 9th of September as day of "liberation", they feel in their hearts that it is mockery and provocation.

In conclusion a quotation which does credit to its author for its truth and insight:

"When Russia supported the frontiers laid down in the preliminary peace of St.

Stefano it was not, by any means, with the idea of creating a strong Bulgarian state, but in order to lay hands on the new Balkan land and get nearer to the straits. Russia was, and still is, decidedly an enemy of an independent Bulgaria, for it would then be the greatest obstacle to Russia's plan of conquering the Balkan peninsula".

These words are from no other than the father of Bulgarian communism the notorious Georgi Dimitroff, who half a century ago wrote them to the paper of the Bulgarian Workers Party "Rabotnicheski Vestnik" (Worker Courier), February 9, 1905, as warning of tsarist intentions. It is an irony of fate that this same Georgi Dimitroff, fifty years later, as head of the communist government in Bulgaria helped with his own hands to build the bridge to Bulgaria for Russia's aspirations, cloaked in the idea of a "proletarian world revolution". When he awoke from his delusion and realized his role as grave-digger of his own country it was too late. His attempt to follow Tito's example landed him in Moscow to "recover his health" and ended in his premature departure to another world.

Thus ended the dream of the last Bulgarian illusionist who tried to spin out the liberation myth of bolshevist brand.

(Abridged extract.)

Side-Lights

Overlooked by the Press of the World

On the occasion of the recent party congress of the bolshevist party in Moscow, western newspapers published various reports and commentaries and many an "expert on Russian affairs" expressed an opinion. But one fact was overlooked by the press of the western world which for those able to read between the lines of Russian bolshevik newspapers speaks volumes.

Three weeks before the congress met, the columns of the Soviet papers were filled with reports on party rallies in the different Republics and areas of the U.S.S.R. Although these reports were most carefully prepared, the true state of affairs might be discovered between the lines. A short summary of which will be of interest.

At all the party rallies in the national Soviet Republics and in the areas of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) there was much discussion of the *intensified bureaucracy*.

At every rally in the national Soviet Republics and in the different areas of the R.S.F.S.R. the fact was made clear that the co-operation between party management on one side and party members and citizens on the other was *bad* and getting steadily worse.

At nearly all the non-Russian Soviet Republic rallies "*nationalist deviations and lapses*" were censured and condemned. It was also ascertained that delicts were to be found among party members and even functionaries.

The speeches and resolutions all showed that in the Soviet Union the main stress is laid upon industry resp. the intensification of armament production which is being driven at high pressure.

The latter fact is a clear sign that the Kremlin, while on one side seeking to allay the fears of the West by stating that there is no war threat from the Soviet Union, is aiming at becoming economically independent and strong enough to overrun and defeat the West, should occasion arise.

That the question of "national delicts" was only treated at the congresses in the non-Russian republics and areas in the Union and not discussed at all in the Russian area is a clear indication of the continued resistance put up by all non-Russian peoples against the Kremlin's russification policy. Convincing proof of that fact is to be found in the following quotations from the Moscow Pravda:

"The party organizations in Uzbekistan (Turkistan) are to carry on an inexorable fight against any sign of bourgeois nationalism and bring to light the reactionary spirit of pan-Turkism" (Pravda 28. 9. 52).

"Literary criticism (in Georgia — Ed.) has paid too little attention to ideological distortions and neglected to work against relapses into bourgeois nationalism". (Pravda 20. 9. 52).

"The dilatory ideological work (in Ukraine — Ed.) has not been made up for... In literature and art serious ideological distortions have not yet been expurgated." (Pravda 29. 9. 52).

More attention should be given to such notices than has hitherto been the case. In times of intense preparation for war, Moscow has always had a sharper eye for internal tension and differences, and tightened the reins on the subjugated peoples. This statement may well be one of the most important accompanying circumstances of the last Moscow party rally. L. W. K.

Resistance still Active

Swedish newspapers have said that there are no more partisans in Lithuania. We know, however, that the struggle against the bolshevik hordes in Lithuania is still going on. The Lithuanians are a people with an old, state, religious and folk tradition. They always resisted the tsarist yoke and now, since World War II, they are struggling against bolshevik occupation. The Lithuanian underground movement is at work as before.

One member of the resistance movement writes from his own experience that, "the young people that General P. Plechavicius gathered around him have remained in occupied Lithuania and built up an active underground movement. Many of them have fallen in the conflicts with the N.K.V.D., but their places have been taken by new partisans. When there are deportations and compulsory conscription, many men and even women disappear into the woods. As long as the cruel bolshevik tyranny remains the underground fight will continue."

Further he writes, "It may seem unbelievable that after so many long, hopeless years there are partisans in the woods. The saying 'When it becomes unbearable we shall run to the partisans' has become proverbial. 'If we fall in the fight', the Lithuanians say, 'we shall know that we have not lived in vain'. There is another Lithuanian proverb 'The Kremlin will not perish through us, but Stalin, at least, shall learn to fear us.'"

No one knows the whereabouts of these partisan heroes, but every Russian knows to his cost that there are partisans in Lithuania. It is true the tactics have been changed, but the fight goes on against bolshevism and russification and will continue until Lithuania has risen again as an independent, national state.

"No one films this cruel, heroic fight", the underground combatant writes, "no one glorifies it or pays for it, when a soldier falls, he has just vanished for good". Only the comrades-in-arms, the Ukrainian, Latvian, Estonian, Cossack, and Caucasian partisans know and understand for what their Lithuanian brother fights and dies.

That is but small comfort. What the subjugated peoples and their fighters need is real help from the western world and not merely platonic words. J. Cytis

Ukrainian Monarchists for A.B.N.

There was a congress of Ukrainian Monarchist (Hetman) Organization in America (U.H.O. A) from August 30, to September 9, 1952, in Detroit.

In the resolutions passed at the congress we read:

"The Congress of the Ukrainian Monarchist Organization (U.H.O.—A) is in agreement with the peoples subjugated by Moscow, that the dissolution of the imperium of the U.S.S.R. in independent national states is in the interest of all the free peoples in the West and of a real conclusion of peace in the world."

The congress entirely approves of close collaboration with the peoples subjected by Moscow whose representatives are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). In view of the liberation of these peoples from the Muscovite-Soviet yoke, the Ukrainian Monarchist Organization (U.H.O.A) asks for still closer co-operation with the A.B.N."

Byelorussians Against Imperialists

Announcement by the Byelorussian National Centre

It was mentioned in the press of late, that at the discussions at Wiesbaden and Starnberg (Bavaria), representatives of the Byelorussians also took part. In that connection the foreign section of the Byelorussian National Centre (B.N.C.), as the political representative of Byelorussians in exile, finds it necessary to announce that the participation of single Byelorussians at those discussions was a private affair, having nothing to do with the national liberation movement.

No authorization was issued by the foreign section of the B.N.C. to any Byelorussian liberation organization whatever to take part in the so-called American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia action, and for the following reasons:

Having studied the activities of the A.C.L.P.R. which is trying in the S.O.N.R. to establish a common front of peoples in the Soviet Union against the present state and political system, as represented by Moscow, i. e. bolshevism, the Foreign Section of the B.N.C. came to the conclusion that the participation of Byelorussian political exiles in that front was not permissible, for it would run contrary to the interests of the Byelorussian people.

Neither the A.C.L.P.R. nor any of the Russian exile groups in the so-called S.O.N.R. recognize the right of the Byelorussian and other peoples under Moscow's bolshevik occupation, to national freedom and the re-establishment of their state independence, from which it may be concluded that the said organization's plans for the "maintenance of a united and in-

divisible "Russia will be followed after the liquidation of Moscow's present state-political system.

By their unceasing struggle for freedom against the former tsarist regime the Byelorussians realized their right to self-determination at last, on March 24, 1918, with the proclamation of state independence.

Moscow's hand was forced by the persistent opposition to Russian bolshevism, to recognize, at least formally, the Byelorussian people's right to state independence, and created a Byelorussian Soviet Republic with the right even of seceding from the U.S.S.R. Later the right to be a member of the United Nations was granted too.

Acceptance of the new basis set up by the S.O.N.R. would be a fatal mistake which would throw the cause of Byelorussian liberation far back. It would be treason against the best sons of the people who are waging a desperate fight at home for liberty, under the cruel conditions of an alien dictatorship.

Considering what has been said above, the Foreign Section of the B.N.C., as sole political representative of the Byelorussians in exile, is against Byelorussian organizations joining any such international institution, as long as, in practice, the democratic rights of our peoples to an independent state existence is not acknowledged, much as it approves of the idea of a common front.

*Presidium of the Foreign Section
of the Byelorussian National Centre.*

In Exile, September 28, 1952.

Ten Years of Heroic U.P.A. Fighting

Continued from Page 7

pectations of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the Ukrainian people, and they have achieved success under conditions until now unknown in the history of mankind."

What were these successes, it may be asked? They are of the most various character. With regard to the population: under the protection of the U.P.A. the male population were able, to a large extent, to escape extermination on the imperialist fronts in 1944/45. The U.P.A. paralysed deportations for forced labour and the herding up of young people for work in the factories, also prevented forced collectivization. Furthermore it frustrated the organized famine with which Moscow hoped to break Ukrainian resistance, spring 1946. Then too, the U.P.A. by their fight, put a check on the activities of the terrorist machine of N.K.V.D. and thus weakened the pressure of the occupation on the population.

Detachments of the U.P.A. have often penetrated into enemy country, punished high occupation officials such as Generals Vatutin, Swierczewski, Moskalenko and others, harassed the enemy by ambushes and attacks, and prevented the realization of his plans for the destruction of the Ukrainian people.

Political action has been, to make extensive expeditions through the home country and outside with the watchwords of freedom on their flags; they have rallied other

peoples to fight against the enemy and founded a common front of peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Among the Ukrainians themselves the U.P.A. has brought life into liberation idea and made it more dynamic and gathered the broad masses around it. To-day The U.P.A. is known in the remotest parts of the Soviet Union. Influenced by this struggle there has been a great change wrought in the character and mentality of the people. The omnipotence of the N.K.V.D. and terrorism has been broken. The deviations, so much discussed and written about in Ukraine, may be attributed in no small measure to the influence of the U.P.A. fight and the idea of liberation. There is much behind the words of Moscow's governor in Ukraine, L. G. Melnikov, secretary-general of the communist party, at the recent congress of the party in Moscow, that "serious ideological shortcomings exist among the Ukrainian workers and peasants in Ukraine". His words show that the Ukrainian liberation movement enjoys the confidence and sympathy of the people. In battle new cadres of the liberation revolution arise and are trained underground. All that, places the cause of liberation on a firm basis and creates the conditions for a final victory.

From the tactic of large U.P.A. detachments making extensive expeditions, as in the years 1944/45, by which attention was aroused in the liberation movement every-

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"Peace Preparations" in East Asia

It is not certain yet whether the fresh activity of the communist forces in Korea and the offensive of the Vietminh partisans in Indo-China have any connection with the Peking peace conference which, after an unexpected postponement, began October 2, and lasted almost two weeks. Similar conferences in the past have always led to immediate communist action on a large scale, as for instance "The Congress of Youth" in Calcutta 1948 which was the starting point of the insurrection in Malaya and prepared revolutionary activity in other south-eastern Asiatic countries.

The connection between the Peking conference and the Moscow party rally is perfectly evident. If there is any spot where the Kremlin's "planned" disintegration of the western world's defence has hope of success, it is south-east Asia, where there are headaches enough.

It was definitely not by chance that the "Congress of Defenders of Peace in the Countries of Asia and the Pacific", was originally arranged for September. It was the first anniversary of the signing of the Japanese peace treaty, by which the strategic belt of defence against communist expansion in south-east Asia was considerably strengthened. One aim of the conference, and probably the most important one, was to break through it by a combination of politically subversive and military action. Its initiators therefore recommended a spreading and strengthening of the peace movement in Asiatic and Pacific countries and stormed against the American intention "to restore Japan's militarism" and turn it later to account against the "national liberation movement" rising among the peoples of Asia.

At least as important, however, was the demand expressed in the resolution passed by the congress, for the promotion and raising of imports and exports and the restoration of peaceful economic and trade connections in Asia. But Soviet advance in that sphere, especially at the Economic World Conference in Moscow, showed that the states in the communist block were only interested in getting strategic goods from the western hemisphere. Apparently the imposing production statistics of the U.S.S.R. cannot conceal the existing bottle-

where in the Soviet Union, the leaders have gone over to the tactics of deepening and strengthening the idea of liberation in all spheres of life in Ukraine and other countries where subjugation prevails. The Ukrainian liberation movement is now concentrating on the following aims:

- 1) The support of an organization in Ukraine which will propagate the revolutionary idea among the people and prepare the necessary cadres for the building up of the state.

- 2) To carry on the fight in all those forms which will serve for the final struggle, not only among the revolutionary cadres but also among the broad masses, and be a guarantee of efficiency.

The fact that the U.P.A. have carried on successfully amidst Soviet conditions for ten years and have won the unreserved sympathy of the people makes us certain the aim we strive for will be reached and become reality. A people which has raised such a heroic army as the U.P.A. is worthy of its national freedom in its own state, and will attain it sooner or later.

neck in economy. For "an exchange of peace goods" there was no enthusiasm, as the illusionists who had gone to Moscow with such high hopes for western economy discovered to their sorrow. The attempt now made to put the "peace organization" at the service of economy is not new, and the worn-out, ever-repeated tactics show how seriously the communist block can be hit by its isolation.

P. S.

Prof. Durcansky in Munich

The ex-foreign minister of the Independent Slovak Republic and present president of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, has been on a political journey through several European countries in the last few months. He was in Switzerland, and Austria, Paris and Rome, arrived in Germany, the beginning of November, to continue his work here for the liberation of Slovakia and the restoration of the Slovak Republic. Wherever he goes Prof. Durcansky has political discussions, negotiations and press conferences and visits the different centres of the Slovak emigrants.

Prof. Durcansky is the most active and popular Slovakian politician alive. He was the first foreign minister of the Slovak Republic. After the war he was condemned to death in absentia with the President Dr. Josef Tiso in a staged trial.

A Moral Vacuum that will bring its Revenge...

From an article sent us by one of our contributors, Mrs. Aino Torn, we take the following noteworthy remarks.—Ed.

... In one breath the man behind the Iron Curtain hears of civil rights and the restriction of those rights to which millions are to be sacrificed, he hears of the exploitation of peoples by Stalinism and the retention of economically favourable conceptions of great territories, cherished in the past, to which three-fifths of the population of the Soviet is again to be exposed. The Atlantic Charter says, it is true, that every nation has the right to freedom and self-determination, but the non-Russians in the Soviet Union who would any day prefer death to life in "free" Russia, is to be deprived of that right. There is talk of "the same right to freedom that is given by God to every individual", but the non-Russians are to give up their right in favour of a Muscovite people who have always remained alien to them and of whom they know from long, practical experience that there is no living with them, while in the course of time even good neighbourly relations might be developed with free peoples.

The moral right to decide whether non-Russians are to, or can, live with Russians is no concern of those who have themselves no experience of what it means and who seek to reserve decisions long ago made. They will succeed with their ideas of great territories and favourable economic conditions just as little as in restoring the better based economic right of Alexander the Great, or Emperor Akbar. Anyone believing he must cling to long vanished melodies is going along a way plastered with purely materialistic principles, to dialectic dissension, leading to a moral vacuum and it is a question what will remain to set against bolshevist ideology.

Lithuanian World Association First London Conference

The middle of September, this year, the first conference of leaders of the Lithuanian communities in European countries took place in London. The following resolutions were passed:

The most important task for exile Lithuanians is to combat communism. It is therefore resolved to intensify this struggle, to enlighten the world on the subject, and to fight for the liberation of the home country from the communist yoke, also to co-ordinate, with due regard to conditions in different countries.

In particular it is resolved:

- 1) To make use of the labels issued by the Lithuanian Martyrological Department in U.S.A. to stick on envelopes etc. and to collect subscriptions. The funds thus collected to be used in the fight against genocide.
- 2) To take the Genocide Exhibition which was organized in U.S.A. to Europe. The technical arrangements for the transfer being entrusted to the Lithuanian Central Committee in Germany.
- 3) To collect reports made by German returnees from the Soviet Union and publish them in book form. That work, too, to be carried out by the Central Committee in Germany.

On the question of collaboration, the conviction prevails that political frontiers should in no way hinder the co-operation of Lithuanian communities in the different countries.

It is therefore resolved that the Lithuanian magazine appearing in London is to become the official paper of the Lithuanian communities in Europe.

Lithuanian publishers to be centralized in their work and aims, the publication and sale of books.

This first conference to be followed by one in Germany in July 1953. Until then the Central Committee in Germany to be given the duties of a European secretariat of the Lithuanian Communities.

Ukrainian Youth Demonstrate before the U.N. Palace

On November 8, 1952, the 35th anniversary of the October revolution the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) arranged a great demonstration in front of the U.N. palace, the object of which was a protest against the russification and bolshevik terrorism in Ukraine. At 9 a. m. more than a hundred members of the S.U.M. appeared there carrying banners with inscriptions such as: "End the russification of Ukraine", "Put a stop to the physical extermination of the Ukrainian people", "Russian communism is a new form of the traditional Russian imperialism", "20 million Ukrainians have been done away with by red Moscow".

Moreover, members of the S.U.M. distributed a great number of leaflets that day. Entering the hall of the palace they handed their leaflets to delegates, observers and journalists.

In addition booklets were sent to all U.N. delegates entitled "The Crime of Moscow in Vynnytsia", to inform them of the atrocities committed by bolsheviks in Ukraine. That manifestation proved a great success for Ukrainian youth in their campaign against Russian bolshevism and imperialism.

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

PARTISAN ACTIVITY

Vienna (d. a.). Reports from Turkey speak of strong anti-communist activity among the Bulgarian partisans and especially in the almost inaccessible Rhodope Mountains. In small groups, mostly deserters from the army in full uniform and equipped with modern weapons, they keep the communists in the nearby villages in a constant state of alarm. A number of cases have been reported when communist commissaires and local functionaries have been condemned by martial law and executed.

COSSACKIA

BOYCOTT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The regional congress of the communist party in Cossackia which was held before the XIX Party Congress, showed, according to party papers, that only 1.6% of the population was in the communist party. Of these only 14.5% were working in villages the rest was made up of party big-wigs and functionaries, usually from elsewhere. The women form only 9.1%.

Thus one sees that the Cossack population does not join the communist party and sees in it the instrument of alien domination and terrorism.

GEORGIA

SHORTCOMINGS AND RECRIMINATIONS

The Moscow *Pravda*, November 11, 1952, reports that at the municipal communist party conference at Tbilissi, the capital of the Georgian S.S.R., the municipal secretaries of the party, *Zedginidse*, *Dshibladse* and *Laschkaraschvili* were sharply criticized for not having given enough attention to backward works, in consequence the machine repair shops "Zentralist" and some other plants had not fulfilled the plan. "The municipal party committee of the Association of Soviet Writers, Artists and Composers had not been able to make an end of fawning, in its criticism and self-criticism".

Also that the committee "had not taken sufficient pains with the Marxist-Lenin preparation of the scientific cadres".

EASTERN GERMANY

CLASHES BETWEEN PEOPLES POLICE AND WISMUT WORKERS

There were more clashes between People's Police and workers of the Soviet Wismut Co. in the middle of October at Saalfeld. A squad of police was beaten up by some 200 workmen when they were about to arrest drunken colliers for rowdiness. Cursed as "Russian slaves" and "murders of workers" the squad was disarmed. The excited mob was only dispersed when re-

inforcements came on the scene and rescued the policemen, several of whom were wounded. A number of the Wismut people were taken off to an unknown destination in police cars.

LITHUANIA

DENATIONALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

The "purge" of the communist party in Lithuania still continues. A number of functionaries, heads of collective farms and managers have been discharged. Yet the Moscow *Pravda* still continues to criticize the communist leaders in Lithuania for "neglect of their duty". Lithuanian experts are being invited to place their knowledge and experience at the disposal of remote provinces in Soviet Russia and to leave Lithuania.

Several Lithuanians and other Balts have been forced to sign three-year contracts for those parts. In most cases the Balts are sent off to the Lake of Baikal, where they are treated as deportees. Not a few of these "volunteers" are being drawn upon for the construction of the railway at the White Sea. Their posts at home are then taken by Russians who are turning out to be drunkards and rowdies. The whole point is to deprive the land of its own native population and thus clear the way for complete russification.

UKRAINE

PETLURA AND BANDERA — A SYMBOL

In the speech he held at the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Alexander Korniychuk, promised, in the name of the Association of Writers, Composers and Artists of Ukraine, "to wage an implacable campaign against the slightest sign of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism".

"... The Ukrainian people cannot ignore the criminal behaviour of the American government in giving 100 million dollars to organize espionage and diversions by bandits and monsters, among whom are the thrice cursed enemies of the people, the undefeated remnants of Petlura's and Bandera's band..."

The Ukrainian people has not forgotten the conference at Yassy when representatives of England, America and France met, and at which a Petlura minister took part, America's giving the Petlura bandits an 11 million dollar credit and supplying weapons and ammunition for it.

We do not know how many of those 100 million dollars, voted for seditious activity against the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Republics, were handed over by Truman to the Petlura banditti...

There cannot be a doubt but that those servants of Truman's, the Petlura-Bandera bandits and criminals will be hunted by the Ukrainian people like mad dogs".

(*Pravda*, Oct. 11, 1952.)

AGAINST NATIONALISM...

The Moscow *Pravda* reports September 3, 1952, that a municipal conference of the C.P. (b) U. took place in Kyiv, "at which great attention was given to the ideological work. A year ago the central press (Moscow press — Ed.) discovered important errors and distortions of a bourgeois-nationalist character in the work of a number of the different organizations in Ukraine..."

There are many gaps in the activities of the party organization for the Writers Association. The party organization is not sufficiently active in promulgating fundamental criticism and self-criticism among writers. There are many flaws in the work of the theatre, opera and ballet. In the last, the repertoire of the Russian classic ballet has been ignored until quite recently.

A return to bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism is to be noticed in the work of the Literary Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. Those responsible for the publication of the second volume of works by *Vasyl Stefanyk*, *Mrs. Hrudnytsky*, *Kryzhanovsky*, *Kurylenko* and *O. Biletsky* smuggled material in, in which the names of great enemies of the Ukrainian people, bourgeois nationalists are mentioned...

Re-organization of the Voice of America

Since October 23, 1952, the Ukrainian Department of the Voice of America, which until then had been a part of the Section of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., under the direction of O. Barmin, has been included in East European Section.

After the re-organization there are now the following sections in the Voice of America:

- 1) The former section of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R. has been divided into two parts:
 - a) the Russian department under O. Barmin,
 - b) the Turko-Tartar, Caucasian and other departments of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., except the Ukrainian, under the direction of I. Oreania.
- 2) Baltic Section, — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.
- 3) West European Section.
- 4) East European Section, — Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and Ukraine, under the direction of J. Armittedj.

Prayer for the Home Country

Wherever Catholic Lithuanians live in the free world, priests and congregations close Divine Service with the following prayer.

"... Lord send Thy blessing upon us who were forced to leave our home. Give us strength to bear the heavy lot of the homeless in a strange land. Grant that each one of us may remain true to our country and that when we return to it one day we may carry with us a new spirit of resurrection.

Assist, Oh Lord, with Thy fatherly love and protection our brothers and sisters who have remained behind, strengthen, for Thy Name's sake, those who are suffering torture for the freedom of their people. Comfort the mourners and the sorrowing and grant those, Oh Lord, who have fallen on the field of battle, eternal life..."

BOOK-REVIEWS

UKRAINE OVERLOOKED ONCE MORE

Arnold Jaggi: *Russia and Europe, Past and Present (Rußland und Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart)* Published by Paul Haupt, Bern, 1951, pp. 238.

This popular German book, written at times with what one might call verve, certainly has its good points. It is based for the most part on reliable historical sources and does not fall into the "idealization" of the Russian people that one so often meets with to-day, but in judging them refers to the informative opinions of more or less impartial Russian thinkers, such as Chaadayev, Herzen, Bakunin, and avoids the much favoured fanciful outpourings about the "Slavonic soul". One thing, however, which is of really positive value is the fact that the author definitely stresses the "absolute continuity between tsarist and bolshevik Russia" and does not fail to explain by historical facts how "bolshevik Russia is carrying on the ideas and customs of tsarist times". The statement that "the Soviet Union is not content with securing itself against time-serving attacks but rather continues along the way that Russia's policy of expansion has mapped out", sounds particularly actual. Bolshevism Russia in that respect is more Russian than Russia under the tsars. The gloomy fear expressed by the author that the average west European might lack the depth and spontaneity of the moral sense and feeling that is required to realize the whole horror of Russian communism, to reject its principles unreservedly and persistently enough and to really fight against them, we can only confirm.

And yet the book misses its main object and gives the reader in several respects a false picture of Russian social history. Ukraine and the nationality problems in the Russian Empire hardly exist for the author. The Kyiv period is simply treated as a chapter in Russian history (although the author does justice to the mighty difference between old Kyiv and the later Moscow). Ukraine of the Cossacks' time (16 — 17 century) has been completely dropped, the influence of Ukrainian culture on Moscow and Petersburg, as well, of course, though even Russian historians admit it. Only under Nicholas I do "Ukrainians" appear, only to disappear again till the Ukrainian deputies in the second Duma, while, it is hardly believable, the bolshevik treatment of the different nationalities (not peoples and nations, please notice) is cut down to eleven lines (pages 209 — 210).

The Ukrainians are not even mentioned by name in connection with the "terrible famine of 1932/33". The famine is merely said to have raged in the "most fertile agricultural areas". The author seems unaware of the fact that especially Ukrainians were left to starve to death.

After all how should he know it? For his Russian or russophile authorities, for Berdiajew, Masaryk, André Gide, Koestler, Siepün, Dallin and Nikolayevsky, there is no nationality problem of any importance in Russia, and never has been: what lay east of Poland and Lithuania was just "Russian".

It is by altogether ignoring the manifold antagonistic national ingredients of the Russian Empire, however, that the author spoils any possibility of answering the questions he sets himself, satisfactorily, and when he closes his treatise with the "painful question, what has become of the moral treasures collected for their people by the dignified characters among the revolutionaries and mental heroes like Tolstoi", we cannot help remarking that those dignified revolutionaries and mental heroes, almost without exception, have either approved of the oppression and russification of the enslaved non-Russian peoples (carried out by force and treachery), or at least ignored it, and that the Russian people who condoned the cruel imperialism and anti-cultural attitude of the ruling class have now in the terrorism of the bolshevik régime just what they have helped to bring about in the centuries of their genocidal expansion. V.D.

WHY GERMANY FAILED IN THE EAST

Jürgen Thorwald: "Those they will destroy" — Report on the great Betrayal (Wen sie verderben wollen — Bericht des großen Verrats). Steingruben Verlag, Stuttgart. p. 606.

The portentous question of how Russia is to be defeated, occupies public opinion in the whole world to-day and it is a matter of course that a good deal of attention in this connection is given to the causes of Hitler's failure in Russia.

The well-known German author has placed his chapter on Vlassov in the centre of interest in his book. Thorwald's thesis reads: Hitler lost in the east because he did not know how to make allies of the peoples in the Soviet Union. In

detailed descriptions Thorwald draws a picture of the indefatigable efforts made by a number of clear-thinking Germans in the ministries for the east, the army and the headquarters of the S.S. to check Hitler's catastrophic so-called "under man" policy and bring it into a sensible political direction. In this connection three clear policies stand out: one upheld by Rosenberg, Prof. Gerhard von Mende, von Bräutigam, von Leibrendt and other politicians in the ministry for the east, required the independence of Ukraine, the Caucasian federation and Turkistan, in order to make allies of those peoples against Russia; Russia proper to be established within its ethnic borders as a satellite state of Germany's. This plan met with violent opposition from Hitler and his liegemen, headed by Bormann, Göring, Keitel and, in the first years, also Ribbentrop.

Another plan was proposed by Arlt, a young and very able politician, who used his formal membership of the S.S. to give Germany a sensible policy in the east. In 1945 he even gained the favour of the chief of the S.S. headquarters, Berger, and drew up a plan for the liberation of the eastern peoples, not only from bolshevism, but also from Russian imperialism. He made it clear that only a positive plan of establishing Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Cossack, Turkestanian and Baltic States, as well as a Caucasian federation, could break the resistance of the Red Army and create a political atmosphere for the re-organization of the east. His plan found natural allies and ready support among the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., but opposition on the side of the Russian emigrants and their general, Vlassov. That plan too, came to grief through resistance on the part of Hitler, Himmler and men of their way of thinking.

The third policy was represented by Himmler himself. In 1944 he changed from the under-man policy to the great Russia conception and relied on General Andrej Vlassov. His policy aroused the indignant opposition of the non-Russians who consistently refused, up to the end of the war, to have anything to do with Vlassov. Hitler could not overlook the Ukrainian factor and had to agree to a Ukrainian National Committee under General Schandruk, besides the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia under Vlassov. Furthermore, General Schandruk was appointed commander of all the Ukrainian units which until then had fought as volunteers or been pressed in to the German army, while General Vlassov was put in command of all the Russian units. The Caucasian, Turkestanian, Byelorussian and Cossack units continued under German leadership. Vlassov, it is true, claimed the right to represent the non-Russian peoples too, but by the setting up of the Ukrainian National Committee, his claim as far as Ukraine was concerned had only theoretical value.

Which of these three, resp. four German conceptions proved practicable? The under man theory failed completely. It was the real and most important factor that led to the defeat of Germany in the east. The other three never got beyond their inception and first political feelers. Rosenberg's plans were never put into operation although he was minister for the eastern area.

Dr. Arlt's idea which corresponded with Rosenberg's was stopped at the first attempt to realize it. Nevertheless the two plans showed that they were working along the right lines, in winning the non-Russian peoples for the fight against bolshevism and arousing their enthusiasm for it.

The fourth plan, i. e. Vlassov's, after the collapse of the under-man policy, became the official German thesis.

Jürgen Thorwald declares that plan was doomed to fail, but hees far from discovering the real causes for the break-down of the war. The fact that the first Vlassov division deserted to the red-inclined insurgents in Prague gives the author some trouble. He brings forward several arguments and puts the blame on the delaying tactics of the Germans. He believes the Russians did not want to fight because in the critical months of 1945 there was no prospect of a German victory, but he quite overlooks the historical fact that the desertion of the Russians was occasioned by Soviet Marshal Koniev's summons. Thorwald has not a word to say about the fact that not one of the military units of the non-Russian peoples was guilty of any such default as the two Vlassov divisions. In our eyes, the failure of the Vlassov experiment was due to the reluctance of the Russians to fight against the victorious Red Army at a time when it was about to realize the greatest expansion of the Russian empire.

The weak point in the book, in our opinion, lies in the misunderstanding of those connections. Jürgen Thorwald is making a dangerous attempt to prove to the West that the Soviet Union can only be defeated with the help of the Russian people, while we declare that the Soviet Union can only be put out of action with the assistance of the non-Russian peoples. R.O.I.

Calendar of National Memorial Days of our Peoples

December

Dezember 10

Cossackia: Independence Day. In commemoration of the proclamation by parliament of the independence of the Cossack State, December 10, 1917.

Dezember 12

Idel-Ural: (1917) Turko-Tartar and Ugro-Finish National Assembly at which the independence of the Idel-Uralian Republic was proclaimed.

Dezember 26

Hungary: (1948) In memory of the arrest of the Cardinal Primate Mindszenty by the communist despots in Hungary.

January

January 3

Cossackia: Day of the Church. Tsar Peter I liquidated the Cossack Autocephalic Church and joined it to Moscow. The Church, however, fought on for more than a hundred years.

January 10

Cossackia: Day of Union. All the independent Cossack republics were solemnly united in the Supreme Cossack Parliament in the United Cossack State.

January 12

Azerbaijan: (1920) The independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan, recognized by the Council of the Great Powers.

January 14

Georgia: The day of St. Nino, who converted Georgia in the fourth century.

January 22

Ukraine: (1918) The independence of the Ukrainian National Republic declared by the Ukrainian parliament, Zentralna Rada (Zentral Council). 1919 reunion of all Ukrainian ethnographic territory in one united Ukrainian National Republic.

January 29

Ukraine: (1919) On this day 30 young students and workers fell fighting the red conqueror, near Kyiv at Kruty.

Communiqué

Continued from Page 6

May we express the hope that the newly elected president of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, will thoroughly revise the mistaken policy hitherto followed in America in reference to the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. and the national problems obtaining behind the Iron Curtain.

We oppose, and shall always oppose, every attempt to retain the Russian dungeon of nations in whatever form it is proposed, and no matter who in the West supports that monster. Our aim remains unaltered: the dissolution of the Russian despotic empire into independent, national, democratic states of all our peoples: Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, etc.

Press Bureau of the A.B.N.

Munich, November 5, 1952.

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Importance of the Insurgent Forces

By General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak

When, in the Spring of the year 1944, the Soviet Armies had broken through the German lines and their spearheads approached the Hungarian borders, I received orders from the Hungarian High Command to march with the already mobilised units of the 6th Hungarian Army Corps into the Carpathian Mountains, and to defend the country against invasion by the Bolshevik forces.

A few days after the receipt of this order, detachments of the 6th Army Corps were already marching up through the dense forests of the wooded Carpathian Mountains, on main and ancillary roads covered in places with snow about two feet deep, the bridges and passes of which were, to a great extent, badly damaged and needing repair.

Besides the difficulties caused by the roughness of the ground and unfavourable weather conditions, the advance of the Hungarian Detachments was hindered by the activities of partisans who kept them under continuous fire from the 6,000—7,000 feet high mountain ranges.

These partisan activities behind the entire front line of the Army Corps did not cease after the advance and after the building of defence positions had been completed.

In May 1944 the partisans carried out thirty-six surprise attacks, some heavy, some light, mostly at night, against supply units, H.Q.s and artillery positions. Important bridges were blown up in some places, the guards disappeared, and the partisans employed not only machine guns, but even

mortars in these skirmishes, in consequence of which life there became a living hell.

Against surprise attacks of this nature not only military institutions behind the front-line, but even reserve units were helpless, as to climb mountain peaks occupied by partisans would have taken 4—5 hours and during that time the partisans would already have moved off elsewhere, only to continue their activities from other peaks. They concealed themselves sometimes with such skill that it was impossible to discover their hide-outs.

To return the partisans fire with artillery or infantry was rarely possible, as one could not definitely ascertain the direction of their surprise attacks which were carried out in a matter of minutes. It was unthinkable to withdraw troops from the rather thinly-occupied first front-line, thus exposing them to the danger of being annihilated in the fight with the partisans, as the guarding and safeguarding of bridges, depots, railway lines and important junctions behind the front lines needed, in any case, considerable forces.

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Moscows Steam-Roller Turns...

Eastern Germany — A New Satellite

On Whitsunday the government of the German Democratic Republic (D.D.R.) introduced measures to isolate the Soviet Zone completely from the Federal Republic of West Germany. The outward and visible sign was the evacuation of the border villages, sharper controls at the borders, and more barbed wire and searchlights, as well as arbitrary interruptions in normal frontier traffic and transport of goods. To cap all, a wide strip of no-man's land was made, in order to separate the two parts of Germany and cut the bolshevist east block from the rest of the world.

The excuse given for the proceedings was, that with the signing the contractual agreement and the agreement on the European army the integration of the Federal Republic with the West had begun and made protective measures necessary for the D.D.R. The population of East Germany even had to request these measures in "voluntary" resolutions etc.

Such proceedings have undoubtedly given some circles in West Germany the appearance at least of being right, when they declared that the negotiations between the German Federal Chancellor and the western powers for the inclusion of the German Federal Republic in the defence system of the free world would lead to counter measures by the Soviets, for it would be regarded by them as putting on pressure. But in this they are taking a tactical, dialectic, short-term manoeuvre as a real change in the attitude of the Soviets towards Germany, and

in their systematic foreign policy. This conception means, too, the complete disregard of developments in Germany since 1945, as reflected in the behaviour of the Soviets towards that country. For the illusionists who believe in the possibility of a united Germany being attained by the Soviets' voluntary renunciation of their east German political, economic and military bases, the contemplation of such facts is unpleasant.

For their better understanding they should study the answer given by a former Soviet colonel, G. A. Tokayev, now lector at the London University, to a question on the subject, that was asked by a paper appearing in Sweden. Tokayev closes his remarks by saying "Let no one cherish the illusion that the U.S.S.R. will ever withdraw voluntarily from Germany. They may acquiesce in many things, but never in an independent German State".

The Soviet government itself has shown in the last few weeks how very little they care for the alleged aim of a reunited Germany, the withdrawal of the occupation troops etc., for, instead of an exchange of notes with the Western Allies concerning concrete negotiations, the II party conference of the S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) decided on July 12, 1952 — two days after the third note by the western powers to Moscow — on the "organization of armed forces" and the "building up of socialism" in the Soviet Zone with the object of its development into a "People's Democracy".

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Turkistan is Not Alone

The Success of an Appeal

The appeal by the National Turkestanian Unity Committee to the Islamic world, on March 24, 1952 ("A.B.N. Correspondence" No. 5 published the appeal in its English and German editions, Ed.), not to forget the Turkestanian people in the Soviet Union and to rally to their help, has found an enthusiastic echo in all Islam. The leading newspapers of Jordania, Saudi-Arabia, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt have taken up the cry and sounded the alarm for all the Islamic peoples outside the Iron Curtain.

The President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Veli Kajum Khan, has had the following statement published in No. 78, B of the N.T.E.K. journal, "Milij Turkistan" ("National Turkistan"):

The appeal of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.) to the Islamic peoples of the 24th of March, has met with great enthusiasm among the peoples of the world and especially in the Islamic countries. The Islamic peoples have at once made known the appeal in their official newspapers as well as by means of the radio, and in different towns in the Arab world meetings have taken place. The headings in the newspapers were: "Cries for help from 25 million tortured Moslems in Turkistan", "The Turkestanian people asks for the help of the Moslem brethren".

The tragedy of the Turkestanian people, outlined by this appeal and due wholly to Russian imperialism has excited the Islamic world. Our Islamic brethren did not let the matter rest there but went one step further and as we are informed, they will, on account of the proposals, of the N.T.U.C., form a Committee of investigation in Damascus, to investigate the conditions in Turkistan. For this purpose a conference will be convoked by the Islamic governments to discuss how to help the Turkestanians in their fight for liberation from the Russian yoke. They

will also send a note of protest to Russia.

These efforts show most clearly how intimate are the connections between the Islamic peoples. It is also known to the Islamic peoples that the Turkestanian people does not fight only for its own independence, but also for the preservation of Islamic culture and for the defence of our Islamic religion.

1. The N.T.U.C. asks all Islamic peoples and the free world to support these efforts and to contribute to the realisation of the proposals made in the appeal.
2. We ask the Islamic representatives in the U.N. to put forward the tragedy of Turkistan in the meetings of the U.N.
3. We ask the Western democratic world to support the steps of the Islamic countries.
4. We will thank our Islamic brethren for their understanding and their support of their tortured Islamic brethren in Turkistan.

V. Kajum-Khan

President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee

Resolutions of the Central Committee of A.B.N.

On August 1, 1952 the Central Committee of the A.B.N. held a meeting at which the questions of building up the A.B.N. in England, Germany and Canada were discussed and resolutions passed.

One important resolution concerned the convening of the General Congress of the A.B.N. this year. It is to be in connection with a congress of free peoples and in collaboration with other well-known anti-bolshevik organizations of the western peoples. At the Congress of the A.B.N., the A.B.N. Freedom Manifesto will be signed.

Representatives, Branches and Local Cells of the A.B.N.

The General Congress of our organization will take this year. Increasing your activities, prepare your reports.

Moscows Steam Roller Turns...

Continued from Page 1

The transition to "socialism" in the dialectical ideological sense means the realization of the intermediate step to communism, politically, through integration with the East, the inclusion of half Germany with its 18 million in the East bloc system.

Facts followed quickly on the resolution. The pattern is so familiar that the statement of a few measures was sufficient: the five German laender, Brandenburg, Saxon-Anhalt, Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg were rolled out, i. e. they dissolved themselves "voluntarily" into 14 areas and 217 districts, into anonyms planned squares, in which the bolshevist campaign of extermination and destruction now begins viz. the abolition of private property and plants, the bleak collectivization of agriculture, destruction of independent craftsmanship, nationalization of industry with its attendant Stakanov system and political pressure at every level of public and private life. The Catholic and Protestant Churches have already been made to feel the "change of climate".

Anyone who, in the face of these events, still speaks of the duty of "reuniting Germany" has not learned, or not wanted to learn anything from the experiences of 1944 and 1945, even if they have not watched the history of bolshevism, that is to say the current events since 1917, for now a development begins to unfold which has been practised in a number of states in north, north-east, south-east and central Europe, and the task of the future can only be "the liberation of the lost", as a well-known journalist has called it but no talk of "reuniting".

For the chicken-hearted the vague chance remains open that the Kremlin despots are sufficiently disillusioned not to see in their S.E.D. functionaries in East Berlin, representatives of the German people, or in the process now being introduced, a final unmasking of a definite strategy, but a black-mailing manoeuvre against the Federal Republic and the western powers.

These illusions are faced with the bitter knowledge that in east Germany by "peaceful methods", that has been achieved for which men are fighting in Korea, Indo-China, Burmah, Malaya, the steady pushing forward of tributary areas, so that when the decisive conflict with the free world comes, the front line fight can be waged to keep the "inside" line immune from any reaction.

P. S.

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The Liberation is Indivisible

The Liberation of the Soviet Satellites is Impossible Without Simultaneous Freeing of the Peoples of U.S.S.R.

By Professor Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Double-faced World Menace

The extension and intensity of the present political crisis is the result of a symbiosis between Moscow's imperialism on the one hand and the representatives of communist ideology on the other. If, for the representatives of Moscow's imperialism, its advance is the aim, and the spreading of communism the method, the missionaries of communism on the other hand see in the growth of Moscow's potential a suitable precondition for the establishment of communist regimes in the whole world. Therefore the countries serving bolshevist aims are most closely connected with Moscow. The aims of Moscow's imperialism and communism are so closely linked that a differentiation between them does not seem to be justified. As the executors and representatives of these aims are the same persons, having the Kremlin as their headquarters, a split or even contradiction between them is unthinkable.

The world has for years had the opportunity to see that without the help of the communists, Moscow's imperialism could not have reached its present expansion, and communism on the other hand, could not have extended as it has without the absolute support which it has found in Moscow. It is just this inseparable association which has caused the present insecurity.

From the above facts the Liberation Movements draw this lesson: no difference should be made among the nations in respect to the time when Moscow succeeded in subjugating them. From today's point of view this is an unimportant detail. More important is it to realise that the fight against Moscow's imperialism must be linked with the fight against communist ideology and vice versa. Without the defeat of both there can be no lasting peace.

Camouflaged Despotism

Moscow's empire is not a product of our days; we can follow its growth for centuries, from a small Duchy to the subjugation of one quarter of the world's surface and one third of the world's population. Russia is the nucleus, its centre is Moscow. After the revolution the Soviet took over what Russia had succeeded in subjugating up to 1917. The system of satellite countries is just another form of imperialism, fitted to present day conditions. Though the form of incorporation may be different at the moment, there is no difference between the former Russian and the present Soviet aims.

Judging the problem theoretically, there is, no doubt, a difference from the point of view of International Law between the various Soviet republics

forming part of the Soviet Union and the states called Satellites. From this theoretical point of view Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. are theoretically independent, whereas Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Aserbaijan are within the U.S.S.R.

But in international politics there is no great difference between these two groups of states, except that traditional international views give greater possibilities to the Satellites for pushing the Kremlin's aims than to the member republics of the U.S.S.R. But even this difference disappears, for instance in the case of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics, because they are members of the United Nations. Judging the situation of Moscow's satellites and the soviet republics within the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of political possibilities, it becomes obvious that there is no difference between the position of Prague, Warsaw or Budapest on the one side and Kyiv, Minsk or Riga on the other. They cannot do anything but fulfil Moscow's orders. Of course, having an advantage from it, Moscow is interested in maintaining these theoretical differences.

The Iron Curtain Unjustified

The present border — the Iron Curtain — is without any greater natural justification than was the border between the free world and the U.S.S.R. in 1938, which was only the result of the then prevailing power conditions in East Europe.

By the unlawful and violent change of her borders, incorporating half Europe, Moscow has lost the title to the 1938 borders. To consolidate the political degradation of the nations of Central and South-East Europe and of the Baltic to the status of nations within the U.S.S.R., Moscow created political and moral grounds for taking up and solving the problematical right of existence of the Soviet empire, ruling with Bolshevik despotism a large number of nations.

The present unnatural political situation is not a product of the Russian nation's power, but only a consequence of possibilities with which Moscow disposes, as a result of her rule over a mosaic of nations. Only through the subsequent subjugation of scores of nations did it gain its present possibilities.

World Expansion in Laps

The subjugation of Byelorussia, Poland and the Baltic nations makes Moscow the dominant power on the Baltic Sea. The subjugation of Hungary, Slovakia, Albania and Czechia enables Moscow to exert pressure upon Germany, Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece. The subjugation of Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria and Caucasus gives

her such a dominant position on the Black Sea that she can start to plan making it a Russian sea. The subjugation of the nations living on both sides of the Caucasus, and Caspian and Aral Seas and up to Lake Baikal, gave Moscow the possibility of exerting pressure upon Turkey, Iran, Iraq, India and China. So the Soviets are able to prepare their expansion to the Mediterranean Sea, North Africa and the Middle East.

This mosaic of nations, subjugated by Moscow and living in an area of over 3 million square miles, constitutes the basis of the political and economic power of the Kremlin. It is known that the most important raw materials and therefore also industrial centres are situated on territories inhabited by these nations. This is why the free world must be interested in the liberation of these nations if it wants to get rid of the threat to world peace.

At the end of World War I, many politicians hoped that Moscow would limit her aims to the territories of former Tsarist Russia. Again, after World War II, they hoped that she would confine herself to the incorporation of Central and South-East Europe. And the free world was even prepared to accept it. But for Moscow it was a welcome opportunity for increasing her potential, in order to prepare further pressure in the service of bolshevist messiahism.

All this contributed to raising the self-importance of the Kremlin men to such an extent that a withdrawal of the Soviets behind the 1938 borders became unimaginable. Moscow's influence would not stop, even if she decided to withdraw formally. Moscow's pressure upon the satellite countries would be brought to an end only if simultaneously the other nations, held with violence under the Soviet yoke, were liberated.

The political system introduced in the countries behind the Iron Curtain is so ruthless and despotic that one cannot expect its breaking down in a normal way. The only way out of the present situation is Moscow's withdrawal, or pushing her back to the Russian ethnic border. Only then can the world attain stability and conditions for a lasting peace. Because it is impossible to maintain peace without the liberation of the scores of nations subjugated by Moscow, the free world has every right to be interested in their fate. There can be no world peace as long as the nations dominated by Moscow are not free.

Conditions for World Peace

These seas have always been the best means of communication. By sea the nations could most easily exchange their products, and also new ideas



Church Against Bolshevism

By Prof. Rudolf Wierer, L.L.D.

Characteristic Soviet Religious Policy

The practical religious policy of the Soviets is characteristic in the various ways in which it tries to annihilate religious feelings and national consciousness.

The Soviets have directed their hatred chiefly against the Eastern Rite of the Catholic Church. The reasons for this satanic persecution are clear. The Ukrainian Catholic Church is the largest and most important body among the Eastern Catholic Churches. It is both the source of inspiration and the focus of independent thought and feeling for Ukrainians. Unfortunately the Bolsheviks with the cunning sophistry of their dialectic have, till now, always found ears ready to listen to their lying propaganda, and it is relatively easy to make members of non-Ukrainian Orthodox Churches mistrust the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Soviets began their persecution of that Church immediately after the second occupation of the Western Ukraine in 1944. 250 Priests fled westwards; the great old man of Western Ukraine, the Metropolitan, Archbishop Count Andreas Sheptytzky died on November 1st, 1944, we must presume a violent death, and the clergy were persecuted.

could most rapidly spread. Therefore the principles of progress and freedom spread first among the maritime nations, and only later did they reach the inland nations. Therefore the liberation of the Central European nations came later than that of the Balkan nations and America, and it has not been possible hitherto to liberate the nations between the Ural and Carpathians, and between the Caspian Sea and Lake Baikal, but it is not uncommon to find in the free world people who even regard the subjugation of the nations as something natural.

It is in the interest of progress, and freedom, and is even a condition for peace, that the ideas which enabled the free world to develop should extend also to those territories which have been artificially kept in isolation from their influence. Because only through their realisation throughout the world, will the free nations be able to enjoy the fruit of progress and freedom without restraint. The liberation of the nations subjugated by Moscow is a condition for maintaining the freedom of the nations which are free today. The liberation of the subjugated nations is necessary for creating conditions under which world peace can be maintained. This is not only a thesis without a practical and realistic goal. The free nations, by becoming unfaithful to the principles to which they owe their own development, and by making a compromise with tyranny, themselves contributed to the creation of the present situation.

To be continued

After some months the Bolsheviks in power imprisoned all the Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Western and Subcarpathian Ukraine. These revered men, led by the distinguished man and scholar, Metropolitan Josef Slipy, were sentenced in 1946. The Bishops were condemned to imprisonment, but by 1950, five out of eleven had already died or been killed. It is probable that others are suffering martyrdom to this very day. The place of these Bishops was taken by faint-hearted priests who, by March 1947, had completely usurped the position of the sentenced and liquidated men, declaring that the Union with Rome was revoked. This apostasy has not been acknowledged by the clergy and people faithful to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and it was followed by a new wave of persecution. By 1950 there were about eight hundred people who had died for the Christian faith. In the Satellite States the persecution was the same: In Slovakia the entire Diocese of Presov was annihilated; in Tito's Yugoslavia persecution continues despite the facts that the Titoists find it opportune to appear democratic.

Bolshevik policy towards the Latin Rite of the Catholic Church is also characteristic. At the start of Communist rule we see a certain circumspect tendency in their dealing with Satellite States. Their aim is to lull the caution of the Catholic hierarchy, but there have always been certain facts sufficient to give alarm to every Catholic. In Poland, the Bierut puppet regime abolished the valid Concordate between the Holy See and the Polish Government. Nevertheless the Bolsheviks and their fellow-travellers explained away this decisive step as political action against the "reactionary" members of the Polish Clergy. Some months later, a similar subterfuge was used, in spite of Western protests, in the case of the valiant Archbishop of Zagreb Stepinac. He was arrested, tried and imprisoned on a false charge of "collaboration". In this way the Communists tried to absolve themselves and make themselves out to be the liberators of the Church. In Czecho-Slovakia, under a masked, half-Bolshevik regime, (1945-1948) persecution of Catholics was declared to be a struggle against "Collaborators". Thus they were able to disguise the death sentence on Msgr. Dr. Jozef Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic. After the Coup d'Etat in February 1948, when the Bolshevik regime was unmasked, the Government started with a certain appearance of pretended sympathy towards the Church. The new President, K. Gottwald, attended Divine Service after his election in June, 1948. But the persecution started a little later and several Bishops were victims. Archbishop Beran of Prague, Bishop Hlouch of Budejovice from the Czech side, the Slovak Bishops Vojtassak, Skrabik and

Buzalka, are examples of heroic men who are left to languish in prison. In szenty was sent to prison. These are only very well-known men who now suffer martyrdom for the Truth, but there are thousands of others, priests and laity, who are persecuted and suffer, unknown to the world. As the education of the clergy is controlled, and as they become more under the influence of the Communist ideology, the persecution becomes more intensive. There is a certain danger in this influence as Communism is often represented not in its brutal materialist and atheistic form which it bears in practice, but in the guise of national and progressive ideas.

Concessions with an Ulterior Aim

The Orthodox Church in Soviet countries has undergone terrible persecution. The brutality of the Soviet religious policy was however softened in the thirties and was moderate during the II World War. During that time political requirements demanded an intensive stir up of nationalism, and made it expedient that there should be a degree of superficial renaissance for religion. To-day the policy of the Bolsheviks is still to strengthen Soviet moral influence by using the Orthodox Church. Therefore certain concessions are still maintained. It has always been a leading principle of the Soviets that Church and State must be completely separated, but the use of Churches in old Soviet Territory is tolerated, and men are free to worship within the walls of their churches. But this purported liberty is no true religious liberty which should consist firstly of liberty of conscience and opinion, secondly of liberty of cult, and thirdly, liberty of religious association. Although the Soviet Union is supposedly tolerant, the first and fundamental religious liberty has been utterly destroyed, for the ordinary citizen is compelled every day to act against the voice and beliefs of his conscience: neither is there any liberty to express an opinion. If the second liberty is very restricted, the third liberty, that of religious association, has been almost completely taken from the Church, which can neither organize charities nor give instruction to young people. In schools, in particular, no religious instruction can be given. For all that the Bolsheviks display a friendly attitude towards the Orthodox Church, the Soviet Government has firmly kept to its decision that religious instruction of the young — except in the family — is barred by an order, which forbids the religious instruction of young people below the age of 18. Moreover the Church cannot organize libraries of religious books or publish a religious press. Thus all concessions made by the government in favour of the Patriarchate of Moscow (for example the licence to publish



Importance of the Insurgent Forces

Continued from Page 1

Partisans a Second Front Line

Thus there came into existence, behind the front line of the 6th Army Corps, a second front line, about 100 kms. in depth and width, which completely transformed the character of the warfare, and caused great anxiety and heavy losses.

Similar activities were experienced in the Korean war, where General Mac Arthur was compelled to use one-third of the U.N. Forces to defeat the Red Partisans. We may assume that the battles of the second front line in the anticipated Third World War will be of great importance.

Hungarian Units and U.P.A.

To return to the fighting of my Army Corps, on two front lines, I have to mention that this ghastly struggle did not last long, as we discovered, fortunately in a fairly short time, that the partisan groups fighting in the mountains did not recruit Red Partisans or soldiers of the Red Army who managed to infiltrate through our sparsely occupied first line, but recruited mostly members of the Units of the Ukrainian Insurrection Forces (U.P.A.) who fought at the same time against the Soviet, as well as against the German Army, both of whom spelt danger to their country. These Partisans did not realise that the Hungarian Forces were employed on the front in order to defend their country against Bolshevism, without intending to endanger the best possible friendly relations with their Ukrainian neighbours.

These insurrection forces did not know anything of the wish of the Hungarian Army to co-operate closely, in a spirit of complete understanding

and support, with the Ukrainian fighters for freedom, which was to the mutual interest of both parties.

After the Hungarian Command had succeeded in clarifying the situation between the Hungarians and Ukrainians, a meeting was arranged between the two parties.

After this agreement the Hungarian Units had, in fact, only to fight against the Soviet Russian Army, while the task of the U.P.A. groups was to fight the Red Partisans and infiltrating groups, maintain close communications with other U.P.A. groups acting behind the Soviet-Russian lines, notify the Hungarian Army of every movement of the Russians and, if need be, to attack the Russians in conjunction with the Hungarian Units. The provision of arms, ammunition, wireless sets, food and medical treatment was the task of the Hungarian Army. Thus the activities of the Ukrainians and the Hungarians were co-ordinated.

Thus we succeeded in ensuring that peace prevailed in the Western valleys of the Carpathian Mountains and that valuable co-operation was established. When the Hungarian Army was compelled to withdraw, due to the general situation, the U.P.A. undertook to cover this retreat and did it, so efficiently that it was possible to complete it successfully within three days.

Fifth Column is Second Front Line for Russia

My experiences on the battlefield provide a characteristic example of warfare on two fronts. Those experiences of an Army Corps on a front line, on a comparatively small scale, point a moral applicable to the war of the

future, the main characteristics of which will be fighting on two fronts.

This war is already in progress. We learn from the papers daily that behind the present front line — in Korea and Indo-China only, for the time being — there exists and fights a second front line in the form of the Fifth Column, which is expanding throughout the whole world. I need mention here only the struggle for atomic energy supremacy, the spy trials, the underground activities of the Communists, the political murders, etc., which take place, and are directed, beyond a doubt, from a common central organisation.

This means war in truth, but only the Soviet Union exploits the main weapons of this war; she alone endeavours to cause confusion everywhere in order to penetrate to places where she could not yet reach without the Red Army, or where she — for the time being — does not intend to penetrate.

During the past decades the Soviet Union, through her own experiences, has had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the far-reaching significance of internal destructive forces. These forces were the cause of the catastrophic outcome of the Russian-Japanese War, and the collapse and dissolution of the Russian Empire after the First World War, right on the threshold of Russian victory.

In the light of the above-mentioned facts, the Soviet Union deemed it necessary to organize before the Second World War, thousands of Red Partisans in order to use them in the event of a future war, against the people, should it occur to them to demand freedom and independence — as the Russian Colonel Kalinov says in his book entitled "Soviet Marshals".

These desperate millions constitute the second front of the West, a great power in itself, created by the tyranny of the Soviet Union, which tramples on all that is good and beautiful.

Carroll on a Nationalities in Russia

Wallace Carroll, an expert in the psychology of warfare, director of the U.S. F.B.I. in the European Theatre of the Second World War, states in one of his works that there is a hitherto unwritten paragraph of the history of the recent years which must be studied by the Americans without delay, and most profoundly, with the aid of the abundant material provided by the German Military Archives.

It is quite clear to Wallace that the Soviet Union is a country inhabited by many nationalities who, for centuries, have fought for their freedom and independence.

This question has placed all nations at war with Russia in a dilemma, but to-day there is no doubt that the support or neglect of these peoples striving for their freedom may make an ally, or an enemy of a hundred million

a periodical) are suspect. The purpose of this benevolence is only to attract Orthodox believers in non-Soviet countries and even certain Protestants who believe that it would be possible to persuade many Eastern Christians to form a religious Union between the East and the West. The Orthodox Church is also used as a tool for propagating separation from Rome. In Czecho-Slovakia they introduced the Orthodox Metropolitan Jeleferij. He obtained Czecho-Slovakian citizenship (for he is Russian, and was a Soviet citizen) so that he might weaken the other Churches in Czecho-Slovakia, especially the Catholic Church. In those countries, however, where there is no opportunity for misusing Orthodox sympathies in order to break down religious opinion, the Orthodox Church is still persecuted, although not as ostentatiously as it was thirty years ago. This is how the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, that magnificent organization renewed by the great martyr, Vasyl Lypkivsky, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, has been treated.

Terrorisation of all Religious Communities

Bolshevik terror seeks to exterminate every religious community: Christians, Moslems, Jews and others, all know of the barbarous destruction of the brave Caucasian Moslems, the suppression of the Turkestan Moslems, and last but not least, the campaign against the Jews, disguised to-day under insinuations against Trotskyism and Zionism. These phrases may be heard equally in the U.S.S.R. or Czecho-Slovakia.

It is clear then that every religious man must struggle against Bolshevik atheism, that he must warn others of his creed of its dangers, and tell them of the guile with which the Bolsheviks approach religious questions.

We must make it impossible in the future for men such as Hewlett Johnson to be led astray by Communism, or Moslems to be the dupes of Soviet agitators. We must stand together in the defence of our ideals and faith.

people. Faults and mistakes committed in this respect in the course of the last war led to fatal consequences.

The German assault against the East proved that although millions of people were ready to fight on the German side, when they discovered that they had been disappointed in their hopes, they turned against the Germans. In case of War — says Wallace — we have to do all that lies in our power to use these peoples in a struggle against their oppressor. In the East, one has to operate with ideals of freedom instead of atomic bombs; one has to set free the energy of peoples demanding independence, so as to enable them to crush tyranny and to organise their own way of life in accordance with their needs.

Finally Wallace says that the ways and means of the use of the Air Force will decide whether the millions of peoples oppressed by the Soviet Union become our friends — or the defenders of Moscow.

Wallace fully realised the strength and significance of the second, internal front.

Major General J. F. C. Fuller's opinion of this question is rather similar. In his book "How to Defeat Russia" he states that the Third World War is already in progress. He demands the support by every means of the Resistance Movements and that of the Partisan Forces beyond the Iron Curtain, and the opening of a "Moral Offensive".

Major General Fuller refers to the importance of the insurgents of the Second World War and points out that those anti-bolshevik forces were able to harass permanently the Russian supplies and lines of communication, which may be a fact of far-reaching significance in a future war. The mightier these revolutionary forces are, the weaker will be the will to fight, and the slower the advance of the Soviet Union.

These are the weaknesses of the Soviet Union, in spite of the fact that its arms are powerful and the country itself is pretty invulnerable.

To attain liberation, it is not sufficient to carry on with anti-bolshevik propaganda. It is essential, on the eve of the great day of reckoning, to set against the devilish Bolshevik ideology a positive strategic object and a so-called "Western Ideology" which — in my opinion — could only be the ideals of the "Cross of Freedom".

The Bolshevik danger to the world must be tackled from every possible angle. In this respect, the most substantial factor for ensuring victory can be expected from the subjugated peoples. It is of great importance to win over the soldiers serving under pressure in the Soviet Army, and the co-operation of the above-mentioned revolutionary forces. The number of these can be expected to be a million, and, if need be, an Army of one million behind the

Resolutions

We, present at the A.B.N. Conference in London on 17th and 19th June, 1952, have resolved that:

1) The Kremlin clique achieved their power by murder, cruelty, persecution of the churches, mass massacres and by enslaving the free nations.

2) The same clique, building their fifth column to infiltrate their propaganda, — based on materialism and absence of any faith in God, — among the nations of the Free World is determined to extend their imperialism all over the world by cold or hot war.

3) Russian communism is dangerous through its destructive doctrines and its imperialism, to all the freedom loving peoples.

Our object is: —

1) To reveal the true aim of Russian communist autocracy and to organize forces and support anti-communist movements.

2) To counter communist propaganda in the Free World countries and behind the Iron Curtain, by a rebirth of religious life, national ideas and tradition contrary to communist godless doctrines dominated by Russian chauvinistic imperialism.

3) To recognize the right of freedom and independence for all nations within the U.S.S.R., based on A.B.N. principles and for other countries suppressed by communist autocracy.

We, aware that there is no prospect for lasting peace unless the freedom for all nations and individuals is trampled down, are prepared to counteract Bolshevism, now, together with all nations, whether in captivity under Communist tyranny or in the Free World.

First Soviet front line could decisively influence the outcome of a war. But we must not forget that these could also hinder operations should they not be provided with adequate instructions — and these forces deserve the greatest possible support by the West, as they could, if need be, save the lives of thousands of Western soldiers.

The Key to Victory

It is a well-known fact nowadays that the Soviet Union, with the aid of the Fifth Column of the Communist Parties functioning without hindrance in every country, is able to cause civil wars, chaos and restlessness. Its goal is obvious: *the Soviet Union endeavours to engage the attention of the West on the outlying fronts in time of war and to cause the greatest possible confusion in Korea, China and in the territories of the Western Countries.* By means of the Iron Curtain, the Soviet Union shuts itself away from the West in order to prevent the East becoming acquainted with the West, and to stop the West obtaining any knowledge of the horrible regime of the Soviet. Thus it becomes possible for Soviet propaganda freely to agitate and lie and to inform the world according to its own needs and to make even the West believe that its assertions are indeed true.

Against this, the West will only be able to conclude its war victoriously if it does not delay in establishing a powerful Western second front, to co-ordinate with the oppressed peoples for the achievement of political and strategic ends, to proclaim the ideal of freedom and to attack the foundations of the Bolshevik world danger of Moscow.

In all parts of the Soviet Union great masses of the opponents of the hated regime — many in the Red Army and even in the terror-organisations — await the great moment when they can take up arms against tyranny. The future will show how significant this internal resistance — the second front of the West — will be.

The key to victory is still in the hands of the West to-day.

Bolshevism works hard with the most cruel weapons and strictly to timetable. It uproots its real and imaginary enemies according to plan.

There IS resistance to-day: It is possible to win souls to-day! Therefore now is the time to make the necessary arrangements, because further delay may lead to the ruin of the entire world.

The Day will Dawn

We, Representatives of the Peoples subjugated in their home countries; We, who have joined forces under the slogan "Viribus Unitis" prepare in spirit for the great day when the sun of liberty will rise again. This day has to come at last, and it will come the more surely for the darkness and hopelessness of our present night.

The memories of our glorious past haunt the burnt-out ruins of our homes, memories which live in our hearts, as well as in the mountains and woods of our countries.

The Justice of history is more powerful than the strength of the Devil's disciples on earth. We may rest assured that the day of the triumph of Justice will dawn.

In this firm belief, we pray to the Almighty for His Blessing on our work — our countries, and our swords.

Profanation of Our Subjugated Peoples

Falsehood and Slander in the Service of Russian Imperialists

"Calomniez, calomniez, on y restera toujours quelquechose" (Don Basilio).

"Slander and again slander till in the end something clings", this classical saying of Don Basilio's seems to form the basis of the latest weapon employed by our enemies, used the oftener against the A.B.N. and our peoples' fight for liberty, the more our more convincing our ideas become in the eyes of western opinion. For this oft tried weapon the Russian imperialists seek out tools worthy of it.

The information service of the emigrant organization N.T.S., "R.I.A. Correspondence", in its last numbers serves its readers with a series of special supplements which outdo one another in lies, travesties and libels against our peoples' struggle and their representatives in the A.B.N. In the introduction to one of these supplements No. 20/52 of June 9, 1952, the editor of "R.I.A. Correspondence" says he is "particularly pleased" at being able to publish another article in the series which has been specially written by the former Czech diplomat, Mr. Jacques O. Grezer, who is now a well-known publicist."

All the same, it looks as if the shoes of these imperialists of N.T.S. were beginning to pinch, for in the aforesaid introduction to the article it says: "The political situation is so today that the question of the so-called anti-bolshevist tactics of the A.B.N. appears more than ever before on the agenda."

The question of this prominent Czech "diplomat" and "publicist" will be discussed below. Although his personal and publicist ethics are such that they do not deserve serious consideration, we feel it necessary to give a few examples of what his "publicist" work is like, in order to show the public what means the Russian imperialists stoop to, in their propaganda against us, and from what muddy waters the "arguments" of the Russian imperialists are fished.

First, the great joke: the articles by this extraordinary writer have headings like "Alfred Rosenberg's Pupils", "Policy of Madness", The A.B.N. — the Trojan horse of Bolshevism". All this noise is directed, of course, against the liberation movements of our peoples, whose claim for release from the bolshevist yoke is labelled madness. Doubtful American sources are quoted, representing us as disgruntled savages, impelled by racial hatred only against Russians; we are not antibolshevist, but rather anti-semitic, anti-democratic, anti-federalist. "Deception and Lies" are alleged to be the weapons of the A.B.N., which, moreover, is infiltrated by communist agents, working for Stalin. The author of this undignified article quoted by the "R.I.A. Correspondence" even presumes to speak in name of America, flatly declaring with regard to our liberation movement, "Allies that we do not want". We have only one answer to this: the A.B.N. and its members wish still less to have the support of such obscure elements who can sink so low as to play the part of desecrators of our peoples.

But the "well-known Czech diplomat and publicist" has more magic weapons in store for us. He quotes the notorious Hermann Rauschnik and makes long excursions into

Hitler's and Rosenberg's eastern policy to prove that our ideals were hatched out in the nazi Ministry for the East and for that reason alone to be repudiated. He says that the realization of the principle of national freedom for our peoples would work out as a "Morgenthau Plan" for Russia, and it would be just as paradoxical and inadmissible to restore their freedom to the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. as, for instance, to break the German Federal Republic up into 16 separate and independent states. But the "great diplomat" seems to have overlooked the fact that Germany is a united and coherent nation, desiring to live in one and the same State, while the U.S.S.R. is a dungeon of nations, in which bolshevism, hand in hand with a policy of russification, has been pursuing genocide for years. Is it really faulty knowledge or does he take his readers for so idiotically naive that he can foist such quackery on them?

As for the "nazi origin" of our ideals, it is of little consequence today what Hitler or Rosenberg planned or did not plan yesterday. The only important thing is the historically proved fact that Hitler failed in the East, not because he realized our ideals, but on the contrary because he trampled them under foot and ignored our peoples' right to recovering their national freedom and independence. His occupation of Ukraine was so brutal that he brought the enmity of our peoples upon himself and ruined his campaign in the East. The author gives himself a fine testimonial when he attempts to maintain that our nations as such were artificially created and never existed as independent states. Our only answer to this is: If anyone dares thus to drag the sacred ideals of whole nations in the mire and defame them it is not surprising if spontaneous reactions appear which are then exploited to accuse us of terrorism.

That Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., and Stephan Bandera, leader of the

Ukrainian Liberation Movement, were not acting under Hitler's orders when they proclaimed the free Ukrainian state in 1941, but on the contrary, as leaders of the national revolution that they dared to proclaim it against his will and to oppose his policy of oppression in Ukraine and were therefore arrested and spent 4 years in a concentration camp, are historical facts which no journalist's lies can shake, however unscrupulous they may be. The mass demonstrations which have taken place in Canada in recent weeks in the honour of President Stetzko, show clearly enough what the Ukrainian people and its millions of emigrés think of the sincere and uncompromising attitude of the Ukrainian liberation movement and are certainly a better criterion than the paid publications of the N.T.S.

To lend his pamphlets a shimmer of truth, the author refers to quotations from the "A.B.N. Correspondence" which he deliberately falsifies or distorts in every case, for instance, when quoting from No. 6/7, 1951 of "A.B.N. Correspondence", we are supposed to have said that "every Russian, even if he is an emigré and calls himself a democrat is a supporter of bolshevism". In reality the passage runs "Every Russian imperialist, even if he calls himself a democrat" etc. His other quotations which are meant to prove that we regard the Russians as Asiatic hordes which should be expelled from the European community and slaughtered for "collective guilt" etc. etc. are equally absurd and not worth while replying to.

It has been said more than once in our publications what our opinion of the Russian people as such is, and the attitude expressed by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. on the main page of this number makes any further discussion of the matter superfluous.

Quotations which try to stamp us as "enemies on principle of any kind of interstate union, federation etc. are just as slanderous. The truth in those passages quoted from the "A.B.N. Correspondence", lies just in the sentences which have been so shamefully and with intention left out, viz. that we only then reject inter-state unions if they are brought about against the will of the people in question, or serve to cloak and make eternal the claims to be a "master race", proclaimed by certain artificially constructed states such as the U.S.S.R. dungeon of nations, the Czech state structure and Tito's realm.

So much for that. But we will not refrain from introducing to our readers the man who has lent his pen to such tirades against the A.B.N. or the portrait drawn of him by the well-known Czech emigrant paper, "Bohemia".

"Who is this J. C. Grezer", the "Bohemia" asks, "who gives himself out as a Czech patriot, diplomat and federalist? Who is the Grezer who calls himself a doctor and count and alleges that he is an officer in the Czechoslovakian legion abroad? He is a Sudeten German, named Jakob Ortulf Grezer, of Moravia, who served in the German army during the first world war and whose father was a member of the N.S.D.A.P.. Grezer graduated with some difficulty from the German secondary school of Märisch-Ostrau."

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Importance Notice

The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is doing publicity work in the free world on behalf of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

A Central office is being opened where material will be collected and circulated. Books, pamphlets, leaflets in foreign languages bearing upon our peoples and their problems will form the material.

Members of the A.B.N.! see that all the publications in foreign languages about your folk group in exile are sent to our central office in several copies. You will be doing your national cause a good service!

Secretariat General of the A.B.N.

Side-Lights

Pope Pius XII. "To the Peoples of Russia"

The Failure of a Message

The Holy See recently addressed an apostolic message "to the Peoples of Russia", which message seems, on account of this turn of phrase, to have failed in its well-meant purpose, and to be calculated to alienate the oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union.

The message begins with the statement that the believers of the Catholic Church in all parts of the world had laid it upon the Holy Father to "place the whole Russian people, in their present oppressed state under the protection of the Blessed Virgin". Even at this introduction, many people in the U.S.S.R., and especially the Catholic believers, such as Ukrainians and Byelorussians, will ask why only the Russian nation is to partake of this grace, while their nations are not once mentioned by name. This all the more when all the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., do not even feel themselves in any way addressed by such terms as "Peoples of Russia" or "Russian Peoples", and fight against it tooth and nail, all the more today, when they are addressed by the name of their oppressors.

Further on in the message, the term "Russian peoples" is employed several times, and now indeed, not only in the sense of state, but even in the sense of national-political and racial unity! Thus the Ukrainian Prince, Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, as well as Yaropolk (9th, 10th, and 11th centuries) are spoken of as Russian rulers. The great cultural reform of Vladimir which he performed by means of the introduction of Christianity

into Ukraine in 980, is simply ascribed to the Russians. The whole of Ukrainian history in general, the Ukrainian ecclesiastical life, and all the Ukrainian cultural reforms of centuries are ascribed, without further ado, to the Russians.

Finally this Papal message addresses itself in particular to the "Catholics among the Russian peoples", although, as is generally known, the Russians acknowledge the Orthodox Church, while, in the territories of the U.S.S.R., only Ukrainians and Byelorussians belong to the Catholic faith and stand under the spiritual protection of the Holy See in Rome.

All these blunders in the quoted Vatican message are all the more regrettable, when our peoples and their resistance movements, independent of differences of belief, have always had a supporter in the Catholic church, and, in the form of the Holy See in Rome, wish to see a powerful ally in the fight against the despotism of Moscow and the godless communists.

A.B.N. and the Red Cross

On the occasion of the 18th Congress of the International Red Cross at Toronto (July 25, to August 8), the A.B.N. arranged a manifestation on July 27, in the same town, which was attended by 5,000 persons, members of the different peoples of the U.S.S.R. After a Church Service they marched through the town and assembled before the Town Hall where Dr. J. Kaskelis (Lithuania) opened the rally and explained its meaning. The chief speech by Y. Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., was read in English. It depicted the situation of the countries and people behind the Iron Curtain and Moscow's crimes against human rights. In reference to the place and occasion of the meeting, Mr. Stetzko said:

"We protest against the presence of a State in the International Red Cross that committed massacres not only in war, but also in peace. We demand that all diplomatic and trade connections be broken off with the Soviet Union and the Satellite States. We demand that representatives of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow be admitted to the International Red Cross, the recognition of the U.P.A. and resistance organizations of other peoples, as armies in a state of war on the principles of the Hague Convention, with all the consequences of that recognition."

He warned the Red Cross against making any compacts with the U.S.S.R. which was preparing a surprise attack on the whole world and had never kept any agreement made.

Speeches by representatives of the Croats, Slovaks, Rumanians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Cossacks, Bulgarians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians followed, all demanding the exclusion of the U.S.S.R. from the International Red Cross.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N., the A.B.N. representatives in Canada and representatives of other nations in the A.B.N. sent memorandums to the same effect to the 18th Congress of the International Red Cross.

Olympic Dialectics

The Olympic Games in Helsinki are over. The success of the Soviet sportsmen and those of its satellites, has received the unlimited attention due to it in the press of the world. After an absence of 40 years from the Games the presence of Soviet participants naturally aroused great interest.

The western press, besides the reports on the Games events, stressed the friendship between the two world spheres; that there was no Iron Curtain in the Olympia village and that everyone was welcome to come and go among the Soviet sportsmen. A fact which induced many newspapers to make spiteful comparisons with the politicians.

And then, as soon as the Olympic Games were finished, the Czech winner of three gold-medals, Zatopek, at a "peace meeting" in the same Helsinki, attacked the "American imperialists" as responsible for the Korean war, in order to fulfil his duty and norm in that field too. Thus before spectators and athletes had scattered the Soviet government attempted to make use of the Olympic Games for its political purposes.

People for whom the infringement of the Olympic spirit seems tactless and unexpected, know little of the dialectic compulsion in communist thought. In the leading article by which the *Isvestija* announced the fact that Soviet athletes were attending the Olympic Games, it says: "This international event will favour friendly relations between the democratic youth of the states participating and further friendship among the nations." That was the day after the XV. Olympic Games.

When reading the above quotation one must bear in mind what sport means in the Soviet world and how far government help is concerned. The award for sport, the winning of which is almost obligatory, bears the motto "Ready for work and defence".

That is the dialectic perversion of the Olympic ideal. P. S.

Soviet-Russian Tactics of Conference

Accounts as to the beginning, course and number of discussions at the truce negotiations in Panmunjon, fall rather to the historian than to the journalist. The latter must, however, draw the conclusion that the discussions have led to no positive result because the communist negotiators systematically avoid any discussions that might bear fruit.

Their behaviour is an incentive to the study of the tactics of delegates of communist states at other occasions, where the object seems worth their sitting down to a round table talk.

The peace treaty for Austria could not be concluded with the victor states because the Soviet Union always obstructed negotiations, although the Soviet Union itself demanded its early signature, seven years ago.

The Congress of the International Red Cross at Toronto is not yet over, but the very first day it became evident that the participation of the communist delegates was dependent on their being able to use the Congress as a rostrum for communist propaganda against the western powers, and thus

He is just as little a doctor as he is a count, or officer in the Czech army abroad. It is obvious that with these assertions he has deceived official bodies as well as the public.

About a year and a half ago, Grezer called on leading personages in the Czech national group in Munich and offered them large sums of money and jewels if they would work for the Czech ministry of the interior, declaring that he was making the offer after a verbal agreement with the Czechoslovakian Consul-General, Dr. Dvorak. We informed the competent official places at the time of this affair. Since then Grezer has several times attempted to obtain information from us . . . to bribe members of our staff . . . and to win people over to work for communist red Prague ("Bohemia" No. 4/5, and 9/11, 1951).

The author thus exposed has neither contradicted the statement in the "Bohemia" of January last year, nor has he dared to bring an action against the paper.

That is the man who pretends that the A.B.N. is playing into Stalin's hands! It must be admitted that this "diplomat" is consistent. That is the "publicist" used by the Russian imperialists of the N.T.S. in their campaign, led by blind hatred, against us. One is inclined to ponder on that wise French proverb which runs: *Qui se semble, se ressemble*.

A.B.N. Memorandum

to the Conference of the International Red Cross in Toronto

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and its representation in Canada beg to draw the attention of the estimable delegates to certain matters of supreme importance which should be placed on the agenda of the Conference.

The price paid for the survival of the communist system of government, which is contrary to the very nature of man, has been extremely high. It called for a complete repudiation of all human rights and for an utter disregard of human dignity and of man himself as a free-thinking and free-willed being. That is why the U.S.S.R. and its satellites continue to combat in such an obstinate way all attempts directed to protect fundamental human rights as well as all humanitarian institutions working for this objective. From among those, the U.S.S.R. treats with special hatred the International Red Cross as an organization which protects the code of humanity.

The U.S.S.R. ignores this institution and thus not only prevents it from giving help and protection to the people behind the Iron Curtain but also violates the elementary principles of truth, by accusing it of being partial and of willingly serving the interests of the powers hostile to the U.S.S.R. During the Second World War, the U.S.S.R. prevented the Red Cross from helping the Soviet prisoners of war, thus wilfully help-

frustrate the successful discussion of the agenda.

The rigidity of communist tactics at conferences plainly shows what delegates have been ordered to achieve. At every international conference the prestige question comes first, for the Soviet Union. If they do not succeed in making the negotiations a tribune for their propaganda thesis and influencing them entirely in their sense, the delegates have the order to prevent the working out of any practical result whatever, as no result is always better than a doubtful one. The tactics applied are aimed at smothering the real object in view by endless, wearisome debates on agenda and formal legal questions of procedure.

The truce in Korea, the peace treaty with Austria and the problem of investigation committees formed by the International Red Cross in warlike conflicts are, after all, "hot" political problems and their final regulation might place undesirable, binding obligations on the Soviet Union. But the Soviet-Russians extend their obstructive tactics to politically "cold" objects too.

An international meteorological congress took place at Zurich this year, at which, beside the two Soviet-Russians, a Ukrainian and a Byelorussian delegate took part. The two Soviet-Russians, supported by their two missions, delayed proceedings with questions of etiquette, — according to the alphabetical arrangement of delegates the U.S.S.R. delegates were placed next the Americans, — and thus upset the order of procedure.

ing Nazi Germany in a mass extermination of these prisoners.

This attitude of the communist government towards the I.R.C. and its humanitarian activity does not in the least reflect the actual attitude towards this organization on the part of all the peoples enslaved by Moscow. At the very beginning of their national independence in 1917-20, these peoples, acting through their national governments joined this estimable organization. After an obstinate and bloody struggle, these now national states had been conquered and reoccupied by Russia. Having lost their sovereignty, these peoples were unable to take an active part in the work of the I.R.C. However, their true attitude toward the I.R.C. and the moral right of persons authorized to represent these peoples in that organization remained unchanged. It is only through these representatives and not through the antinational government of oppressors and hangmen that the true desires and feelings of those peoples can be ascertained.

Likewise the peoples who once established their national states, later occupied by communist Russia, cannot be treated as integral components of the Soviet State, because their struggle for national and social liberation has never ceased. Since the Second World War, this struggle reassumed the form of an armed resistance which has continued for the last ten years. It is not the struggle of a separate political group, nor is it merely a resistance of the unsatisfied — it is the struggle of the whole people for its national freedom. The irregular character of this guerilla warfare, based on the principle of voluntariness rather than on coercion, the limited number and particular character of the military contingents — all this is dictated by the circumstances and does not alter the true nature of this struggle. All these insurgent armies are the armed forces of the respective peoples and are fighters for the interests of their nations as a whole.

In their structure, subordination, outward appearance (uniform, equipment, etc.) as well as in their adherence to military laws, those insurgent armies do not in any way differ from the regular armies, since they are the armies of their nations in their struggle against the occupants for the restoration of their lost national sovereignty.

The limited range of the activity of these armies as well as the limited number of their soldiers are conditioned by the present situation. There is no doubt that, in the event of a clash with the communist world, these insurgent armies will become the centre

of gravity for all internal forces of resistance including the national contingents of the bolshevist armies themselves. They will be transformed into a mighty armed force, into regular national armies, who will create an internal anti-communist front. Even now the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is operating under the political direction of the underground revolutionary government — the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.).

The whole world is now aware that communist Moscow not only suppresses the armed resistance of the national liberation movements, but also conducts a policy of mass denationalization. Organized famines (of 1932-33), mass deportations to Siberia, Kazakhstan, etc., imprisonment of hundreds of thousands in forced labour camps, mass murders in jails and concentration camps — all this must be regarded as planned genocide.

Prompted by the above facts, we feel it our duty to submit to the Conference of the International Red Cross the following requests:

1) That the representatives of the peoples who, during their independence, were members of the International Red Cross, but subsequently were deprived by communist Russia, of all rights and possibilities to protect the interests of their peoples, be allowed to take part in this Conference.

2) That the insurgent armies of the peoples enslaved by communist Russia, and particularly the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), be recognized as warring armies with all consequences of such recognition implied by the Hague Convention, Articles 1 and 2 — 1899 (1907 edition).

3) That an investigation of the plight of the prisoners in the concentration camps of the deportees, of those forcibly repatriated in 1945-48, and of the soldiers of the insurgent armies taken prisoner, be launched by the I.R.C.; that the criminal methods of germ and chemical warfare used against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in Western Ukraine — and behind the Curzon line — as well as the spreading of epidemics among the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) be investigated; that massacres of prisoners before and during the Second World War, the slave labour camps and the mass extermination of peoples by famine be openly verified and confirmed before the forum of the whole world.

Hundreds of millions of people groan under the communist tyranny and the voices of these millions cannot be ignored by the International Red Cross, the organization which stands on guard of the principles of humanity and of human rights.

Toronto, July 29th, 1952.

(signed) Yaroslav Stetzko,
President of the Central Committee of
the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Resolutions

The mass rally as a part of the A.B.N. manifestation on July 27, 1952, in Toronto, states:

1) The antihuman Soviet regime is a combination of old Russian imperialism and communism and institutes a form of totalitarianism that is based on terror, genocide and the enslavement of free nations.

2) The Russian bolsheviks continue to commit the crimes they began on the

nations they enslaved thirty years ago. Since World War II they have done their utmost to spread their system of cruelty and hatred throughout the world.

3) In the same degree as they suppress with satanic determination all the liberation movements of the subjugated nations within their own borders, they are striking out with their fifth columns into all the free countries of the world, fomenting civil wars

→

Mrs. Edith Hyder

A Woman Works of on behalf of our Peoples

Our subjugated peoples have every right to complain of the "conspiracy of silence" in the West, regarding the political problems of their nations and their fight for freedom. Especially in the Anglo-Saxon lands it is necessary to overcome this idle and sometimes even unfriendly attitude of the publicists. It is therefore all the more pleasant a duty to bring to our friends' notice, those who are sincerely and selflessly exercising themselves about the fate of our peoples.

In Canada, we number among these Mrs. Edith Hyder, radio scripturier and commentator, who works for the association, C.H.M.L. In the popular series, "Humanity Unlimited", she speaks regularly on the concrete political, social and cultural problems of the post-war era. Recently, in a long radio talk from Hamilton, Ont., Canada, she spoke on the position, performances and the loyalty of the 500,000 Ukrainians who have settled in Canada. Proceeding from this Ukrainian emigration she went on to give her hearers a picture of the land of origin, of the history, culture, speech and fight for freedom of the subjugated Ukrainians. Shortly after this, she gave an exposition of the work of the A.B.N. of the aims of the non-Russian peoples of the, U.S.S.R. and the satellite states who are represented in it. On the occasion of the second national convention of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Canada, she referred, on June 26th, to the work and form of this association, which, in four continents and more than 19 countries, binds the Ukrainian youth together in loyalty to the fatherland.



Mrs. Edith Hyder

Examples like that of Mrs. Edith Hyder give our peoples and the emigration, the hope that understanding of their situation and problems will finally come about. Among the Ukrainians in exile, the name of this Canadian commentator has with time become a symbol, and will be mentioned again and again with warm fellow-feeling and gratitude.

Anti-bolshevist Manifestation in Chicago

On July 6, 1952 about 1000 persons, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Estonians, Latvians, Croats, Slovenes and other nations met to demonstrate under the auspices of different national organisations, as for instance, "American Friends of the A.B.N.", "United Croatian League of America", "Slovenian National Union of America" etc.

The participants passed a resolution in which they declared they would stand by their peoples at home in their struggle

against bolshevism and for national independence. In the resolution they undertook to support this struggle without reservation and declared their willingness to defend the country whose guests they are, against any communist aggression and were it with their lives. Furthermore, they demanded a plan for psychological warfare which gives due consideration to the political aims of the subjugated peoples. The meeting declared its solidarity with the so-called Kersten Resolution and Kersten's proposal to support the liberation struggle morally and financially.

and weakening them as a part of their plan for eventual world domination.

4) Since such Soviet activity is based on immorality and negation of all the humanitarian principles, the fight for freedom is at the same time the fight for the highest principles of humanity.

We appeal therefore to all those to whom these principles are dear and especially to the Toronto Conference of the International Red Cross:

1) The representatives of the Soviet Union at the International Red Cross Conference are the representatives of a state that is known as an organizer of mass genocide in a time of peace, an oppressor of non-Russian nations, a totalitarian police state; these representatives should be expelled

from the membership and the convention and the true representatives of the Moscow-subjugated nations should be admitted in their place.

2) The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and other Liberation Armies should be recognized as fighting combat units in accordance with the Hague Convention, Articles 1 and 2 of 1899 (edition of 1907) with the full rights implied by such recognition.

3) A judicial inquiry should be instituted to investigate mass genocide, deportations and similar crimes against humanity committed by Moscow in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states.

There will be no hope for peace and freedom while crimes are tolerated and criminals are admitted as partners of honest men.

Democracy Without Religions Freedom

In Tito's Yugoslavian democracy all the schools are under government control. Neither private nor Church schools are permitted. Religion as an educational subject has long since been forbidden, yet the Communist dictators seem to think that is not enough. At an annual meeting of the Teachers Association at Belgrade, a resolution was passed demanding that the influence of religion and the Church on pupils should be energetically combatted in the schools, as "behind it hide the reactionaries with their political aims".

At the annual meeting of university teachers which took place at the same time, it was pointed out that recently — i. e. while Tito was heging for economic support from the West, — some ideologies emerged again which had been hidden until then. It was also stressed that certain deans of universities and schoolmasters, on account of their reactionary religious conceptions, do not possess the moral qualifications to run an educational institution according to the socialist program.

Many a professor was discharged by these congresses because he still practiced his religion "hereby giving a bad example to the pupils."

The representatives of the teachers 'and professors' congresses were received by Tito in Belgrade, who declared, "I know that the world throw stones at us for alienating children from God and the Church, but we cannot permit our people to cling to superstition, for in our eyes all that is superstition . . . we do not persecute religion. Religion is the affair of the individual. But we will not allow children to be influenced by people whose opinion differs completely from ours. The state has the right to educate the children and must do so. We shall not give way to any pressure from outside in this matter."

Croatia Demands her Rights

In an open letter addressed to the President of the National Committee for a "Free Europe", Admiral Harold B. Miller, the chief editor of the Croatian newspaper, "Danica", published in Chicago, Dr. C. Majic, demands the full recognition of the right to self-determination of every people, by the National Committee. He draws attention to the fact that a similar motion had already been brought in in 1951 addressed to the former president of the National Committee, Ch. D. Jackson, without success or result, and that the expression "Yugoslavs" still haunts the committee. He therefore asked the president to give his Committee's official point of view on the national question.

On this occasion Dr. Majic draws attention to the so-called Williamsburger Declaration of 1952, which was signed by Dr. Miha Krek for "Yugoslavia" and he refers to the political past of that "Yugoslavian" representative. Dr. Majic expresses his opinion that a positive attitude towards the national question within the National Committee for a "Free Europe", would prevent men like Dr. Krek from speaking in the future, as the representative of peoples or states which have never issued them any kind of legitimation.

From behind the Iron Curtain

HUNGARY

ACTS AGAINST THE REGIME

The pitiless methods by which the farmers are forced to fulfil their delivery quotas must have deepened the discontent among them. Acts of sabotage increase, the peasants and their labourers use every possible means to escape the strict orders and regulations.

The State has the grain taken over and transported from the threshing machines by its own executives. The quotas are so high that the farmers are not even able to enjoy their legitimate rations. Deliveries are calculated on the area under cultivation, and outside influences, such as frost and inclement weather are not considered.

Since the beginning of the harvest, fires have increased in the country. The fire brigades having proved inadequate, the C. P. Councils officials have instituted special fire-fighting services in their areas. The youth organization "D.I.S.Z." has been called up for "voluntary" service with the fire-brigades. During harvest time, uniformed patrols and secret police keep a sharp look out for cases of sabotage among the peasants. But even they do not succeed in proving sabotage as reason for the numerous fires.

At a conference held behind closed doors by envoys from the Ministries of Justice and the Interior, the introduction of special courts for incendiarism was discussed. With regard, however, to the expected unfavourable political reaction at home and abroad, such stringent measures were refrained from.

LITHUANIA

CRISIS IN ECONOMY

The Moscow "Pravda" of July 13, 1952, announces that "The promotion of the national cadres to leading positions, in connection with the new administrative division of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic into areas and districts, has been considerable of late. The regional and district committees of the party have had to be particularly careful in their work of choosing able and politically mature persons for the work in their organizations." Then in another place we read "owing to negligence in the cadre work serious failings in the direction of economy have occurred."

This only proves that administration in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic has until quite recently been in the hands of Russians. Their contact with the Lithuanian population, among whom they are regarded as alien occupation, has called forth a crisis in the economy of the country. The Soviet government has been obliged to replace the Russian corps of functionaries by "national cadres". In spite of political schooling, they obviously lack "politically mature" officials, reshuffling being the order of the day, as the "Pravda" confirms.

POLAND

EARLY COMMUNISTS IN PURGATORY

In all secrecy a great purge in the Communist Party of Poland is going on which

is chiefly directed against people who joined the party before and during the war. The new members who were inscribed as party members between 1947-1948, are younger, uncritical and reliable. The older members still remember the pre-war line and do not easily succumb to the Russians. For that reason especially many young people were given high and important positions, quite frequently with the aid of Russian technical and economic instructors. This development is especially noticeable since 1951.

The reason for dissatisfaction with the older members of the Communist Party lies chiefly in a purely social question: The old communists cling to the equality motto, whereas the Russian tendency is directed towards a society of castes. For instance the old communists demanded a one month holiday for everybody. The Russians, however, made the holiday dependent on the production or transport of goods for Russia. The old communists opposed the favours granted to the technicians and managers, which give them all economic privileges, as, for the Russians, these people have an important influence on the increase or decrease of production. The old communists were enemies of the Russian exploitation of the land and fought it wherever they were able. This caused the Russians to send Russian economic instructors, who have the task of securing the requirements of the U.S.S.R. and seeing that the Poles do not sabotage them.

RUMANIA

SABOTAGE ON THE DANUBE-BLACK SEA CANAL

According to reports in the Rumanian communist press, the Rumanian Security Police have discovered a deviation-Black Sea Canal project. This group has made it their object to delay the building of the canal. Among those arrested are the heads of the planning department and machinery department. Their professional and political past alone would make them suspect in the eyes of the political police. Former independent contractors — therefore "capitalists" and men who belonged during Antonescu's regime to political parties — therefore "fascists".

In the bolshevist-system it is the custom to make sabotage responsible for the non-fulfilment of the too high demands on labour, and by intimidation to force greater achievement. When action becomes necessary the past decides who is to suffer for the sabotage and then former "capitalist" and "reactionary" elements are chosen. This procedure has existed in the Soviet Union since 1917.

SLOVAKIA

POPULATION PROTECTS RESISTANCE-FIGHTERS

A patrol of the "National Security" (Communist C.I.D.) of Dolny Kubin arrested a, — for them suspicious, — Slovak in the neighbouring woods and imprisoned him. At

night friends helped him to escape and in the morning the guard found an empty cell and a piece of paper, on which was written: "Good-bye! Thanks for your hospitality! Away with Gottwald and Czechoslovakia! Cheers for Dr. Durcansky and the Slovak Republic!"

The cases of Slovak resistance fighters escaping from prison are not so rare, and that proves that Slovak resistance possesses the support of the population.

SLOVAKIA BECOMES A SOVIET AIR-BASE

By Soviet command, new military air-fields are being established and the already existing civilian air-ports are being reconstructed for military purposes. At present there are air-fields near the following towns or villages: Bratislava, Holie, Malacky, Trnava, Komarno, Lucence, Trencin, Partizanske (formerly Batovany), Nitra, Zilina, Krizna, B. Bystrica, P. Bystrica, Kosice, Bardejov, Sp. N. Ves, Poprad, Presov, Cierna n. Trisou, Humenne, Ruzomberok, Martin-Vrutky, in all 27.

The haste with which the plants are built lead one to the conclusion that the Soviets intend to turn Slovakia into an air-base.

C. P. SECRETARY-GENERAL ARRESTED

Since the end of February of this year the fate of the secretary-general of the Communist Party of Slovakia, Bastovansky, has been unknown. Now we learn that he is among the victims of the purge of the Communist Party in Slovakia and was arrested like Clementis, Husak and Novemesky.

TURKISTAN

UNSATISFACTORY CONDITIONS

The Soviet government now finds it necessary to take energetic measures against lack of discipline among the State and Party functionaries in Turkistan, just as in Georgia. Kolkhoses are being exploited for private purposes, "borrowed foodstuffs" etc. not returned and the resulting gaps hushed up. Hand in hand with all that, an apparently undesired isolation of the official bodies on the part of the population is being practised.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, which took place the beginning of July 1952, these failings were revealed and forced the secretaries of the regional and district committees to a "self-critical" report on the situations. The Communist Party papers, "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" and "Sozialistik Kazakhstan", as well as the radio news staff came in for a sharp reprimand.

UKRAINE

SINS OF OMISSION

A new scapegoat has been found in the Institute for Ukrainian Literature, a department of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The "Radyanska Ukraina" takes the occasion of the publication of the collected works of I. Kotlarevsky, not only to criticize the Institute, but also to make it clear to the Ukrainian intellectuals, what is expected of them.

Objection is taken to the introduction to the first volume of Kotlarevsky's work which was written by a member of the Institute.

→

What is openly complained of is, that "the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, have tried to conceal the inseparable bonds between the culture of the two peoples."

By keeping from the working classes the influence of the great liberation ideal which came from revolutionary Russia, by intending to destroy the revolutionary bond between the Russian and Ukrainian workers and subjecting them to the influence of the great landowners and capitalists, the bourgeois nationalist have ignored in the history of the Ukrainian people, and in their cultural history, all that binds the two brother nations, and not only that, they have even stooped to falsefictions. Soviet history of literature must show the old relationships between the two peoples and their leading, progressive men with all their importance."

"Instead of that the author of the preface has given an account of the development of Ukrainian literature that have been written by any bourgeois nationalist."

Thus the author's sins are sins of omission. And further, "The characterization of Shevchenko's works in this article are equally unsatisfactory, it is contained in the statement that Shevchenko in his books depicts the struggle of the Ukrainian people as a constructive historical factor". There is no word as to what the Ukrainian struggle was about, nor against whom. Nor is it mentioned that Shevchenko was a democratic revolutionary and collaborated with the great Russian revolutionaries Chernyshevsky and Dobrolubov". Or: "It must be said that the author never refers to the works of Lenin and Stalin, nor does he follow the Lenin-Stalin principles when he writes of the problems of history, culture and national relationship between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples."

"RECOMMENDATION" TO UKRAINIAN ACADEMICIANS

"Inadequate organization and discussion" is the reproach thrown at the Ukrainian historians, by the "Radyanska Ukraina" of July 4, 1952, for the work still to be done" and for those "who do not esteem self-criticism". What that means may be gathered from the following recommendation. "It is time books were published on Stalin's linguistic theory, and new works should appear that are concerned with the important tricentenary of Ukraine's union with Russia".

Cossack Conference in Munich

On August 3rd ended the session of the plenary meeting of the Executive Council, which was convened by the Supreme Ataman-President, *Geneneral Makeeff*, in Munich.

The President of the Supreme Kosack Representation in exile who is a Civ. Eng. *Glaskov*, gave a detailed report on the present position of the Soviet-occupied Kosack country, on the condition of the organizations of the Kosack emigration, which is to be found in all countries of the free world, and on the progress of the fight for liberty of the Kosack people.

The plenary meeting of the Kosack Executive Council busied itself with all questions of the Kosack liberation policy and with the settlement of the basis on which the future struggle of the Kosack people is to be carried on, and with the co-ordination of this struggle with that of the other peoples subjugated by bolshevism.

View of part
of the platform during
the rally of the
Ukrainian Youth
Association (S.U.M.)
at Toronto, (Canada),
on the occasion
of President of A.B.N.
Stetko's Visit.
Among those on the
platform is the
Mrs. Mukha-Stetko



The Kosacks are continuing the fight for the re-establishment of the national independence of their homeland—Kosackia.

In United Front

Between the B.D.J. (German Youth League) which is developing more and more into an effective anti-bolshevist power in Germany and which has set itself the task of rousing the German people to shake off Stalin's fifth column, and the A.B.N., there has been, of late, much mutual work, work that found expression in public meetings.

At the Whitsuntide meeting of the B.D.J. at Frankfurt on Main, at which 6,000 members took part, some A.B.N. representatives were present too, and also at the big demonstration on 27, July, 1952 at Essen. At both meetings Prince Niko Nakaschidse (Georgia) was the chief A.B.N. speaker. His statement that "German youth has the honourable task of being the defence of the accident against the onslaught of Russian bolshevism" was met with hearty applause. "We, the representatives of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the so-called Satellite States, are proud" he continued, "to be able to tell you that the fighting spirit in our peoples has not been quenched and they are ready to sacrifice all to achieve the aim we strive for. That aim is the liberation of our peoples from bolshevist terrorism and Russian despotism and the setting up of free states independent from Russia, with democratic governments."

The second speaker at the Whitsuntide meeting, R. Ilnitsky (Ukraine) said: "We, here in the West, are often asked how we manage, in spite of the most dreadful terrorism the world has ever known, to keep up a successful underground struggle. Our answer is simple. It is only because we have set against the enemy's fanaticism for the bad, our fanaticism for the good, and because we have been able to inspire in the masses a high state of idealism and self-sacrifice... If the youth of Germany will save their people from immanent peril, they, too, must be filled with an idealistic fighting spirit."

At the Essen rally both Mykola Fil, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the representative of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) Yaroslav Pelensky, were received with applause.

Calendar of National Memorial Days of Our Peoples

August

August 15

Georgia: Day of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Georgian people. The Georgian Church is the only Orthodox Church that worships the Madonna. In Georgia the month of August is called Mary's Month.

August 20

Hungary: National holiday of the Hungarians in memory of St. Stephen, first King of Hungary (997—1038) who was the founder of the Hungarian State and furthered the conversion of his people to Christianity. The procession of St. Stephen in Budapest is the principal event in the celebrations. It was forbidden in 1948 and in its place a "people's democratic festival" was introduced.

August 29

Georgia: Georgian day of mourning in memory of the great uprising against the Soviet-Russian occupation, during which thousands of Georgian patriots were shot.

September

September 8

Lithuania: National holiday of the Lithuanians in memory of Vytautes the Great, and the Lithuanian State of the past.

September 9

Bulgaria: Black day of the new Bulgarian history: the forced breakdown in 1944 of the constitutional Bulgarian Kingdom engineered with the aid of the Red Army; the establishment of the Soviet Russian domination in Bulgaria; the beginning of the systematic genocide of the Bulgarian people.

September 12

Georgia: Day of mourning in memory of Georgia's annexation by Russia (1801).

September 15

Azerbaijan: On this day in 1918 the insurgents of Azerbaijan freed their capital Baku from the bolsheviks who had occupied it.

The Russians and Ourselves

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. takes up the Argument

The effect our ideas have had on world opinion has called forth a campaign of misrepresentation and libel concerning our aims, and the more our conception of the dismemberment of the Russian imperium, which is now menacing the world, and the restoration of the national independence of the peoples enslaved within it, is recognized by the West as a decisive factor in solving the present world crisis, the more violently we are attacked by people who have an interest in doing so. The prime movers in this campaign are to be found among influential circles of Russian emigré imperialists whose chief object is no longer the defeat of bolshevism but rather, it seems, the preservation of the great despotic Russian empire, at any price.

The campaign against us is carried on in a flood of pamphlets, newspaper articles, memorandums and secret reports sent to western chancellories, in all of which the A.B.N. is presented as a party of anti-Russian extremists obsessed by hatred, as chauvinists and separatists. To crown all, it is declared that our fight is likely to crush all resistance offered by the Russian people to Stalin's regime and drive them into his arms, thus jeopardizing any war against bolshevism.

In face of this, the Central Committee of the A.B.N. has no other course than to publish the following statement:

1. There is not a single proof of any aggressive or enimical feeling towards the Russian people as such, either in the historical past or in the ideology and activity of the national liberation movement of the A.B.N. The conflicts in the past and in the present between us and Russia have arisen solely and alone from Russian imperialistic policy and not from any enmity or hate of the Russians themselves. Our attitude and our struggle are not now and never were guided by "anti-Russianism" but only by our inalienable right to national and cultural self-preservation.

It cannot be laid at our door that we ever allowed ourselves to be influenced by hate or malice, on the contrary, it was the Russian thirst for power and alleged Messiahship that more than once

made our peoples the objects of sanguinary wars of conquest and tyrannical genocidal systems of government, just as to-day. That is why we call upon the whole world to go shoulder to shoulder with us, not against the Russian people and its sacred right to existence and free development as a state, but simply against that aggressive Russian imperialism which threatens the world to-day, with loss of freedom, justice and all that is sacred to man.

2. Taught by experience we have recognized bolshevism with its slogan of "proletarian world revolution" as another type of the old messiahship that inspired Russian imperialism. The fight against Stalin cannot therefore be separated from the fight against Russia's policy of conquest and accompanying thirst for power. Bolshevism cannot be combatted while Russian imperialists are pandered to and allowed to have their way. It is a contradiction to wish to do away with the Soviet world menace and at the same time preserve the Russian empire. Whoever seeks to guarantee peace and security to the world must of necessity turn against the former and work for the restoration of the freedom of all peoples, including the Russian people.

The Russian people must inevitably remain on the other side of the barricade

Editorial

Never Again!

An Historical Review

If there is one motto to which all the Slav people behind the Iron Curtain agree, it is this: Never again to listen to naive and irresponsible political quacks who, influenced by the pan-Slavian idea, plead for close relations with the "elder Russian brother" or for confidence in "mother Russia", by which, consciously or unconsciously, they open the door to Russian-bolshevist genocide.

After all the bitter, sanguinary experience with Russian-bolshevist rule, the enslaved peoples — some sooner, some only after the last war, — are done, once and for all, with every kind of ruinous russophile impulse. They hate nothing worse to-day, than the dead myth of all-Slavic solidarity which was so brutally abused by its Russian originators that it was turned into quite the opposite. Just this deeply founded aversion among our peoples to the efforts of Moscow to appeal to all-Slavic sentiments, in order to misuse them further and let them die for its imperialist aims, is an historical factor which may not be overlooked by responsible statesmen in the western world, if the right way is to be found out of this present world crisis.

It is all the more shocking when reputed western politicians make statements on the world's problems that give evidence of an incredibly false conception of the east-west conflict, and when they identify Russian-bolshevist aggression with a presumed expansion of the alleged "all-Slav-Bloc" of nations. The foreign minister of a great western country, for instance, thought it proper to assure his hearers that "no coalition of Slav states would ever be able defeat the free world." Even were that a thoughtless lapse, we cannot let it go unchallenged. On the contrary we feel we must take this opportunity to declare categorically and publicly, that there is no such thing as a bloc of Slavic peoples ready to rally round Russia and threaten the free world. They simply do not exist. There is, however, an eastern bloc of enslaved countries and peoples, held together by

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Never Again!

the fetters of force, and harnessed in the service of Russian imperialism. It is up to the West, and western policy, to see that these fetters are not tightened, but loosened, and at once, so that in case of war they will fall to the ground and our hand-cuffed peoples become reliable allies of the free world against Russia.

Striking Consequences

It should be known by now that pan-Slavism has long ceased to exist as a criterion of realist-political alliances in Europe, and that the all-Slavic idea only limps on the crutches of Russian imperialism and Moscow's policy of russification. Anyone with an idea of conditions behind the Iron Curtain, must realize that it is just the non-Russian Slavic peoples, — Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgarians and Cossacks, — that have not only drawn away from every sort of pan-Slavism but are irreconcilable enemies of Moscow's assimilation policy, camouflaged as all-Slavism. There can therefore be no question whatever of a "coalition of Slavic peoples" willing to take up the fight for Stalin's policy against the free western world, if the fight against world aggression and bolshevism is not started on a wrong track.

The West, however, must not stop there. If the West wishes to gain the friendship of our peoples and win their real co-operation by way of their political emigrants, all practical consequences must be weighed. The West must see the recent political past and present with our eyes, get into our skins, so to speak, in order to know who is the right person to mediate for our people and who not, who is capable and has the vocation to kindle all the mental and physical forces of these peoples against Moscow and the West, and on the other hand to realize who is unfitted and will

therefore crush all confidence and transform it into ill-humour and anger.

Former, dazzled apostles of russophile pan-Slavism, who, not so long ago, sought alliance with Russia and in their pro-Russian period did not shrink from following instructions from the Third International and make common cause with the communists, until they became the grave-diggers of their countries, they are the well-known members of the so-called "Green International" who sought to misguide the peasantry, in the past, with russophile catch-words and when they lost favour with their masters, fled and asked for asylum in the West. They are ex-politicians of the Krensky type who, having failed, and betrayed the parole of national freedom and democracy, now in exile do their utmost to gain new victims among the emigrants and credit for their bankrupt enterprise from the West. Finally, they are career seekers, who have never been the spokesmen of their peoples and who now disregard their sacred historical bequest in order to become opportunists of exile initiative.

One need to be a psychologist to realize that such bankrupt emigré politicians, though pampered by the West, are hated and defamed by their own people and ours, because they have a part in causing the martyrdom of to-day. Western policy will not find access to the hearts of our peoples as long as it is obscured by that obnoxious veil.

A Unique Chance

No race feelings, no class paroles, and no cosmopolitan phrases can stir the hearts of our martyred peoples to-day. At no other time in history was the revolt against, and disgust with Moscow's brutal russification policy so great as now and hardly ever have civilized nations longed for the return of their liberty and independence as fervently,

In the psychological and political attitude of the "peoples of the East", however, all this is determined by an historical status nascendi, which the West should make use of to cut out Russian imperialism and for the blessing of a lasting, free reorganization of the continent and the world.

But the temptation to order the historical development of the people arbitrarily from outside must be resisted. Nations have a deep-rooted political instinct that is not easy to deceive and beyond that a very lively historical memory. They develop after their own historical experiences and reactions thereto. The West must not make the mistake of trying to swim against the stream of the said historical development, by forcing upon them spokesmen who are at variance with their inmost political will and feeling.

Traitors and bankrupts of the last few years cannot be grafted on our people as their spokesmen. Only proved fighters for national freedom and social justice, true martyrs who gave all for God and country and have always been on the right side of the barricade and have warned our peoples of popular deceivers, only such leaders will be accepted and trusted, and only they are able to kindle their enthusiasm.

With such leaders our people will be able to judge in how far the West is serious about their liberation, for their history and political instinct will not allow them to be deceived. That is why our peoples have rallied round the banner of their longed-for liberation and their true undaunted leaders and will have nothing to do with men who have been companions and blood-brothers of communism and Russian orientation, but are now giving lip-service to "freedom and democracy". Our people have spoken the final word "never again".

Thus we can only repeat that until the West ceases from pushing the proper builders of their future aside, it will never find its way into the hearts of our peoples and will lose the inestimable priority to doubtful political figures.

Appreciation Expressed to "American Friends of A.B.N."

When General Farkas de Kisbarnak, Chairman of the Military Commission of the A.B.N., had reported on his lecture tour in U.S.A. in May 1952, the Central Committee of the A.B.N. at its meeting on June 27, 1952, passed a resolution of thanks and appreciation to the organization of "American Friends of A.B.N." for their excellent organization and preparation of the lectures, press conferences etc. The proposal was received and passed with acclamation.

The American Friends of A.B.N. have already achieved good political connections and done successful work, a fact which was proved by the attendance of many prominent American guests and thousands of members of the national exile groups.

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The Russians and Ourselves

in this struggle, as long as they support the tyranny of bolshevist aggression or allow themselves to be made tools for it — they themselves need liberation, and not alone from rulers like Stalin, but from every kind of imperialist government clique, so that they may never again be led away from all sense of elementary international justice or be tempted into wars of aggression by chauvinist catch-words. The Russians as a people must not be manoeuvred into the rôle of a master-race and burdened with a tyrannical domination over alien nations, but be given, at long last, the possibility of developing its own forces in peaceful reconstruction on its own territory, devoting itself to its own cares and joys.

3. It is a cynical travesty of the facts to call the struggle of the A.B.N. for freedom and independence, anti-Russian chauvinism and separatism. On the contrary it is our nations which are the victims of a chauvinistic Soviet Russian regime, and subjected to systematic russification. Disguised as new "Soviet patriotism" which in fact has no other object but the denationalizing of our peoples and their enslavement, Stalin is carrying on a brutal chauvinistic policy to satisfy the mania for world conquest. By defending ourselves against this "new patriotism" we are struggling against our assimilation and are working in the best sense of the word for the interests of the entire civilized world — a world which is everywhere threatened by Moscow's mighty fifth column and with Soviet patriotism. Those who deny the truth of this and take exception to our national defence measures must be either smitten with blindness or be playing directly and with intent into Moscow's hands.

4. The reproach of separatism brought against us, is just as paradoxical. It can be no secret for any half-way educated person in the West that the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are no more Russian than those of the so-called satellite states which only had the bad luck to fall under Moscow's rule after the last war. There is just as little excuse for the integration or incorporation into the "great Russian empire" of the one as of the other. All our peoples, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Aserbaijans, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, Turkestanians, etc. have more than once in their histories had their own highly developed economic national states and have always possess-

ed a marked, wide-spread culture, which has been preserved in spite of years of alien domination and the most brutal policy of assimilation. Besides, these peoples have retained their individual characteristics and have striven always for freedom from Moscow and for independence. It is a travesty of known facts, now, to suddenly call their claims to their irrefutable rights as nations, separatism, just because the world has suffered and become accustomed their long subjugation under Russia.

There are, it is true, a few elements among our peoples who allow themselves to be bought by Russia's exile imperialists to propagate the preservation of the great Russian despotic empire, just as others, led astray by Stalin's new "Soviet patriotism", now sit at home in high offices, the tools of an alien regime against their own people. Their rôle is no different from that of Maurice Thorez or Palmiro Togliatti* who are waiting to receive Stalin's "army of liberation" with open arms. To refuse our peoples and their spokesmen in the A.B.N. the right to combat such elements and to represent our repudiation of the Russians and Moscow as separatism, is as foolish as to call the revolt of the Italian or French people against treason and Moscow's fifth column, separatism.

5. The climax of the whole mendacious propaganda against A.B.N. is the allegation that our demands, directed as they are against the retention of the Russian empire as such, are detrimental to the fight against bolshevism, because they will drive the Russian people over to Stalin's side and, in an armed conflict with Moscow, turn them into enemies of the West. The answer to that allegation is, that the Soviet Russian system is in any case supported by the Russian people. Key positions in the govern-

ments of all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R. are in Russian hands. Moscow's "cultural policy" within the U.S.S.R. itself, as well as in the satellite states behind the Iron Curtain, is dominated by the idea of russification. All that is Russian is glorified by every possible means and Russia's "mission" is impressed upon the minds of the people daily. In short, the Russian people to-day, have have been made the bearers of Soviet power and are fired by the worst kind of chauvinism in the form of Soviet patriotism which only proves that, in spite of some discontent with the regime the Russians regard the Soviet Union as their own empire, feel themselves as a master-race within it and are ready to defend it; for, whereas in all the non-Russian peoples strong underground movements and national liberation organizations are at work, there have been none worth mentioning in the whole territory of Russia proper during the Soviet regime.

Even if the West should carry on its psychological strategic warfare against Moscow, according to the Russian exile imperialists' recipe, i. e. preservation of the integration of the Russian empire, the Russians as such, with the exception of those in exile and perhaps a few in the country, could never be made to waver in their "Soviet patriotism" and thus would not be won against Stalin. On the other hand, the West in that case would certainly lose its great chance in a war against Moscow: the sympathy of its natural allies, the 100 million non-Russian people of the U.S.S.R.; their hopes of liberation would be crushed, their national revolutionary incentive paralyzed and they would be forced back into the floods of "Soviet patriotism".

For that reason alone and not from any enmity against the Russian people we demand, with a clear conscience, and also in the interest of the free world itself, an unambiguous avowal that Russian despotism will be abolished and the freedom and independence of our peoples and states restored. The conflict against communism and bolshevism must and can not be fought with the enslavement of our peoples as a pawn.

It is not our conception which is a drawback in the fight against Stalin and the world menace of bolshevism, but vice versa, it is the recognition of the Russian claim to an empire which will destroy this fight, that is the simple sum the A.B.N. sets the world for serious contemplation.

Summarized, our claims are: The A.B.N. fight is not *anti-Russian*, but only directed *against bolshevism* and

„Soviet patriotism“

is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R.. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism. Assurances that the Russian imperium is indivisible cannot destroy new Soviet patriotism, but it may paralyse the willingness to fight of 100 millions of nationally conscious non-Russians.

The Triumphal March of Our Ideas

A.B.N.-President Stetzko Travels Through Canada

President Yaroslav Stetzko's publicity campaign in Canada, where something like seven thousand Ukrainian emigrants are scattered all over the country, is still going on.

Mass Meeting at Regina

Reports reaching us from Regina, Saskatchewan, tell us of a mass anti-communist meeting at which Mr. Stetzko, as well as a clergyman, Mr. Branch of Moose Jaw, spoke in the City Hall. Mr. Branch is a well known member of the "Canadian Anti-Communist League" and head of the press office. The meeting ended with a resolution in which it was demanded that the Communist Party and its underground organizations in Canada should be declared illegal and dissolved.

After the meeting President Stetzko was asked for an interview, during which he explained the ideas of the A.B.N. and the aims of the nations belonging to it. Later the Moose Jaw radio broadcast a half hour report on the struggle of the A.B.N. and the peoples subjected by Moscow. The meeting itself had been relayed from the City Hall by the local radio station.

Anti-Communist Manifestation in Montreal

There was another anti-communist mass meeting at which President Stetzko was the

therefore against its *proto-type Russian imperialism*. This fight is not chauvinistic but for national freedom. It is not separatist, but for national parity.

Our peoples yearn for the hour when they will be able to live as good neighbours with the Russians, and work for economic, cultural and political well-being with them, as well as among themselves, contributing, as members of a harmonious community of nations, to the general welfare of mankind, on a basis of equal rights. In this sense we accept European integration and every other regulation of great areas that does away with selfish national claims of power and ruinous national rivalries.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. appeals to the responsible statesmen of the West to free themselves from all tendacious propaganda in their attitude towards the A.B.N. and to consider the facts given above without prejudice, in the interest of the whole world.

July, 1952

**Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc
of Nations (A.B.N.)**

chief speaker, on June 16, 1952, in Montreal. "The Gazette", a Canadian daily, reports on it as follows:

"Mr. Stetzko said that certain political officials are trying to organize some of the immigrants from eastern European countries

"Close to 500 enthusiastic persons made Memorial Hall echo with their applause when he told about the active resistance of freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain to Red totalitarianism..."

His were heartening words in many ways,



*A Temple
of Trust in God and
the Home Country*

The Ukrainian Church
in Edmonton, Canada

to incorporate them in a future non-communist federated Russia..."

Agents of the Russian imperialist N.T.S. attempted in vain to disturb the impressive meeting by heckling. Their provocation disgusted the audience of over 1,500, and the imperialist spies were suppressed and turned out of the hall.

Stetzko vs. Buck

Under the above title the "Sudbury Daily Star" in its June 11 issue, draws a comparison between the visit and meeting of the A.B.N. President and that of the communist leader of Canada, Tim Buck, a short time before. The latter had been badly attended and had made very little stir in the town whereas there were at least 5 times as many at President Stetzko's meeting and his speech was enthusiastically received. The paper writes:



Assembled photos from the Canadian press on the occasion of the A.B.N. President's visit to Canada.

for he said that international resistance to the Red regime which threatens to engulf the world is a strong, organized thing. His was no tarnished tale of a Soviet Eden with sweetness and light, high production figures and happy collective farmers.

His message was one of tragedy and truth, honesty and hope. His Sudbury reception was a promising one, reflecting the opinion of an aroused Canada, both among its native and foreign-born population."

Canadian Trade Unions on President Stetzko

The official Magazine of the National Council of Canadian Labour, "National Labour Journal", has an article in the June number about President Stetzko's visit to Canada. The paper speaks well of President Stetzko and the just cause for which the A.B.N. is fighting.

Wherever Mr. Stetzko went in Canada he won the hearts of the numerous emigrants from all the nations represented in the A.B.N. and, needless to say, most especially those of his own compatriots, who, without regard to political views or party, gave evidence of their sympathy and solidarity with him.

Western Broadcasts Feared

According to information received from Lithuania, the Soviets are increasing the power of their own radio stations in an effort to counter transmissions from the West. Near Berlin a new station for the purpose of jamming those transmissions has been set up. In the Lithuanian towns of Vilna, Kaunas, Siauliai and Memel control measures have been tightened to discover who listens to Western broadcasts.

Resolutions

Adopted at the Anti-Bolshevist Manifestation

sponsored by the representatives of fifteen ethnic groups, namely: Azerbaijanians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Chinese (national), Cossacks, Estonians, Georgians, Hungarians, Idel-Uralians, Latvians, Lithuanians, North-Caucasians, Slovaks, Turkistanians, Ukrainians, — all united in the "American Friends of Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations, inc.", attended by representatives of the United States Congress, leading Americans, and by over four thousand people of various ethnic groups, whose kin are suffering under the Russian yoke; held on Sunday, May 4th, 1952, at the Manhattan Center, New York City, in conformity with speakers and statements made at this manifestation:

The world of today is divided in two blocs running against each other to an inevitable and total conflict.

The Bolshevik bloc ruled by Kremlin which according to corrupt traditions of historical Russian imperialism is striving for domination of the globe:

The bloc of Western Democracies under the leadership of the United States is fight-



Member of Congress, Ralph W. Gwinn, while capturing the gathering by his ardent address in antibolshevist manifestation in New York.

ing for human rights, justice, and world peace;

The third bloc — the bloc of nations subjugated by Russia, in spite of the huge potential resources and its psychological solidarity with the Western bloc, meets a dangerous indifference in this country because of lack of understanding and because of subversive action of Russian or pro-Russian elements. This indifference toward the peoples enslaved and tyrannized by Russian Bolshevism is unjust and thus endangering the interests of our country.

There actually exists an immense anti-Bolshevist struggle of all non-Russian peoples behind the Iron Curtain for national freedom and independence. This struggle is lead by the underground national liberation movements which are being coordinated by the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). We believe that their struggle must be actively supported by the Western world, governments and people, if the world should achieve the just peace.

Since we consider the Russian imperialism under the Bolshevik rulers today as the only menace to our precious freedom and individual rights in this country and to establishment of just world peace.

We Hereby State

It is our steadfast purpose — as Americans of various ethnic groups to bring an effective aid to all nations subjugated by Russian Bolshevik imperialism, so that they at proper time overthrow the Bolshevik regimes,

and establish their free and independent, national and democratic states on their ethnographic territories in the universal spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, and of the Charter of the United Nations and thus the just world peace can be achieved.

We highly recommend to our Government in Washington to instruct our United States Delegates to the United Nations to present a plan for a peaceful solution of today's world crisis by urging Soviet Russia to return freedom to all subjugated nations under the Soviet domination, and to retire all Russian forces from the non-Russian territories, and to give these peoples the opportunity to choose their national and democratic governments on their ethnic soils, under the supervision of the United Nations.

Only thus the threatening war can be avoided.

Should Soviet Russia refuse this plan, we urge all freedom-loving nations in the U.N. to take immediate steps in order to expel the Soviet Union with its satellite delegates from the United Nations Organization and to break all the diplomatic and commercial treaties with the said Soviet Union and its so-called satellite countries.

We further recommend that the true representatives of the oppressed nations be permitted to be seated in the United Nations and given the opportunity to speak for their enslaved nations. The Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) should be consulted by the United Nations as a qualified body in choosing such representatives.

We, the assembled at this anti-Bolshevist Manifestation, guided by the American Friends of A.B.N. Inc. pledge our full support to all noble efforts and determined crusade against the aggressive and imperialistic policy of the so-called Soviet Union.

We also pledge our support to the well planned psychological warfare aimed to encourage and aid all peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle for freedom and independence.

We call the attention of the United States Government and the American people to the fact that Bolshevism is nothing but a combination of two evils, traditional Russian imperialism and international Communism, the aim of both being identical: to dominate the whole globe by the Russian rulers.

We, therefore, fully endorse the veritable statement of the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of June 26th, 1951, concerning the fact that the present Soviet policy is a continuation of a 500-year-old Russian imperialism.

We call attention of our Government and governments and people of the free world to the fact that it is a misstatement to refer to the people of so-called Soviet Union as "peoples of Russia" or "Russian peoples"; such terms are a misnomer since the majority of the population of this Soviet Union are non-Russian people.

We do acknowledge to the Russians the same right for freedom and independence as for any other non-Russian people; but we do urge decidedly that the Russian people renounce their aggrandizing aspirations to dominate any other non-Russian nation.

We Strongly Urge:

that the existing underground movements behind the Iron Curtain be given direct and effective assistance in their unequal life-and-death struggle for freedom and independence of their nations;



Antibolshevist manifestation in New York. Member of Congress, O. K. Armstrong, while declaring his full support to the struggle for freedom and independence of all nations behind the Iron Curtain.

that the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the United States Senate;

that the ratification of the Genocide Convention be implemented by all possible efforts of the United States Government within the United Nations in order to show the world the most terrific enslavement of all people under the Soviet regime and to do everything possible that this horrible crime be stopped.

We also urge the adoption by the Congress of the United States of the following measures:

The Kersten Resolution (House concurrent resolution 94) expressing the friendship of the American people for the 110 millions enslaved non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and recognizing the rights of these peoples to freedom and independence.

The Kersten Amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1951 asking assistance for friendly nations from behind the Iron Curtain.

The establishment of an independent Voice of Subjugated Nations in order to make more effective our psychological warfare policy.

Finally, we express our highest admiration to all the United States and United Nations fighters in Korea as well as to all the underground forces, who are fighting for freedom and independence of nations subjugated by the Russian imperialists.

We realize that all the efforts on our side to achieve peace with those hidden behind



Bolshevist Propaganda in Case of War

It is not necessary to prove to the reader that Moscow is preparing the U.S.S.R. peoples psychologically for war. The West is well aware of that fact. What is less well known are the bolshevist methods for making the Soviet citizen they need for their war aims, immune against enemy propaganda. The characteristic feature of that propaganda is the endeavour to call forth a psychological "either-or" spirit i. e. a fight to the death against the cruelty and barbarism of those occupying the country, or a more terrible death at their hands. The bolshevists leave nothing undone to keep this artificially provoked and cleverly arranged dilemma from overstepping its limits. They spare no means of stamping out the very idea in the minds of Soviet citizens that a war against the West might bring some relief from their present miserable situation. To keep the people caught as by a vice in this "either-or" (either death or war against capitalist "robbers", gangsters and political imperialists) is the main object of bolshevist propaganda at present and in a war it would be the same.

Atrocity Propaganda

To achieve their aim the bolshevists seek to blacken their enemies in the eyes of the population. "Capitalists must be represented as degenerate, an American, Englishman or Frenchman, so far as he is not a communist, is an egoistic gangster who only thinks of himself, his food and the satisfaction of his animal instincts. These people walk over the dead bodies of their fellows to attain their ends, and neither the tears nor the sufferings of their nearest and dearest can turn them aside. They live for themselves, make money and dominate as they like. Capitalist morals have made them beasts of prey, and cruel. Prisoners are tortured and allowed to starve to death, defenseless populations, with women and children, are slaughtered in a sea of blood. They know no mercy and no one is safe from them, only those who take up the fight against them in self-defense can hope to survive.

"So beat them, defend yourselves or

the mask of the Red Chinese government will be exploited by the Russian Bolshevists to gain strength and make us weaker.

We congratulate whole heartedly all the brave fighters and call upon them and all the freedom loving peoples of the world to unite in the struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism:

FOR GOD AND FREEDOM!
FOR FREEDOM OF ALL NATIONS!
FOR FREEDOM TO INDIVIDUALS!

else they will kill you." To make such propaganda credible, the bolshevists created a number of "alarming instances" of western barbarism in Korea. They made use of them to the limits of possibility. Whole pages in the newspapers are filled with them. Day for day the propaganda sirens shriek invectives against the criminal character of the capitalist and western imperialist. The consequences of bacteriological warfare are published in masses of descriptions and illustrations. Of late this satanic propaganda against the West has been intensified. A good opportunity for this bolshevist propaganda was given by the Soviet representative in the Security Council, Y. A. Malik, who only brought about the meeting in order to substantiate the case against Americans for bacteriological warfare. For this reason alone the bolshevist leaders were ordered to spread the myth of persecution and extermination on the part of the Americans in the prison camps of South Korea. The aim is directed against a future war. The citizens of the Soviet Union are told what to expect if they do not fight to the last man. What suffering awaits them should they go over to the enemy. "Is it not better to die fighting than to perish in a prison camp?" The fact that prisoners of war were exterminated by Hitler in the last war is cleverly made use of. People are reminded that millions of Soviet people lost their lives then. What guarantee is there that Americans or English are better than Germans? Korea is the best proof thereof.

Suggested Alternatives

Besides compromising the Americans and other western imperialists as men, Moscow tries to do the same with political aims. We have often pointed out that the Kremlin takes up the idea of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union which is allegedly in the programme of western propaganda and turns it to its own advantage. As usual the bolshevists attempt to prove their thesis by real

historical facts. The revolution years 1917-1920 alleged to serve them with sufficient material. From a psychological standpoint it is important for them to manoeuvre the Soviet people into a hopeless situation and to persuade them that they have only two alternatives, either to go with Moscow and to keep at least the formal rights of independence granted by the Stalin constitution or to be treated as colonies under the domination of western powers.

Apparently there is no third possibility for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. in case of a conflict between West and East, no prospect of liberation from dependence on Moscow that will not lead to slavery under western imperialists.

Our Task

This sort of propaganda should not be underestimated. The bitter experience of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. under Hitler's policy in the years 1941 to 1944 has undermined all faith in western civilization. Building up on that basis bolshevist propaganda against "capitalist gangsters" of the West can count on success, if the opposite side does nothing to refute it. The second thesis of the bolshevists may call forth some doubt among our peoples, considering their experience with the Germans and the fatal mistakes made by the present governments in the West, especially those of America and Great Britain, with regard to the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R. Many among our peoples having given up hope of help from the West might, under the circumstances, believe that there was no other alternative for them than to protect their rights by turning to Moscow. The only way to meet such propaganda and the lack of political insight on the part of the West is for the non-Russian peoples to persevere in their policy of full independence, and only then to commit themselves when the West recognizes their claims to complete liberation from the slavery of Moscow.

I. R.

Prize Competition

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. is offering an award of D. M. 80,— for the best design for an A.B.N. flag, and one of D. M. 100,— for the best text for an A.B.N. anthem.

The text of the anthem is to stress the significance of the co-operation in the fight for liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow. The texts may be written in the mother tongue of any of the A.B.N. peoples, accompanied by a translation, either in English or German, or composed only in English or German.

Texts and designs must be sent in by August 15, 1952, to: "A.B.N. Correspondence", Munich, Dachauerstraße 9/11, and marked "Prize Competition".

Unanimous Voice of Ukraine

For an Independent Ukrainian State

At the conclusion of a discussion which took place in Munich June 25, 1952, on the policy of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", the Ukrainian political parties and centres passed an important resolution.

It becomes evident from the unanimous attitude of the competent political representatives of the Ukrainian organizations what importance is attached to the recent meeting, June 19—22, at Starnberg, of the four Russian emigré groups and representatives of so-called national organizations of non-Russian peoples. The position taken by the Ukrainian group is in no way exceptional, it only expresses in the most unambiguous terms the feeling that prevails among the other non-Russian groups in the U.S.S.R. The resolution runs as follows:

1) The conference takes note of the fact that the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" will continue under its new President, Admiral Kirk, to support the Russian emigrants in their efforts to retain a united Russian empire: That the European representatives of the committee are carrying on their work in this direction and that all Russian parties refuse the non-Russian peoples the right to the restoration of state independence and thus practically uphold the imperialist policy of the Kremlin.

The fact alone that the committee has retained its name, — American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, — that efforts are being made to include non-Russian peoples in a common organization with Russians, and the methods which the spokesman of the committee employed, constitute a clear proof in our eyes that the problem of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. is to be degraded to an internal question and that the object in view is the maintenance of the Russian imperium after the defeat of bolshevism.

The political programme of the American Committee does not even regard the concession which the Ukrainian and other non-Russian peoples have wrung from the Russian bolsheviks after long and bitter struggles viz., formal independent Union Republics with the right of secession from the union of the U.S.S.R., representation in the U.N. etc.

2) As the American Committee, under the chairmanship of General Kirk, has placed its policy under the motto: self-determination for the nations, the conference declares that the Ukrainian

tion of the Ukrainian Independent State which was established 35 years ago by liberation struggle aims at the restoration of the will of the whole people, — not, however, under the parole of the realization of the right of self-determination as such. For the Ukrainian people has already passed that stage and in consequence to repeat the question as to national interests would mean a step backward.

3) The conference also takes note that particularly the plan of creating a special radio station to broadcast in the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. means a propaganda campaign for a united Russian empire. Such broadcasts, made in the name of a Combined Radió

Committee and under its direct control, would give the impression that a united Russian imperium had already been decided upon for the future, and that would have serious consequences in the fight for liberation from bolshevism. For this reason this conference rejects the proposal to erect a radio transmitting station. Lone wolves who desire to destroy the unity of the Ukrainian front will in future be regarded as not belonging to the Ukrainian national group.

4) The conference is of opinion that in future, too, joint discussions and decisions by all Ukrainian parties and political groups with regard to the American Committee and Russian emigrants are desirable and essential.

Representatives of the Ukrainian National Council (U.N.R.);

Representatives Abroad of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Z.P. U.H.V.R.);

Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Z.Ch. O. U. N.);

Union of Ukrainian Monarchists (S.H.D.);

Ukrainian Socialist Party (U.S.P.);

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.);

Association for a Ukrainian National State (U.N.D.S.);

Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (U.R.D.P.), represented by its two wings;

Union of Ukrainian Democrats (U.N.D.O.);

Ukrainian Peasants' Party (U.Z.S.U.);

Association of Ukrainian Creative Forces (S.U.K.T.S.).

Slovakia Rectifies

With few exceptions, the columns of the leading western newspapers are hermetically sealed to representatives of the political exiles from countries behind the Iron Curtain. On the other hand reports by chance contributors and badly informed "special correspondents" which show almost complete ignorance of conditions and call for contradiction, are printed. "Die Neue Zeitung", the American newspaper for Germany, is an example, with its recent article on resistance in Slovakia and its political emigrés. The Slovak Liberation Committee has requested us to publish the following rectification. (Ed.)

In an article in the June 20, number of "Die Neue Zeitung" on resistance in Slovakia, its author, Peter Schütz, besides some interesting information, maintained that resistance and underground organizations in Slovakia were so confused and complex that they could only be "cleared up by the men in the forests of the Slovakian Carpathians themselves". He speaks of a "White Legion", "White Partisans" and finally of "Domovska Armada" (Home Army) and mixes up all these expressions.

To the above it must be said that to-day in Slovakia there is practically speaking only one liberation movement. Its name in the country, as underground organization, is "Slovenska Domáca Armada" (S.D.A.), while the so-called "White Partisans" are not a separate organization but the fighting units of the same home guard, bearing the popular name "White Partisans".

It seems of value to mention that the Slovak Home Army, resp. white partisans, acknowledge the Slovak Liberation Committee with Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky at its head. It is well-known that this Committee, as the supreme representative of Slovak liberation struggle abroad, stands uncompromising-

ly for the restoration of the independent Slovak Republic. The greatest majority of the Slovak emigrants support the Slovak Liberation Committee, while the Slovak National Council abroad, represented by Karl Sidor, who is content with the future autonomy of Slovakia has a comparatively small number of supporters. The contention of the author of the article quoted, that the last named Slovak National Council, enjoys the greater authority, does not represent the facts. It may be said that the diminished influence of the Slovak politician Sidor is due to his expressing himself, as long ago as 1939, at the time of the March revolution, as against the establishment of an independent Slovak republic, which, then and now is an ideal cherished in the hearts of the Slovak people.

We feel obliged too, to take exception to some derogatory remarks in the article in question, against Slovak independence and its initiator, and statesmen. It is incomprehensible why the creation of the Slovak Republic which is mentioned with the name of the martyr and father of Slovak independence, President Tiso, always appears in quotation marks. It is also not to be understood why, in referring to Dr. Durcansky and the liberation movement of

German Women Waylaid

The first consequences of the concentration of Soviet troops in the woods of Wiehe near Querfurt (Germany Soviet Zone) have become apparent in the increased number of cases announced at the People's Police stations of women waylaid men of the Red Army.

Hildegard Troitz (28) was waylaid by three Soviet soldiers and raped after a regular chase. A short time after she was taken to the hospital, she died.

There are similar reports of outrages by Soviet troops from Eberswalde and Prenzlau in Brandenburg. At Eberswalde, among others, a woman of 53, named Anna Leskow, was violated. Two women at Prenzlau who suffered internal injuries after falling into the hands of Soviet soldiers had to be sent to a hospital.

All those who announce such cases are strictly forbidden at the police stations to mention them in public. (I.W.E.)

Side-lights

The Ordeal of the Baltic Peoples

The 14th of June is a day of mourning for the Baltic peoples for the night of June 14, 1941, saw the beginning of the systematic deportation of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians to the slave camps of the Soviet Union. The order was issued by the N.K.V.D. on October 11, 1939, and the succession in which "anti-Soviet elements" were to be deported was fixed. Sixty thousand Estonians were deported in the first wave, among whom were 9,229 children; in Latvia there were 37,500, and in Lithuania 34,260 deportees. On October 31, 1939, Molotov declared that "the inviolable sovereignty of the Baltic peoples was guaranteed in the Alliance."

The cold-blooded technique of the Soviet Russian policy of expansion and violation is exposed nowhere more blatantly than by the fate of the Baltic peoples: between September 28 and October 11, 1939, "alliances" were concluded between the Soviet Union and the 3 Baltic States and, at the same time, military bases were ceded by the three Baltic States. On October 31 the Soviet Union again guaranteed the sovereignty of the three Baltic States. On June 15, 1940, after changes in the three governments, Estonia's sea, and Lithuania's land connections with the West were cut by the Soviets. On June 16, 1940, the TASS agency alleged that a league of the three States against the Soviet Union had been discovered. Thereupon the Red Army marched in on June 17, and on August 6 the supreme Soviet proclaimed the union of the 14th, 15th and 16th Soviet Republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.

In 1944, after an interval of four years, the Soviets took up the threads of their interrupted work. Up to date, the number of deportees from the three Baltic States to convict camps in the Arctic and beyond the Urals has reached one and a

half millions, as far as is known. As the original population was 6 millions, the biological substance of these three peoples is immediately and fatally threatened.

This year, too, Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians all remembered the sufferings of their compatriots. In memory of that tragic 14th of June, President Truman sent a message:

"We shall not forget our Baltic friends. We send them, wherever they may be, our sincere hope that they may have the strength and patience to bear the exasperating tyranny they are subjected to, until one day they are able to enjoy freedom and independence."

The day was commemorated in all where members of the Baltic peoples are living. In Paris, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians assembled on June 18, under the auspices of the **French Committee for Free Europe** and its president **Henri Frenay**, a former minister. In addition to the Minister, **Roger Kaepelen**, formerly special correspondent of the "Temps" in Poland, spoke as a delegate of the Committee, as did also **Prof. I. G. H. Hoffman** and **Prof. G. Matore** of the Besancon University. **M. O. Grosvald**, the Latvian Minister, expressed the thanks of the Baltic peoples.

The bulletin issued at the Paris meeting closes with the words: "Half Europe is subjected, more than 100 million peoples are living in slavery, but the free world is aware that the pressure on the Occident which began in June 1940 when France was defeated, now threatens the security and even the existence of Europe." (P.S.)

The Recalcitrant Ukraine

Two Soviet Russian papers, the Moscow "Pravda", and the "Radyanska Ukraina" which appears in Kyiv in the Ukrainian language, discussed the recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. On the agenda there were two themes: The position of agriculture and the party cadres in Ukraine.

In divided rôles the "Radyanska Ukraina", as local party paper, censured the unsatisfactory conditions in agriculture, for instance the destruction caused by insects in the sugar beet crops, and hauled the leading party functionaries over the coals, while the "Pravda" took over the conditions prevailing among the party cadres and their failings, devoting but little space to the abuses in agriculture and showing a more favourable picture than did the "Radyanska Ukraina". Thus, as the Soviet citizen seldom reads more than one paper, the public gets an idea that things are not really so bad.

The "Pravda" report is of course the

more important, handling as it does a critical problem in the security of the communist system, in a country which has always been "difficult" and because after all it reflects the opinions of Moscow resp. the Russian central party and government offices.

The political conditions in Ukraine, one reads, are by no means what the Moscow Politbureau might expect. In many areas almost a third of the secretaries of the district committees, that is to say the backbone of the party, had to be dismissed last year and new men put in their places. It would thus appear that even these trained functionaries are not so true to the party line and are not so firm as the Politbureau supposed them to be.

The question then arises, what may the attitude of the population be, of whose indifference towards ideological and political training the Moscow press continually complains.

Among the 215 holders of chairs for political science, — the core of communist higher education, — there is only one with the degree of doctor and one professor. Significantly, neither is Ukrainian, but both are Russians. Eight years after the reoccupation of Ukraine none of the many Ukrainian academicians could or would occupy that chair, in spite of the tempting prospects of such a position of authority. On the one hand an official Soviet confession of their defective ideological firmness, on the other either reluctance, considering the odium of this post, or a feeling for national honour. Whatever the reason may be, it gives us a significant insight into the situation in Ukraine.

The "Pravda" blames the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for having selected and distributed the cadres badly: 70% of the deputy heads of scientific research institutes have no expert qualifications, with the result that the work in subjects such as history, languages, ethnography, history of art and philosophy are greatly prejudiced, that is, just those subjects which lend themselves to political ideological abuse by the bolshevist system. In this way "Pravda" heaps criticism upon all those institutions and their heads that are in any way responsible: the management of the department of enlightenment and propaganda of the C.C. of the C.P. of Ukraine, the deans of universities in the cabinet, the department of science for the C.C. of the C.P., the committee for cultural and educational institutions in the cabinet and the minister for general education in Ukraine itself. Many of them must put up with the dangerous reproach of bourgeois nationalist distortions in their work.

In a totalitarian state a passive attitude towards the demands made by the system is a sin, and for persons in public life it is perilous.

This passiveness seems wide-spread among the intellectual upper classes in Ukraine. — Involuntarily one is reminded of the quite considerable number of western professional men whose characters were weak enough for them to place themselves more or less openly at the disposal of the Kremlin against the interests of their own countries.

(W.A.Z.)

which he is the head, the words "collaborators" of Germany is added, especially as the author himself takes note of the fact that this same Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky at the time was forced by Ribbentrop to resign his office of foreign minister of Slovakia, just because he refused to submit to German tutelage. The term collaboration, too, is only rightly used where it is a question of renegades who make common cause with the enemy of their own countries. They were no collaborators who, at that time, sought to realize the Slovak ideal with reference to Germany only those who allied themselves with the bolsheviks or the Benes Czechs and thus became traitors to their country can be given such an appellation.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný
Vice-President of the Slovak
Liberation Committee.

"Behind Warsaw ...

it was hell!" a German P.O.W. said when he returned a few days ago from the steppe of Turkistan; Polish partisans had attacked his train. "Bullets from fields and woods showered on our train that the Polish partisans had mistaken for a Soviet troop transport. Throughout the journey we had to lie flat on the floor, the tops of the waggons being riddled. The fire came from machine-guns, rifles and light anti-aircraft. We heard the screams of wounded Soviet soldiers who had taken up positions on the armored car and the roofs of the waggons, and were shooting wildly in all directions. But the fire from the dark woods was far heavier."

When they stopped at Posen, the P.O.W.s found that the armored shields on the train guns had been smashed and there were no cannoneers left. The commander of the accompanying guards reported to headquarters that 25 men were missing. There were several wounded among the survivors. The prisoners heard a Russian officer say that this was the sixth attack within a short time.

People in the West, although living themselves on the brink of the bolshevist whirlpool, are inclined to make light of reports about resistance to bolshevism in the Soviet Union and the states of the Eastern Bloc, calling them emigré exaggerations. It is a fact that the Western press in their lust for sensation have created their own brand of partisan romanticism and paid for it, to pander to their subscribers, without any regard to facts. In consequence of such sensational reports, the outside world has lost all feeling for the sacrifices and suffering in the countries enslaved by bolshevism, borne by populations who still continue their resistance, well aware of its real significance.

It needs something drastic, as the lightning spread of the P.O.W. report proves, to draw the attention of the public to the hard realities of life in the Soviet area. But the daily resistance put up by countless millions behind the Iron Curtain without a shot being fired should not be forgotten. For this, too, is a link in the broad, active front against bolshevism that helps to protect the free world.

Panyushkin goes to Peking ...

Resolute action has always made the men in the Kremlin ill at ease. The peace treaty with Japan, signed in September 1951, in spite of Moscow's protests, and which means Japan's inclusion in the western defence system, nonplussed the Kremlin. It was 9 months later, in June 1952 only, that Moscow announced its answer — "The Congress of Defenders of Peace in the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean", to take place in September 1952 in Peking i. e. just a year after the unwelcome treaty.

In this connection it is important to explain the Russian word "mir" which can mean the world, or peace, according to use. In the struggle to reach this aim "mir", the first phase will have been accomplished when the world is conquered; when the second phase begins, peace, as seen by the bolsheviks, the peace of the graveyard will come.

Thirty-five years of the bolshevist system has proved that whoever gives his services for the first phase will certainly find "peace". And yet people have not learned that lesson.

The "Izvestiya" of June 6 reports that in Peking a grand preparatory conference of delegates from 20 countries has just been concluded, after passing a resolution to convene a "Congress of Defenders of Peace in Asia and the Pacific Ocean", with the purpose of strengthening and expanding the movement to defend "mir" (world or peace?). The leading article accuses the West of allowing Japanese militarism to revive, in order to make use of it later against "the national liberation movements" among the peoples of Asia.

It is the U.S.A. which is building up military positions against the bolshevist expansion of "mir" in eastern Asia, that is causing the Soviets to activate their work there. That this announcement has a very real meaning may be seen from an inconspicuous notice on the last page of the same number of the "Izvestiya" which announces the Asiatic peace conference. "Comrade Panyushkin A. S. has been appointed special envoy of the Soviet Union to the Chinese People's Republic."

This lifts the veil of uncertainty that has lain over recent changes in Soviet diplomatic quarters, at least a little. Panyushkin who has had the opportunity in U.S.A. of studying American policy at first hand, has been chosen to make good the Soviet defeat in east Asia (in the Japanese treaty) and to open new doors for the blocked expansion of Bolshevism.

American policy which has so often been played with an unhappy hand in Asia, and entirely missed its opportunity in China, will be faced with enormous difficulties in this area of such decisive importance. (W.A.Z.)

The Volga-Don-Kanal

Strategic or Economic Importance?

There is no mention in the Soviet press of the previous history of the above waterway. As a matter of fact, the Turkish sultan Suleyman (1520—1566) had the possibility of connecting the Volga with the Don examined during his reign, in order to improve communications between the Turkish Empire and the Turkish population living on the Volga. At that time waterways were the most favourable means of transport both for trade and warfare.

After the destruction of Moscow by the Crimean Khan, Dawlet Girej, Sultan Selim II ordered Dawlet Girej to have the canal constructed by troops. The project was frustrated by the successful military operations of the Cossacks, who took the fortress of Asov from the Turks.

Tzar Peter I was the next to take up the plan. Russian expansion in the Crimea, the Caucasus and to Central Asia, however, made its execution superfluous.

The check to Soviet Russian expansion in the first years after World War II caused the Kremlin to consider its realization necessary. Though the standpoint of economic improvement,

in the area between Rostov and Astrakhan, plays a great role in this project, the short term building plan leads to the conclusion that military considerations are a decisive factor too. Submarines and small units of the Soviet navy can be sent from the Black Sea to the Sea of Asov and from the Caspian to the White Sea in this way. The existence of the central part of the waterway which is nearing completion also opens up the possibility of moving the ship-yards, i. e. dispersing them.

Better communications mean that the area can be kept in firmer control politically, a fact that has considerable importance in the military strategy of the West.

It is the usual Soviet hypocrisy when they maintain in their "Peace Campaign" that the canal serves merely economic purposes. (G. W.)

A.B.N.-Conference in London

June 17th and 19th, 1952, a conference, convened by the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain, took place in Caxton Hall, London, the motto of which was "For the Defence of the Faith and the Rights of Man and Nations". The aim of the conference was to consolidate the relations with the British friends of the subjected peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

The following lectures were held at the conference:

1) Prof. Rudolf Wierer (Czechia): "The Belief in God and its Importance in the Creation of a New Order in the Countries Occupied by Bolshevism".

2) Dr. Stjepan Buc (Croatia): "Pan-Slavism, its Origin and Disappearance."

3) General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary): "Psychological and Military Basis for Setting Up an Anti-Bolshevist Front from the Forces in the Underground Movements."

4) Yaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine): "A.B.N. Ideals, their Propagation and Attractive Power. — Co-ordination of the Liberation Movements of the Subjugated Peoples with the West."

5) Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky (Slovakia): "Liberation solely of the so-called Satellite States without the simultaneous Liberation of the Peoples in the Soviet Union would lead to Failure."

6) Zenon Pelensky, Editor (Ukraine): "What is Happening Behind the Iron Curtain?"

7) Vasyl Glaskov, Engineer (Cossackia): "Fight of the Subjugated Peoples for their Rights and State Independence."

Lectures by authors who for various reasons were prevented from attending in person were read in English. Opportunity was given after the lectures for discussing different points which greatly contributed to mutual understanding.

Besides the British guests, representatives of the Czechs, Slovaks, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Cossacks, Georgians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, took part in the conference. Poles, Austrians and Spaniards were present as guests.

A great number of telegrams and congratulations were received. Among them, a long, warm-hearted letter from



From behind the Iron Curtain

BYELORUSSIA

THIS TIME IT IS AGRICULTURE

Dissatisfaction with the activity of Party organizations is an almost daily theme in the Soviet press. The "Pravda" of June 18, 1952, reporting on a meeting of the Central Committee of Byelorussia says:

"It was pointed out at the plenary meeting that many party and state organizations in the Republic were slack in their handling of agriculture. A number of party organizations lacked the necessary energy and failed to follow party and government directives concerning the agrarian economies as strictly as they should..."

The Byelorussian ministry for agriculture and its minister comrade Kostyuk, were sharply criticized for the inadequate preparation of specialist cadres, neglect of repairs to mowing machines and insufficient cooperation with collective farms, as well as the M.T.S. (Machine Tractor Stations).

Members at the plenary meeting pointed out that there were serious defects in the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and its agricultural department."

COSSACKIA

AGRICULTURAL CARES

Preparations for the harvest are causing Soviet authorities some concern. It has come to light that the repairs to agricultural machines are not yet finished. In the Rostov area more than 30% of the combiners are in need of repair and at many of the tractor pools there is a lack of specialists.

In a leading article in the "Pravda" of June 13, 1952, the alarm is raised and all party and state organizations, as well as the kolkhose workers, are urged to amend their ways and do their duty, above all to attend to the sufficient storage of corn and fodder. It is well known that thousands of cattle starved last winter in some districts of the Stavropol area, because the cattle-breeding kolkhoses had made insufficient or no preparations for the winter supplies. That fact, which was not disclosed for so long, is now even admitted by the Soviet press.

The irrigation of the fields is meeting with obstacles. Bombastic reports of the progress being made on the Volga-Don Canal cannot close the eyes of the inhabitants to the fact that water has to be fetched daily from the Don by horse cart and motor lorry.

("Pravda" 18. 6. 1952)

the faithful friend of the A.B.N. and a champion of the rights and liberties of the subjugated peoples, Mr. John Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, made a great impression. The President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Yaroslav Stetzko, sent a telegram of greeting from Canada.

Prince de Tokary, Chairman of the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain, took the chair at the conference.

CZECHIA

FRONTIERS SECURED BY RADAR

Special military units are setting up a chain of radar posts along the Bohemian-Bavarian frontier. One of them is on the top of the municipal waterworks at Eger. It is operated by a squad of twelve soldiers and is connected by telephone with the Eger barracks. Another post has been put up in the open field near the village of Stitary.

Feverish activity is to be seen along the frontier where new observation posts are being built, equipped with machine guns, reflectors and rockets. These observation posts are connected by telephone with strong military units.

A twenty meter high watch-tower has been put up on the Heinberg near Asch, connected by telephone to the frontier guards at Nevessa. South of Asch a great number of underground bunkers have been built.

QUOTA DELIVERIES GRADED ACCORDING TO CLASS

Meetings are being held in all the villages at which the speakers try to convince their hearers that they have only then fulfilled their duties as citizens when they have met their deliveries at 100%.

According to instructions from the Ministry for Agriculture the quotas for this year's harvest are based on the yield taken for granted by the plans. The instructions prescribe that the quotas are then to be distributed "according to class", which means that the big peasants have to deliver more than the small peasants — in some cases even the whole yield of the crops — even if the cultivated land is the same size.

EASTERN GERMANY

SEVERER SENTENCES DEMANDED

"Our peoples' judges must pronounce severer sentences so that enemies of the Republic lose all interest in working against the State", was the demand put forward by Dr. H. Töplitz, state secretary in the Soviet Zone Ministry of Justice, when addressing students of the German Law School. Only thorough training in social science, which, in the words of the speaker, had up to now been inadequate, could enable the "functionaries of justice" to pass proper sentences suitable to our whole political and social development.

RESISTANCE INCREASING AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

Reports from all the provinces in the Soviet Zone tell of the resistance offered by young people against the terrorism of the Soviet regime. These reports find confirmation in the numerous new arrests made by the State Security Service, especially among youthful persons. In Hardenbeck 6 youths were taken into custody accused of having founded an "Anti-Peoples' Police League"; not far from Wittstock 4 others were arrested for allegedly preparing an "armed up-

rising"; at Grimm several young people were accused of working with "warmongering organizations" in West Berlin; at Boizenburg on the Elbe 12 persons were taken, who were said to have formed a "resistance group"; at Halle 6 of the F.D.J. (Free German Youth), among them a group leader, were arrested for resistance against the defence propaganda in the Soviet Zone, and have never been heard of since.

POLICE RECRUITS FROM PRISONS

Discharged prisoners report that recruiting officers of the Peoples' Police have been visiting various prisons in the Soviet Zone to enroll short-term youthful criminals for the military units of the police force. The prisoners are promised immediate release if they volunteer. Good conduct would ensure the obliteration of their criminal records and promotion would not be prejudiced by the prison sentence. (I.W.E.)

GEORGIA

MINISTERS UNWILLING TO LEARN

After having criticized the Communist Party of the Georgian S.S.R. in several articles, the "Pravda" of June 6, 1952, proceeds to attack the Georgian minister himself and accuses him of having lost "the taste for learning."

"The theoretical backwardness of the head of the 'Cekavshiri' (Central Association of Georgia — Ed.) is no exception. We find the same state of things in the sphere of political training among the leading men in the liaison offices of the Soviet Union for the Georgian Republic, and many other organizations and ministries.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and its propaganda department have long tolerated the low standard in the matter of theory and have not noticed that Comrade Ruchadse and some other leading personages have made no advance in ideological affairs..."

The department for propaganda and enlightenment has shown no interest in improving the political standard of the ministries which are its representatives, the heads of administration and trusts."

The criticism of the central offices in Moscow does not stop at the unwillingness of the leading men in the Soviet republic of Georgia to learn, but accuses them of having encroached upon the property of the collectives and Moscow, thus defrauding the country of its economic yield. An article published in the "Pravda" of June 14, 1952, reports, among other things, that at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of Georgia, the regional and district committees of the party and the state, and agricultural offices of the Republic had not resolutely carried out directives given them by party and government to safeguard kolkhoses from looting and infringement of the statutes of the kolkhoses...

At present the Central Committee is occupied in discovering transgressions against the statutes of kolkhoses and finding out the culprits. The commissions set up under the direction of the Central Committee have detected many cases where state property has been plundered and also offences against the regulations of the collective farms. Not infrequently the responsible district leader has turned out to be the plunderer."

HUNGARY

SOVIET ARMAMENT ORDERS

The State enterprise "Hardware and Machine Tools Factory No. 158" in Budapest formerly the Frommer Arms and Machine Factory, has been attached to the Ministry for Heavy Industry. The plant, which was almost entirely destroyed in the war, was rebuilt at the urge of the Soviets when they occupied the country, so that production began as early as 1947. In summer 1950 reconstruction was finished.

Raw materials — 50% Russian, 50% Hungarian — are delivered direct to the plant either by lorries or railway. Finished weapons leave the factory daily in lorries. Monthly train loads of machine guns, automatic pistols, revolvers and other weapons, as well as machine tools, roll into the Soviet Union. The cases bear the mark H.O.B.X. in Cyrillic letters.

The workmen employed in Department "H" are isolated from the others. They live in the works, are not allowed to leave the premises and have no contact with the outside world. This department is controlled by the A.V.H. and can only be entered by showing a special permit.

LITHUANIA

CHURCH BELLS BECOME SCRAP

In March this year the collection of different metals and iron for Soviet industry was intensified, Soviet fashion, in Lithuania. Inspectors entrusted with the action were expressly ordered to seize metal objects belonging to churches, such as bells and even liturgical articles.

RELIGION IN THE GRIP OF BOLSHEVISM

The consequences of the "World Peace Conference of Churches and Religious Communities" which was held in the Moscow Priests Academy in May, are beginning to be noticed. The first steps to "found a national Catholic Church independent from the Vatican" have been taken by committees set up for the purpose. From recent news coming from Lithuania, it would appear that Roman Catholics are facing black days. The N.V.D. subtly misused the names of the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in that country to further the aims of the World Church Conference i. e. to glorify the communist system and libel and vilify the Vatican and the West.

On May 3, Bishop Paltarokas was taken by force from Vilna to Moscow to be present at the Conference on May 9. Then on May 12, it was officially announced that "Bishop Paltarokas had signed a declaration of gratitude to Stalin in the name of the Church and the people, a declaration of cooperation with the "World Peace Committee", and an appeal to the churches and religious communities everywhere in the world", in which the Vatican is condemned and the West cursed for carrying on germ warfare in Korea and for inciting a new war etc.

By order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, in all town churches, that are not yet closed, solemn services were to be held on May 14, at which the declaration of gratitude to Stalin; the

declaration concerning co-operation with the "World Church Conference", were to be read. Simultaneously further violent attacks against the Vatican were launched.

(Information Lit.)

TURKISTAN

UNPOPULARITY OF KOMSOMOL

The Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of June 5, 1952, published a report from a correspondent in the Kasakhian S.S.R. on the situation of Komsomol there.

"As early as February 1949 the bureau of the Komsomol of Kasakhstan, on reviewing the statistics for that organization, discovered the disquieting fact that the number of Komsomol members among the kolkhose workers had diminished. The Central Committee thereupon required the regional committee to see that more kolkhose members were enrolled."

A year passed and again the Central Committee was forced to acknowledge that the regional committee had "greatly impaired the enrollment of kolkhose young people in the Komsomol." Whereupon the regional committee was ordered to improve its supervision and correct matters. Another year passed, then in February 1951 the bureau of the Central Committee suggested that the regional committee should discover "the reasons for the falling off in membership of a number of organizations in collective farms and take steps to check it."

In February 1952 the Central Committee complained once more that "enrollment of kolkhose members in the Komsomol had slackened." And a month and a half later, when the new statistical report came in, the bureau issued a further statement in which 14 district organizations are listed, that in the second half of the previous year not one new kolkhose member had enrolled in the Komsomol, and that in the present year there were 23 district organizations in which no new kolkhose members were registered. The bureau calls upon the 10 district committees "to find out the reason for this unsatisfactory development in the district organizations..."

In April more than 80% of the Republic's kolkhose organizations failed to report any increase in members. Not in 10 but in all 16 districts, the number of kolkhose members of the Komsomol had diminished...

We were recently at a Komsomol meeting in the 'Voroshilov' kolkhose in the Ayagusky district. Of the 51 registered members only 9 took part in the meeting... Not one young kolkhose worker has been enrolled in the Ayagusky district this year.

No Komsomol meetings have been arranged for months, even years, at many of the kolkhoses in the Republic."

FALSE CONCEPTIONS

The Moscow "Pravda" of June 8, 1952, contains a detailed report by their Frunze correspondent, on a recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Kirghiz S.S.R.. A good deal of space in it is devoted to attacks on the "nationalist conceptions" of the historians and writers and their toleration by party organs.

In the lecture and following debates, the question of the backwardness of historical research and literature was widely discussed. Serious errors have occurred in the inter-

pretation of the history of Kirghizia... For a long time bourgeois nationalists, Samanchin, Bektenov and Beydshiev, worked in the field of history and literature and through them many nationalist conceptions were introduced which greatly impeded the advance of historical research.

Professor Bernstam made errors of an anti-marxist character in his work on Kirghizian history...

The progressive rôle of Kirghizia's union with Russia is not noted in the works of these historians.

Mistakes have been tolerated in the reviews of a number of national movements. All insurgency (insurgency against Russia — Ed.) have been called national liberation uprisings, in contradiction to historical fact. For instance, the Andishansky rebellion 1898, which bore a reactionary character, was quite wrongly represented.

Cosmopolitan tendencies are propagated and Russia's part in the development of Kirghizia's culture is under-estimated. It was a serious mistake to publish "The Great Campaign", a fragment from the "Manas" epic, in which reactionary ideas of pan-Islam and pan-Turkism are propagated.

The bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Kirghizia has shown a liberal attitude towards all these errors and distortions...

Too little has been written about the great friendship between the Russian and the Kirghizian peoples...

Comrade Imanaliyev, secretary of the Issyk-Kulsky regional committee of the party pointed out that national tendencies had appeared in the association of writers. The autor Tokombayev spread bourgeois-nationalist ideas in his epic "The Years of Bloodshed", in spite of which a new edition has now come out...

The bureau of the Central Committee had kept secret the resolution concerning the detection of bourgeois nationalists employed in the Kirghizian branch of the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union. In January this year the bureau of the Central Committee had removed comrade Orosaliyev, secretary of the C.C. of the C.P. of Kirghizia from his post."

UKRAINE

MOSCOW DISSATISFIED WITH UKRAINE

The Moscow "Pravda" reports on June 6, 1952, that a meeting of the secretaries of regional and village committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, convened by the Central Committee of that Republic, had taken place at Kyiv. The chief speaker Comrade Melnikov, the Russian secretary of the Central Committee, had to announce the dissatisfaction felt by the Moscow offices at conditions in Ukraine and the low standard of ideological work in the villages."

The effect of what Moscow calls the inadequate grasp of communist ideology in Ukraine's villages are indeed considerable and have an injurious influence on agriculture there. In the previous year alone 27% of the heads of the district departments for agriculture were dismissed their posts and new men put in, who were not selected for expert knowledge but for their political reliability. The consequences of this policy are only mentioned by "Pravda" in one sentence. "There are extraordinarily few agrarian experts among the heads of the kolkhoses."

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Editorial

Quo vadis, America?

(Continued from our last issue)

Profit and Loss

Americans are regarded as the best businessmen in the world. It is not for nothing that they have a great reputation as sober realists and keen accountants. We are struck all the more by the absence of practical considerations, even in the interest of Americans themselves, in American policy towards the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Yet it is a very simple calculation: the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union considerably exceed the number of Russians. Whoever, therefore, wishes to make allies in the enemy camp, in the event of war with Moscow, and to form a second front in the rear of the Soviet Russian army, ought, for purely arithmetical reasons, to make efforts to secure the support of the numerically stronger non-Russians within the U.S.S.R. rather than to attempt vainly to win sympathy from the Russians. On the contrary, however, the half-official, and even the official policy of America is always trying to win the support of the Russian people by repeatedly proclaiming the indivisibility of the Russian imperium. This inevitably alienates the 100 odd million non-Russians who have for centuries been trying to get free from the yoke of Muscovite Russia, and simply pushes them back into the hostile camp.

Apart from its purely numerical miscalculation, this policy also starts from false premises that can never come true: all who know from history and experience the mentality and the innate belief in their mission of the Russians cannot doubt that the Russian people

in general, in spite of much discontent with the bolshevist regime, is fascinated by Stalin's conception of world conquest and favourably disposed towards the Soviet imperium of today. This is all the more true as Russians feel themselves to be the real master people in this imperium, their chauvinism being strengthened by Moscow's glorification of the Russian character. Stalin has done more for the Russian thirst for power and for

their political ambition by the unparalleled growth of the Soviet imperium than the West could ever promise, far less give, them. In the event of a struggle therefore, to overthrow the power of Soviet Russia, the masses of the Russian people would instinctively support Moscow and wage a „patriotic war“ just as fanatically as during the last war. This was and is the reason why it is useless to expect any serious resistance



The Triumphal Advance of our Ideas

President Y. Stetzko's Publicity Campaign

A.B.N. at the Pacific

After the mass demonstration in Toronto, when Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., announced our programme and appealed to the public in Canada to support our aims as the best method of overcoming the present world crisis, he addressed a number of meetings in other Canadian towns where emigrés from behind the Iron Curtain have settled. He spoke in Ottawa, Fort William, Winnipeg, Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver and Saskatoon.

According to the report that has reached us, there was an enthusiastic demonstration in Edmonton on May 25, attended by 1,500 people. President Stetzko received a great ovation and his address was warmly received. The hall was decorated with the national flags of our peoples and the emblems of the A.B.N. and its fighting organizations. The demonstration was filmed and President Stetzko's speech recorded on a sound track.

At Vancouver, President Stetzko spoke before a crowded gathering, in the Hasting Auditorium, June 1, 1952. The meeting at which for the first time the ideas of the A.B.N. were proclaimed on the shores of the Pacific, became an impressive anti-communist demonstration, with our slogans, and has left a lasting impression.

The Slovak, Latvian and Lithuanian emigré groups were represented in large numbers. Each of these groups gave an address of welcome to President Stetzko in the name of its people. The Slovak representative, speaking for the Canadian Slovak League of New Westminster, assured

his hearers of the Slovaks readiness to fight. They had been the first to become companions in arms with the Ukrainians at home, and to-day were standing undaunted, shoulder to shoulder with the A.B.N. in the fight for national freedom and independence. All the Slovak emigrants on the American continent, — a third of the total Slovak population, — agree with the A.B.N. ideas and they are confident that the justified cause of the Slovak people will meet with sympathy in America too, and, with western support, will be realized. The Latvian representative appealed to the Canadian public for sympathy and understanding for the cause of the subjected peoples in the Baltics and elsewhere, who today are the victims of a genocide that is beyond the belief of any one in the West. In the name of the Lithuanians of British Columbia, their representative swore allegiance to the common cause of the A.B.N. and branded brutal bolshevist world aggression. He expressed the warmest thanks to President Stetzko and called his visit an important event which would give the emigrants there a fresh impetus.

After the meeting, a branch organization of the A.B.N. was founded in Vancouver in the committee of which representatives of all the national groups present will take part.

President Stetzko's visit was favourably reported in the press. „The Vancouver Province“ of June 2, wrote of him as being a leader of his people in their fight; that he had endured torture under Polish,

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Quo vadis, America?

by Russians to the present bolshevist regime on the territory of the Russian people similar to the struggles and armies of resistance, such as the U.P.A. in Ukraine, the Basmachi in Turkestan the White Partisans in Slovakia and the underground organizations in all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. With the exception, therefore, of a small and insignificant group of Russian imperialists in exile, whose „democratic“ policy and „ideological“ opposition to bolshevism demands the continued existence of the despotic Russian imperium, the West cannot, and never could make the Russian people its ally, no matter what its promises may be. Even the most generous promises would come far short of the power and political ambition Stalin has already procured for Russians. That, then, is the one side of the question.

Let us suppose, now that America as the leading world power should reject the dogma of the infallibility, the indivisibility of the Russian imperium, and proclaim the national sovereignty and independence of all non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., the hostility of the Russians towards any one threatening the power of the present Soviet state would scarcely become greater than it is already. The West would risk practically nothing in taking such measures, but it would secure a great chance of gaining much, if not everything: even now, and far more when war actually breaks out, the West would gain the sympathies of whole nations whose population is more than 100 millions; it would instantly gain masses of supporters, who would become devoted and energetic allies in the struggle against Moscow, which is not only hated by these people as the metropolis of the bolshevist regime, but even more as the symbol of alien Russian tyranny.

This, then, is the choice before the Americans. It is up to them to solve the present world crisis, and at the same time to give proof of their reputation as good businessmen.

Helping Communists into the Saddle

The historian of the future will be puzzled by the fact that, during this critical period when bolshevism is threatening the world, when all the powers of the free world should be concentrated on counteracting Moscow's Fifth Columns in the West, above all in America, supporters and collaborators of commun-

ism in the subjugated countries behind the Iron Curtain, should be held in honour, while the irreconcilable opponents of Russian bolshevist tyranny, the spokesmen of the struggle of liberation today who have always put up a bitter fight against communism, should still be in quarantine.

Kerensky's "historical deed" of 1917 turned out in reality to be preparation for Lenin and his revolution. He played the same role as various left-radical collaborators with Moscow in what are now satellite states, men who collaborated with communists in order to prepare the way for Soviet rule in Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechia, Poland and elsewhere. After serving as a democratic facade till the communists seized power, they were turned out with the usual lack of ceremony once their successors were firmly seated in the saddle, and had to seek refuge abroad. They now try to play the part of anti-communists and democrats and even appear as the legitimate spokesmen of the liberation movement among their peoples, which may be quite comprehensible. But what astonishes us is that they are received in the West, and above all in America, as if they had saved their peoples from bolshevism! Certain American circles seem to ignore the fact that these men have sat side by side with communists on ministerial benches, that they have signed innumerable sentences of death on anti-communist champions of freedom without turning a hair, and have stained their hands with the blood of their people's best sons.

Such exiled politicians are received in the best society in America and draw millions of dollars from various funds, while genuine anti-bolshevist champions of our peoples, who had to spend years in bolshevist and nazi concentration camps in consequence of their stand against both Stalin and Hitler, are calumniated as "fascists", and forbidden to pay even a short visit to the United States. Public opinion in the West seems to have forgotten all the recent mass murders which their present protégés committed in company with bolsheviks in Sofia, Budapest, Prague and Bratislava. Emigrés from our circles who venture to call these to mind are called "totalitarian" and "chauvinist", while accessories to these unheard-of crimes against humanity enjoy the confidence of Western ministers.

Is it not madness to believe that anybody who served Stalin yesterday, help-

ing to hang his fellow-countrymen, should now be able to represent the anti-bolshevist struggle of his country and gather his subjugated people round him? Does anybody seriously believe that our peoples can forgive these "democrats" their crimes of yesterday just because they have now offered their services to the West? Has the West so little confidence in the representatives of genuine liberty and in its own values that it prefers to make use of the flotsam and jetsam of bolshevism? Is the opinion that communism can be successfully combated with the help of communist leftist agrarians and left-radical marxists, but not with the help of men who have been inspired with the love of freedom since their very birth?

Sign of the Times

We are convinced of the contrary. In order to conquer bolshevism, it is not necessary to avail oneself of the services of its counterpart; we must rather muster the full force of our own ideas which are diametrically opposed to it. These ideas are more alive than ever in the Western world today and it is America's task to develop them. They are inexhaustible treasures of Western culture, known as Christianity, respect for the individual and the nation, for freedom and social justice. It is these ideas and America must press into service if she wishes to destroy bolshevism. The decisive weapon in the struggle is the idea of national and religious liberty.

This principle of national and religious liberty is gaining ground in all countries outside of the Soviet sphere of power. Even Moscow, paradoxical though it seems, is attempting to make use of them in order to propagate its tyrannical regime. We are all the more astonished that there should be antiquated politicians in the West who cannot realize the I great power and significance of these ideas. India, Pakistan and many countries in the Arab world are granted national independence and religious liberty, while the bolshevist type of state capitalism that degrades men to become slaves, is repudiated everywhere. All over the world we see the ideas of national liberty, the freedom of religious observance and social justice advancing. The maxim of the A.B.N. "Freedom for



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Bolshevism is only a variation of the Russian's messiahship. Stalin's world hegemony is but an expression of Russian insatiable thirst for power. Bolshevist world aggression cannot therefore be overcome by coming to terms with its Russian creator, but only with the help of their victims.

Triumphal Advance of our Ideas



President Y. Stetzko on the platform at Edmonton

bolshevist and Nazi domination and had finally escaped from N.K.V.D. terrorism, that he had come to the West to give warning of the Russian bolshevist danger, indifference to which would lead to catastrophe. The opportunity to make allies of the subjugated peoples should not be missed, in order to secure a victory over Moscow.

"The Vancouver Sun" on June 3, published an interview with Mr. Stetzko, whose position as the representative of millions of subjugated European peoples in their struggle against oppression, is specially pointed out. The central point of the interview was the statement that the longing of the subjugated peoples for liberation from Russian-bolshevist dominion and their readiness to fight for national independence

was a weapon which was far more effective against Stalin than the atomic bomb.

During his tour, President Stetzko has had an opportunity to meet influential Canadian and British officials and was able to confirm, that interest in the cause of the A.B.N. is growing. Everywhere he was courteously received by Canadian officials and the press published favourable reports of his campaign, thanks to which the Canadian public has been made familiar with our contribution to the solution of the world problem. Emigrés from all the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and many Ukrainian organizations in particular, received fresh impetus from President Stetzko's tour and support the A.B.N. more strongly than ever.

nations, freedom for individuals", has become the slogan of our age.

But the West, strangely enough, has not drawn the necessary conclusions. Attempts are still being made to operate with antiquated constructions of national oppression which lead to the continued existence of dungeons of nations, such as the U.S.S.R., the C.S.R. or Tito's state realm.

Champions of liberty from the ranks of our emigrés who have taken a bold stand against imperialism are blackmailed in the West; co-operation with them is avoided. In their place, men are chosen who allow themselves to be bribed by the West today just as they were willing to sell their services to Moscow yesterday. But no attention is paid to those forces both behind the Iron Curtain and in exile, who continue the struggle under most difficult circumstances, and who have preferred to starve rather than betray their ideas.

The West will never be able to make headway against bolshevism until it returns to its own tested principles, until it ceases to cooperate with agents of bolshevism, until it secures the help of

the genuine champions of our people's liberty. That is why Americans should not seek to work with Kerensky's imperialists or with any other collaborators of communists from the satellite countries, but with the representatives of the ideas of national liberty and social justice. America, with its great traditions, should not let itself be abused, but should be particularly fervent in its denunciation of all dungeons of nations, so that peoples may once more establish their national states on their ethnic territories in freedom and justice. This alone would do justice to America's great sons, Washington and Lincoln, and to historical American traditions of liberty and progress.

We are firmly convinced that the responsible leaders of American policy will yet find the only way that is worthy of the history of the United States. We derive this hope from a number of influential pronouncements in the West which indicate that there is increasing support for a just solution of our problems. They are also the problems of the entire free world and of America's own future.

General Farkas, Spokesman for the A.B.N. in the U.S.A.

After the address he gave to 4000 people at the impressive demonstration organized by "American Friends of A.B.N." in New York on May 4, General Francis Farkas de Kisbarnak, president of the Military Commission of the A.B.N., continued his lecture tour through the States. His programme of meetings organized by the same organization or by local Hungarian groups was:

May 15 in Richmond, May 16 in Pittsburgh, May 18 in Cleveland, May 20 in Buffalo, May 24 in Brunswick, May 27 in New York again. His lectures made a deep impression, not only on emigrés but also on the general American public. They were reported at length by American papers which also published interviews with General Farkas, and photographs.

We mention some of the many cuttings which our office received: The "Richmond News Leader" of May 16 published under the title of "Resistance Movement An Efficient Weapon Against Communism", two columns on the demonstration that had taken place, together with an interview with General Farkas branding bolshevist genocide and emphasizing the potential of the subjugated peoples in the struggle against Moscow. General Farkas stressed that the forces of resistance united in the A.B.N. are now active behind the Iron Curtain where they carry out armed fights and acts of sabotage. The "Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph" of 17. 5. 1952 gave a report of the meeting held there, entitled "The Reds Murdered 30 Millions". In an interview with this paper General Farkas said that the millions oppressed by the Soviet Union are like an atomic bomb waiting for the ignition spark in order to explode. He pleaded for more intense psychological warfare, and the necessity of employing personalities in the war in the ether who enjoy their people's confidence.

During his lecture tour in the U.S.A., much attention was paid to General Farkas as the representative of the A.B.N., and a prominent leader of national Hungary, and a distinguished soldier.

Escaped

The well known Slovak academician and national poet, Prof. Subik M. D. whose pseudonym is Andrei Zarnov, succeeded recently in escaping with his family from Slovakia to the West. During the war Prof. Subik represented the Slovak Republic at the international medical commission which investigated the Katyn case. The commission, even at that time, decided that without doubt the mass murder had been committed by the Bolsheviks. After investigations on the spot, Prof. Subik was convinced as to the authors of the crimes. From then on he was persecuted by the "People's Democratic" regime. The professor, besides being an eminent scientist, is the greatest living Slovak poet.

Side Lights:

Soviet Union a Problem for Journalists

What it means that a third of the world is living almost hermetically sealed off under bolshevism, became clearly evident at the Paris meeting of the "International Press Institute", in May, when reporting on the Soviet Union was discussed, thereby revealing the difficulty in describing life in the Soviet world. It was pointed out, for instance, that the exact figure for the population of the U.S.S.R. has not been made public, that on the other hand, from more or less chance observations, such as Stalin's absence at some public event, too much is made. The decisive question as to how far reporting can be preserved from subjective elements, or in how far responsibility can be taken for it, without arbitrarily distorting the facts, was scarcely touched upon and in consequence not answered.

There were, however, some good, concrete suggestions: the chief editor of the "Neue Züricher Zeitung" recommended sending as many correspondents as possible to the Soviet Union and changing them frequently in order to form a group of experts, capable of working up Soviet material in the office. The chief editor of the Berlin "Tagespiegel" pointed out that Berlin was in a specially favoured position for observation, offering the means of contact with people from the East, as well as an insight into the press of the Satellite States. Another member spoke of the scientific and special publications in the Soviet Union, saying that they are often more revealing than the daily press. By all, the lack of people who really know Russia was stressed.

"Experts on Russia" cannot be turned out like ready-made clothes, nor by a few months' training as a correspondent in Moscow, Warsaw, Sofia or Bucharest. Without wishing to belittle the difficulties facing a correspondent in the free countries when reporting on the Soviet world, it still seems to us that editors have hitherto neglected an important factor which might alleviate their worries: among the millions of refugees who have streamed into the West from the Soviet world, during and after the war, and who are still trickling through, there are hundreds of qualified journalists bringing a knowledge of their home-countries, languages, doctrinaire Marxism and the possibility of realizing it, in a familiar area, all points which cannot be attained in any quick courses. Among these refugees there are thousands of experts in practically every field of economic, political, social and cultural life. A description of the Soviet world from such a source would be the story of those who are now carrying on the work they managed to escape from. It would be wrong to presume without further ado that emigré mentality coloured the outlook of all of these people. The responsible ones among them are conscious of the importance of their interpreter role between their home-land and the free world. Deliberate falsification or spe-

culation would harm their own people first of all.

This potent factor is practically intact. Many of these journalists and experts are doing other jobs, some are struggling to keep their own free press above water; papers that are given much too little attention by the editors, in the countries in which they are appearing. Many a report and commentary in these emigré papers contains the evidence of solid and proficient knowledge. (P. S.)

Loan to "Further Peace"

The first half of May this year the Soviet press announced that the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. had resolved to issue a new state loan of 30 milliard roubles, declaring at the same time that this amount would be oversubscribed. No one is likely to doubt that this will be the case. The subtle methods used by the Kremlin to squeeze out and rob the citizens, who are treated worse than slaves, is too well known. To guarantee the loan everyone will have to sacrifice at least one month's wages which the Soviet press has already declared as the minimum.

According to official statements the loan is intended exclusively for peaceful purposes i. e. the construction of a power station in Kuybyshev and Stalingrad, on the Volga, at Kakhovka on the Dniپر, further for extending the main canal of Turkistan, the Ukrainian canal and the North Crimean canal. It is not necessary to be an expert to see what peaceful purposes these buildings will be used for, in the end. It is known that the Soviet Union is behind in many important branches of industry, such as steel, coal, oil production, in comparison to the West. It is most backward in the field of electro-energy, without which the atomic bomb cannot be produced, then too electro-energy is needed for the production of some special alloys for aeroplanes and modern weapons, as well as for nitrogen compounds for explosives. The irrigation of South Ukraine and the Crimea can serve for the increase of the cotton crop not, however, for the textile industry, but again for the production of explosives.

The strategic purpose of the constructions proposed is unmistakable. The Don-Volga canal would connect the Black Sea on the land way to the White Sea, the Baltic and others, which will make the construction of submarines in the interior of Russia where the atom and fine mechanics plants are concentrated feasible. In case of war it would be easy to take submarines wherever they are needed along these waterways. (W. A. Z.)

Camouflaged War Budget

In connection with the new State loan in the U.S.S.R. the Soviet press published an article by the Minister of Finance, Zverev, in which it is pointed out that the thirty milliard roubles which the loan is supposed to bring in, are badly needed in addition to the 476.9 milliards of the budget. Zverev then discusses the budget items once more, to convince the naive that it is a "budget for peace and peaceful reconstruction". He describes it in such a way that it seems as if 305.2 milliard roubles, i. e. almost $\frac{2}{3}$ of the expenses of this huge budget, were for peaceful purposes, 180.4 milliards "for developing political economy and 124.8 milliard roubles for social and cultural purposes.

On one hand the finance minister declares that the outlay for which the 305.2 milliards are provided is only for the single so-called Soviet Republics, and for that, education, health service, social insurance, housing and local industry fall to the competence of each Republic. All matters of defence and war industry to be financed from Moscow direct. In the same breath however, it is said in the article, that for the local budgets of the single Republics only 98.8 milliards are provided i. e. not $\frac{2}{3}$, but only 20.7 per cent of the whole State budget.

Anyone who has watched Soviet economic and financial life carefully will have noticed that in the last 10 to 15 years the plans for school buildings, hospitals, workmens dwellings etc. have seldom been fulfilled more than 25%, at most 50%. The Soviet press seeks to cover this up by accusing the local authorities of all sorts of shortcomings so that no one might arrive at the conclusion that in reality Moscow has used the funds in question for military purposes.

If this year, the local budgets are said to have reached 50% the truth will lie somewhere about 10%, no more, of the total budget of the U.S.S.R. that has been used for peaceful purposes.

No subterfuge on the part of Zverev can hide the fact that this year we shall have Stalin's largest war budget, to finance a war of aggression. (W. A. Z.)

Plain Speaking is Necessary

That which began as a "police action" in Korea more than year ago, has since become a military front in the cold war, a front which still limits itself to a small part of the world front. In addition, French troops are fighting in Indo-China, British in Burma and Malaya, and National-Chinese in the southern part of Red China, all against opponents who are directed from the same Moscow centre-point. →

Bolshevization and Russification are Siamese twins. If anyone sets out hand in hand with Russians to fight bolshevism, he is sure to lose.

Without prejudice to the mutual exchange of notes and diplomatic discussions with the political delegations of the western world over the possibility of co-existence or compromise, world-bolshevism is unequivocally proving its readiness also to leave the debating rooms and to carry on the debates on the battlefields to which it seems inclined.

Whoever does not realise that we are already at war is either a fool, or pursues an ostrich-like policy, and his attitude can, in proportion to the radius of his sphere of influence, bring a race or even a continent in peril of destruction.

In that huge area east of the line Stettin—Trieste, some hundreds of millions of people are combatting by every means of passive resistance or active opposition which they have at their disposal against their annihilation as human beings, as sociological classes and even as races. On the periphery of the Soviet sphere of influence are arising nuclei of defence, to prevent its spreading further — the decisive settlement with world-bolshevism has begun.

That is not to say anything against treating with the enemy. This has some purpose, if it is carried out with some prospect of success, that in this way the freedom of mankind can be guaranteed. Success is the deciding factor. Discussions as an end in themselves — “so long as negotiations are going on, there’ll be no shooting” — are dangerous, if one partner employs the pauses in constructing weapons before the conference building.

The complaisance and appeasement-policy of the West have made possible the world-endangering expansion of Bolshevism, not its own strength. Adherence to these principles, therefore, can in the light of the present situation, no longer be vindicated. This was proved, in little, by the new U. N. Commander-in-Chief in Korea, Gen. Clark, when he withdrew the concessions which had been obtained under duress by the agitators in Kojé P. O. W. camp, and denoted the American officers responsible. That, generally speaking, was what was meant by the Spanish leader, Franco, when, in his opening speech to the Spanish Parliament, he condemned the policy of concession and appeasement as insufficient: “This policy, in which we will take no part, casts aspersions on the western nations’ sense of responsibility.”

He considers that the result of this policy is the oppression of the east-European peoples by Bolshevism — with which Spain will never come to terms — and that it is a necessity for the future to give back freedom to these peoples. It shows the militant anti-communism of the Spanish people, when Franco refers to the necessity of combatting communism with military force. He who has experienced devastating events in his own house knows how little concession and appeasement are able to perform and how necessary is plain speaking. Wherever the latter has been done, Bolshevism has always left the arena. (P. S.)

European Integration and the Freedom of the Peoples in the East

By Dr. Stefan Panov

It has become an established fact that the Third Reich lost the war mainly because the German Government failed to burst the Soviet dungeon of peoples. Had the Germans, at the very commencement of the war, promised the oppressed nations of the U.S.S.R. their political independence, the German-Soviet war would have become a civil war in the whole territory of the Soviet Union and have swept away the red dictatorship.

In spite of this historical lesson authoritative circles in the West seem inclined to repeat Hitler’s fatal mistake. If the West would issue an official declaration that all the peoples subjected by Moscow, including those which came under Russian domination before 1917, should have full national sovereignty, mighty centrifugal powers could be set in motion which would shake the very foundation of the Stalin dictatorship. Strange to say, however, the West refrains from playing the strongest trump card it holds in the cold war.

The Russian emigrants who still adhere to the long outlived Russian Empire, make western statesmen believe that a declaration of that sort — which is actually in harmony with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and with all the ideals for which western democracy is fighting, — would arouse the resistance of the greatest people in the East, and drive them into the arms of Stalin. That the West is dependent on the collaboration of the Russian people, if the Stalin regime is to be overthrown.

Their thesis is biased. It runs contrary to the ideals of the free world and historical development.

Integration and Freedom of the Peoples

The main argument brought forward in the West, by adherents of Russian imperialism, against the liberation of subjected peoples is that the world today is tending towards vast conglomerations of states. For economic and political reasons national frontiers are being done away with and nations collected into federal states. The parole of modern times is United States of Europe. The demand that all the peoples of the Soviet Union should be granted national independence stands in contradiction to that trend.

The A.B.N.’s cry for national freedom and the bursting of the Soviet dungeon of nations is therefore an obsolete and reactionary solution which is not in keeping with the times.

Is this reproach justified? It is right, as far as is goes, that about the middle of the 20th century the idea of integration began to gain ground in the whole world. Its climax will be establishment of a world parliament and a world government embracing all peoples. The United States of

Europe will sooner or later be realized and will include Russia as far as the Urals.

The first condition for this integration is however the liberation of all nations beforehand, so that they may become equal members with equal rights of such a federation. In the framework of a super-national formation absolute equality must prevail. It would mean putting the cart before the horse to found the United States of Europe before all the member-nations had gained their full freedom and sovereignty, otherwise the federation would be no advance but a step back; it would not be in accordance with the general trend, but work against it.

Integration and Differentiation

There is another point which may not be forgotten. Simultaneously with the trend towards integration, a process of differentiation may be observed and no power is able to check it. The tendency towards national differentiation is as much a sign of the times as integration and is actually no contradiction.

In opposition to the levelling influences of modern civilisation, the races are recalling more and more their peculiar qualities, their national culture and way of life, — the most precious treasures of a civilized people. A future world of the United States of Europe, Asia and Africa and finally a world government, will aspire to a closer collaboration between nations in the sphere of politics, economics and cultural affairs. But with regard to culture every nation in future will cherish and develop its own. There will be no place in the world of the future for imperialism or chauvinism. On the other hand Utopists who believe that with national egoism, national differences should also disappear, in order to give place to monotonous uniformity disregard the laws of Nature. Levelling in the intellectual sphere is a false development and as such to be combatted, not furthered. The role of national culture will be greater and more important in the future.

According to the Stalin conception, all national culture must disappear and give place to a uniform proletarian “world culture”. National languages must be eliminated in favour of a world language, a “progress” which is neither desirable nor possible. The languages of the races are organisms, they are their most valuable possession and the basis for creative development. “Just as every bullet has its centre of gravity, every people has a centre of bliss” (Herder) A people can only be happy when it is able to form its own life in its own way. A national way of life includes the language, the arts etc.

We see how much attention and care the nations whose culture is of a high standard, e. g. the English, Scandinavian etc. have



No Conception

For three days exile journalists from countries behind the Iron Curtain, who belong to the **Federation of Free Journalists of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and Balkan States**, met and debated in Berlin. Although it had been declared at a press conference held before the meeting, that the Federation was a professional association and followed no special political trend, the meeting had not at all the character of a professional gathering. Berlin had not been chosen merely by chance, nor were the journalists who had left their homes for political reasons and who represented the free press of their native countries abroad, able to evade political questions. The guests too, among whom were the president of the **National Committee for Free Europe**, representatives of the **American Federation of Labour** and **British and American** members of parliament, gave the whole affair a political background.

More than all that, however, the messages sent out to the East and West justify the question as to the political views held by these journalists in exile, especially so, since the chairman of the Federation, **Mr. Boleslaw Wierzbianski**, (Poland) said in his opening speech that they wanted to show the subjected people the "picture of a better future" which is doubtless identical with the "vision of a united Central and Eastern Europe" and which according to the speaker would result from the collaboration of emigrant professional journalists.

Instead of drawing the promised picture, however, they drifted away, time and again, with the assurance that they had no views as to the future of Europe, nor for the methods to be used for its liberation. Among the German publicists this fact was most especially regretted. It seems to have been for-

devoted to their national culture in the last decades in order to preserve it from the modern tendency to level everything. This trend to national differentiation which is by no means against modern integration, but supplements it and makes sense of it, has become very evident of late.

National Independence — the Elementary Right of a Nation

When the negro tribes of Africa, striving for national independence, meet with recognition and approval, can old civilized peoples, such as the Ukrainians, or Georgians be restrained from seeking release from Russian tutelage?

The champions of Russian imperialism point out that countries like Ukraine or Turkistan, from an economic standpoint cannot be separated. An independent Ukraine, an independent Georgia will naturally keep up close economic relations with Russia, but first of all these peoples must be free and build up their economic connections with other countries as equal partners.

gotten that the German public, above all the population of Berlin, who had been specially invited to attend the public discussions, have a lively interest in the closer designation of this "vision".

On the other hand those from eastern Europe who took part at the international meeting of the German Association of Young Journalists which met April 20th to 26th, at Münster, were disappointed to find that their German colleagues possessed but very indifferent ideas about the new Europe.

The latter meeting which was under the efficient direction of Professor **Walter Hagemann** (Münster) and given added importance by the presence of **Prof. Bashnitz** (Amsterdam), **Prof. Dovifat** (Berlin), **Dr. Stern-Rubarth** (author of "Europe, Great Power or Provincialism") and **Dr. Unger** of the European Union, had as its theme "The Contribution of Journalism to the Integration of Europe". The questions which most interested visitors from

eastern European countries, i. e. how far East Europe reaches and how the problems of the national States of the peoples subjugated by bolshevism were to be solved, remained unanswered.

It is true, **Prof. Dovifat** touched the subject of the East European problem in his speech, "The European Question as seen from Berlin and the Soviet Zone of Occupation", but in a most one-sided manner, giving great prominence to the "greatness" of the Russian people and the "value" of its soul, in an unhappy interpretation of **Prof. Stepun's** idea: by which **Prof. Dovifat** brought upon himself the reproach of incompetence and political prejudice.

With the exception of **Prof. Bashnitz**, all the speakers were convinced that America's East European policy was right, and they laid stress upon America's consciousness of her mission. The fatal confusion of the terms Russia and East Europe, ran like a red thread through the whole conference. For the German participants there was really no excuse for not knowing the real state of things. (P. S.)

The Victory of Communist Propaganda

As we all know, communist seizure of power in each of the Satellite States began in the same way: at first intentions were camouflaged by "democratic" government coalitions. As soon as these were firmly in the saddle, the communist members commenced getting rid of their partners, gaining domination step by step, until finally the countries were turned into Soviet-Russian colonies. In most cases the process met with stubborn resistance, even from the ranks of the communists themselves, as the fate of the great ones, such as **Kostoff** in Bulgaria, **Slansky** in Czechia, **Gomulka** in Poland, **Rakosi** in Budapest, **Peter Croza** and **Anna Pauker** in Bucharest makes evident. Nevertheless the stadthalters in those countries seek to give the impression, at least to the outside world, that their governments are still in the hands of some democratic coalition, while in reality that has long since been liquidated.

It is therefore more than strange that on the occasion of the congress of the so-called "Fatherland Front" in Bulgaria when the name of the present government clique was only retained as a bluff for the public at home and abroad, to make people believe that some sort of coalition of democratic, patriotic and political circles, still exist behind the scenes, and that just the **Associated Press** should become a victim to that bluff. The Agency sent out the following report:

"The 'Fatherland Front' is a coalition of the Communist Party, the Peasant, the Social Democratic and the Zveno parties."

Thus mendacious communist propaganda has every reason to be proud

of its success. After this report, Sofia and Moscow can congratulate each other on a complete victory all along the line. A world-renowned western news agency has served the public with something communists themselves, even average ones, do not even believe.

Anyone at all acquainted with conditions in Bulgaria knows full well that since 1946, when **Nikola Petkoff** of the Peasants' Party was thrown out of the government and then sent to prison and the gallows; the leader of the Social Democrat Party, **Kosta Lulcheff** landed in prison and the Zveno leader and war minister, **Walcheff** was removed from office and banished abroad, the so-called coalition government has ceased to exist, or has become a very thin mask for a typically totalitarian communist, one-party system. It is well known too, that following on that fictitious "coalition", only the flotsam and jetsam of the former parties were left as figurines, and they announced the dissolution of their own party organizations in order to enter the homogenous "Fatherland Front" whose fealty was to Moscow.

Finally, every child knows that the real Peasants' Party of the influential leader **Getscheff** never belonged to the Fatherland Front coalition, but merely a left radical group, known as the Plane group, which had for years collaborated with the communists was in it.

And yet western news agencies hand out to the governing Stalin clique in Sofia, — which is not even backed by the Bulgarian communist Party, — the testimony of a democratic coalition on a broad basis. (B.)

"Socialistic Democracy"

In the new constitution which is being drawn up by the Belgrade government, Yugoslavia is to have a new democratic structure: the authority of the government is to be vested in committees made up of members of the national assembly; administration to be in the hands of state secretaries who are in each case experts in their branch, but who are under the supervision of the competent committee; the national assembly is to be divided into two houses; the already existing federal council, and a council of "producers" i. e. representatives of industrial and agricultural collective enterprises, — a strange mixture of Soviet and co-operative elements.

The State is, for the first time, to have a president. The president is to hold the offices of chairman of the presidential body and of parliament, and act as commander-in-chief of the forces. It is to be presumed that Marshal Tito will not give up the command of the army and will therefore become president of the Republic. That means a strengthening of his personal position and with it the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Until now parliamentary leadership was in the hands of a third party. At present Dr. Ivan Ribar holds that position.

The psychological-political preparation for the reform followed the Soviet pattern: In answer to a letter in the "Borba", in which a deputy, Davidovic, stated that the system of representative government was obsolete and no longer in accordance with "our socialistic democracy" and therefore should be changed, Moshe Pijade, the theorist of "Titoism", said on March 30, 1952, in the same paper, that parliament, — Yugoslavia has a federal constitution, — had become petrified in the form of 1946 "as if the wave of socialistic democracy had not touched it at all." Pijade laid special emphasis on the qualifications of the deputies, but added "the system of our parliaments make them houses of silence". He then goes on to say, "Why that is so I should prefer not to discuss."

This statement is not difficult to understand, it rests on the fact that the Belgrade regime, also in the new "democratic structure", intends to maintain the unlimited monopoly of the communist party, the arbitrary system of the political police, the oppression of civil rights and liberty, including the work of the churches. Having arisen through the terrorization of all other parties by one party, the C.P.Y., the regime cannot exist without its support. It would simply fall to pieces.

The introduction of sham democratic reforms are as little deceptive as the "Law for the Preservation of Civil Rights" which has come into force in the meantime and which is intended to make it possible to appeal against decisions by financial and labour authorities and peasant organizations, in questions of compulsory delivery quotas, for the executive lies exclusively in the hands of approved communist party members.

(P. S.)

A Bulgarian Protest

Referring to an article appearing in the American newspaper in Germany, the "Neue Zeitung", the Presidency of the National Bulgarian Front have placed their protest at our disposal, from which we publish the following:

"In a series of articles entitled "Yugoslavia's Cominform Neighbours" now appearing in the "Neue Zeitung", the issue of May 1st/2nd (No. 105) gave a report on Bulgaria containing misrepresentations which are an injustice to the Bulgarian people and a travesty of their history.

The statement, above all, that the Bulgarians are so conscious of their "Slav adherence" and so russophile that in World War I they had to be incarcerated and shot, literally in thousands" for refusing to fight against the Russians. That this atrocity story is a fabrication is proved by the war records of the time. It is a generally known fact, that the elite of the Russian regiments which forced their way into Dobrudsha in 1917 with the objective of freeing the way into Bulgaria were thrown back, in spite of their superior numbers, and so completely defeated by General Koleff's cavalry that the remainder were hardly able to get across the Danube in their panicky flight. It is just this Bulgarian "blitz" victory over the Russians that is held in military academies as exemplary. Furthermore, the Bulgarian army crossed the Danube itself and harried the Russian and Rumanian troops as far as Bucharest, fighting the decisive battle on the banks of the Seret.

The author's allegation, too, that in the last war, owing to the Bulgarians' pro-Russian sympathies, neither King Boris nor the Prince Regent Cyril dared to send troops to the Soviet front. The real reason why Bulgaria clung so determinedly to its neutrality towards Russia was to avoid giving Russia any casus belli whatever for an advance on the Balkans, a fact which fitted in with the plans of the Western Powers and was, no doubt, agreed upon in unofficial parleys. The Yalta decisions and the early, mysterious death of King Boris put an end to that cautious policy. In any case it was certainly not "love of the Russians" which spoiled the Bulgarians for war, or even that the country, as the weak point in the Balkans, gave way for the Russian invasion as might be concluded from the article.

It cannot be denied that Bulgaria's alleged affection for "mother Russia" is often a priori accepted by many in the West and has again and again been the cause of that unjustifiable suspicion cherished towards Bulgaria, for which the country in its recent history has had, more than once to pay dearly. That it is only an arbitrary prejudice, that today borders on malice, may be seen by the following facts.

1) Despite all comprehensible feeling of gratitude towards the Russian "liberators", the Bulgarian people in the eighties and nineties of the last century, when it became evident that Pe-

tersburg was aiming at making Bulgaria a Russian Danubian province (gouvernement), made a decided break with all political sympathy with Russia. This determined attitude was given expression when Russian tutelage and annexationist tendency was shaken off by the great Bulgarian statesman, Stephan Stamboloff, backed by the army and the people. That historical act met with the full approval of the whole western world, and others too.

2) Moscow's powerful advance after the world war, undertaken on the supposition of pro-Russian feeling, and carried out by mass assassinations and civil war, was stopped by the Bulgarians with their own forces, in spite of the radical tendency arising through the war.

3) That the country was conquered in September 1944 by Soviet Russia was due alone to the tragic war and world situation then prevailing, which allowed the Red Army free access into the country through a violent revolutionary regime, in the illusory idea that they could master the fate of Bulgaria with the crumbling axis between Moscow and the western powers.

4) In spite of their Slavic language and Cyrillic alphabet, which are counted as their most precious cultural possessions, there remains deeply rooted in the people an atavistic reminiscence of their Turanian origin.

Aside from all the theories as to genesis and origin of the present Bulgaria, there is that specific element in the blood and consciousness of the people, a peculiarity which separates them from the so-called "Slavic races" and it is just this element that Moscow is trying to eliminate from the history books and literature, from school and from the knowledge of the coming generation, because it is a thorn in the flesh for russification and a bulwark for the national idea.

Under these circumstance it is more than paradoxical to call the Bulgarians consciously Slavic and to endow them with an exaggerated love of Russia, the last sad remnants of which have been wiped out."

Workers Resistance Against Collective Contracts

Resistance is growing in a number of plants in the Chemnitz district (Eastern Germany) against collective contracts for the plant, by which a considerable worsening in working conditions and a new increase in the workers nor at the same wages as before, is envisaged. The draft of a new collective contract for the Elite-Diamant Bicycle Works at Chemnitz has been unanimously rejected by all the sections in the plant. The workers pointed out in the discussion that followed, that the conditions laid down in the draft contract were below the standard of those prevailing at the time when the works were an S.A.G. plant. The Elite-Diamant works was recently given back to the Soviet Zone government.

(I.W.E.)

The Croats Reply

By Major General Hinko Skaricic-Alabanda

When, after the overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the end of 1918, the Croatian people, against their will, were forced into the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, — later Yugoslavia — they entered the hardest period of their history.

With that act one of the oldest peoples in Europe, a people which for centuries had bravely defended western civilization and Christianity against Ottoman invasion, was delivered over to a handful of megalomaniacs, seized by Serbian monomania, and with whom the Serbian people had little in common. These fanatics set out to found a greater Serbia in order to realize Peter I's will, i. e. the conquest of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, the domination over the Mediterranean and the sea route Gibraltar—Suez. By prescribing this partial aim to Russian imperialism they hoped to gain power themselves and with Russia's assistance to keep it. The Croats with their natural leaning to the west, stood in the way and had to be got rid of.

From 1918 on, the people were systematically oppressed. The name Croat alone was sufficient. As an "enemy of the people", arrest, torture, death followed. A new craze arose that the Yugoslav nation was to serve as the "fifth column" in the greater Serbian imperialism, just as communism served Russian imperialism as a fifth column.

With Croatia's declaration of independence on April 4, 1941, a period of peaceful inter-state life might have begun. But the Serbian "Charshia" saw their plans thwarted and turned to terrorism. Their Cetniks crossed the Drina and invaded Croatia, committing horrible atrocities on Catholics and Mussulmans, all of which has not come to light yet. It is no exaggeration to say that one million Croats were literally slaughtered, mutilated, tortured, burnt to death or drowned. The Croats fought desperately to defend their right to existence. They did not fight against the West, their 20 divisions fought against the Serbian Cetniks and Tito's communist partisans, Stalin's pioneers. They did not capitulate but submitted to the decree by the Western Powers that Tito's communist government was to be recognized as a Western Ally.

Since then Tito has reigned over the Yugoslav fiction, upheld by Serbo-Communism, the new form of Serbian "Charshia".

After 1945 that clique with the old method, tried to bring the Croats into discredit as murderers and plunderers in 1941 and 1945. On one side to wash their hands in innocence, on the other in the hope that their statements would be believed in West and act as an introduction for the seizure of power, should one day the regime in Yugoslavia be liquidated.

That must be known if one is to understand the step the present members of the Serbian "Charshia", Adam Pribicevic, Vladi-

mir Belajcic and Branko Miljus have taken: they submitted a memorandum to the fifth General Meeting of the U.N., accusing the Croatian people of the crimes committed by the Serbs in 1941—1945, and demanding the trial of 192 Croats, whose names are listed, for genocide.

The first chairman of the Croatia National Committee, Dr. Branimir Jelic, whose name is also on the list, although he has lived abroad since 1928, has sent a memorandum to the president of the 6th General Meeting of the U.N. in which he replies exhaustively and matter-of-factly to the accusation raised against the Croat-

ian people and the persons named in the list. In his memorandum he gives a short outline of Croatia history and the Croat-Serbo relations in the periods 1918, 1918—1941, 1941—1945, and after 1945 and invalidates all points of the Serbian allegations. Besides which, he demands an investigation by the U.N. into the events, in order to show the world where the truth is and that the Croatian people need have no fear of it.

The investigations will have a further result: the clear recognition of the mistakes made by Western policy in Yugoslavia since 1918 and still tolerated. Self-determination cannot be suppressed in the long run, either by bolsheviks or national-communist government methods. Tito's "democratic" communism is as much a fiction as Serbian Yugoslavism.

How Stalin is Helped to Conquer the World

Remarks on a Pamphlet:

"How to help Stalin win the World", New York

The above-named pamphlet issued by Friends of Fighters for Russian Freedom, is an example of amateurish reporting, — its sub-title "Who is the Enemy — 'Russia' or Communism?", — handles the subject of combatting the menace of communism.

In the preface it is said that by supporting "race fanatics", by the cry for a crusade to destroy and Balkanize the country, i. e. by cutting Russia up, the way will be paved for Stalin to conquer the world. All of which only goes to show that the aim and object of the above brochure is to discredit the non-Russian peoples in exile and their fighters at home, in their struggle for freedom and independence, in the eyes of the Americans, whose love of spacious thinking is thus cleverly appealed to.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that the pamphlet attacks the Ukrainian Congress Committee and anti-bolshevik organisations, such as the A.B.N. their magazines "The Ukrainian Quarterly", "Ukrainian Observer", (formerly "Ukrainian Information Service"), and the "A.B.N. Correspondence". Nor does the said pamphlet refrain from clumsy distortions and lies. For instance, Yaroslav Stetzko and Stepan Bandera are described as war criminals and good friends of Hitler. Alfred Berzins, Vasyl (in origin Vladimir?, Ed.) Glaskow and others are said to be Nazi collaborators, while General Vlassov, who set up an army of liberation is represented as a Hitler victim.

The reason for this attack rests without doubt on the author's discovery that the Americans have been much struck by anti-Russian propaganda in the above — named organizations and that they are finding considerable support in Congress, as well as in the American press.

In order to cast aspersions on Ukraine's longing for independence Ukrainian history has to be falsified: Kyiv is represented as the "centre of Russian civilization", the events of Pereyaslav January 8, 1654) are interpreted as the voluntary union with the Russian Empire, and the Ukrainian people's struggle for national freedom and independence is made light of as the "desire for self-administration and cultural autonomy". Thus Russian expansion in Ukraine is turned into justified "pioneer work" and the sanguinary conquest of the Caucasus and Turkistan into a peaceful colonial policy. The parallels with Soviet-Russian historical writings are conspicuous, for in them Soviet attacks against nationalism among the non-Russian peoples are treated as trifles, hardly worth mentioning, and measures against cosmopolitanism are placed on the same footing.

In the face of such misrepresentations by Russia provocateurs and by bolshevik agents, the question may be asked "are political circles in U.S.A. not sufficiently well-informed to realize that it is just travesties of this kind that 'help Stalin to win the world'?"

(Y. Z. P.)

The U.S.S.R. is merely a facade for Russian tyranny over a hundred million enslaved non-Russians. The West's allies against Moscow are not Russian slave-drivers and profiteers, but only the enslaved peoples who wish to break the yoke of tyranny.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

OIL TROUBLES

The "Pravda" of May 15, 1952 gives some space to certain undesirable conditions in Aserbaijan's oil production which have led to a falling off in output, and for which the local party organizations are made responsible.

"The oil production of the "Molotov-neftj" is diminishing. In November it was "suddenly" discovered that there was a check in the preparation of fresh cadres and that the training courses to improve the qualification of master-workers had ceased as long ago as last July; that there was no further technical training for workers and technical personnel. The Bureau of the District Committee of the Communist Party concluded in its resolution that that had all come about because the party cells in the oil refineries, the district-committees of the oil workers union and the local trade unions organization displayed no interest in the conditions prevailing in technical training; that they asked nothing from the managers in the economic department to make the fulfilment of the plan to train qualified cadres possible. And what did the District Committee of the Party itself do. Why did they not carry out the instructions given at the district conference of the party, which laid down that the training of cadres must be improved and the quality raised?

The "Molotovneftj" Trust, it is true, exceeded the quota for oil and oil gas, but did not avail itself of all the possibilities for increasing the output. At the end of last year the quality of the oil production began to sink and this year the process has continued. The conference of the active members of the party organizations of the district gave a bolshevist answer, to the effect that of late party organizing and party politics had been neglected by the district committee, its departments and cells, that there was little spontaneity and verve in their work."

The article contains the interesting admission that in "bolshevist eyes" the activists of the party, inspired, we may presume, by activists of the Soviet Russian party, have little influence on the local Aserbaijan party formations.

BULGARIA

"THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S VICTORY"

The "Pravda" published an article under the above headline on May 23, 1952, saying,

"Thanks to what the Bulgarian peasant has learned from the Soviet collectivized peasant there is a bumper harvest this year. Even in 1951, the ever-increasing socialist collective farm delivered 70% of the total harvest."

"Under these circumstances the necessity arose of normalizing the circulation of money, as it no longer kept pace with the upward rush of the country's economics and the success brought about by reconstruction.

"Owing to the recent currency reform there will now be as much money in circulation as is necessary for economy.

"The currency reform was so, that 100 old lew (Bulgarian coin) were exchanged for 1 new lew.

"With the currency reform food rationing ceased in Bulgaria."

The "Pravda" reveals to its readers in the article that in agrarian Bulgaria, working along Soviet methods, rationing still existed in 1952, while the whole world knows that West Germany, for instance, devastated by war and over-populated as it is, gave up rationing food and other things long ago, without any Soviet system.

We learn too, that rationing could only cease after the population had sacrificed 100 old lew for 1 new one, i. e. after the purchase power of the old was exhausted.

Whether that is to be called a victory seems extremely problematical.

EASTERN GERMANY

SOLDIERS SENT BACK TO THE U.S.S.R. AS PRISONERS

28 soldiers and officers of the Soviet army, as we have just learned, were entrained at the goods yards of Schwerin and sent back to the Soviet Union, closely guarded. The soldiers had been arrested in April at their barracks in Schwerin, by the M.V.D. It is alleged that they had anti-Stalin leaflets in their possession from a resistance group in the army. (I.W.E.)

DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL GOODS

The little baroque palace of Reinhardtsgimme, dating from the 17th century, in the eastern Erzgebirge, now being used as an agricultural school, is to be torn down. The valuable frescos, painted by old Dutch masters, which decorate the halls of the palace have often been objected to owing to their "unsuitableness in this age" and were to be painted over. (I.W.E.)

DILAPIDATED PIONEER PALACES

The committee set up by the town council of Erfurt to inspect the F.D.J. (Freie Deutsche Jugend) halls and pioneer palaces describe nine of the eleven as "perfectly filthy and in a disgraceful condition. The committee reports that the F.D.J. houses must be renovated at once if they are to be used for these young people... The committee found pictures of Stalin, Pieck, Ulbricht and Grotewohl "still packed as they had been delivered last February, lying on the shelves."

(I.W.E.)

ARREST OF SOVIET OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS

140 officers and soldiers belonging to the army of occupation in the garrisons at Wünsdorf, Rangsdorf and Zossen were arrested in April by the Security Service, according to evidence given by escaped German employees who worked in those barracks. The prisoners were accused of fraternizing with German civilians and thus making it possible for anti-Soviet leaflets to be brought into their quarters. (I.W.E.)

WORKERS IN THE SOVIET ZONE DEFEND THEMSELVES

The refusal of the Soviet general manager, Filomonov to pay out the premiums due the beginning of this year for the last quarter of 1951, at least in April, was met by a storm of protest. It was only when the workers threatened the German manager with a strike and he, following the parole of the Carbid Works, "Out with the premiums or we out the fires", gave weight to the threat, so that the Soviet and German management were compelled to pay up. (I.W.E.)

GEORGIA

"EXTRAORDINARY SILENCE"

Youth work in the Georgian S.S.R. is causing the communist headquarters in Moscow a good deal of trouble, especially as the party agencies in the Republic pay little attention to Moscow, i. e. Russian, censure, and do not discuss the warnings they receive with any kind of "self-criticism" in public.

In an article "The Extraordinary Silence" which appeared on May 10th, 1952, the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" complains that the Komsomol (Young Communist League) of Georgia at Tbilisi, the capital, is "directing the cells of the organization badly, and that the educational work is being neglected". The newspaper asserts that that is not confined to the capital, but is the case in all the other towns and districts of the Republic.

"The bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Georgia has not yet freed itself from old errors, nor does it react to the criticisms directed towards it, a conclusion which is confirmed by the following facts: Almost five months ago, on the 15th of December the "Komsomolskaya Pravda", in an article entitled "A Piece of Work that is merely for Show", pointed out and deprecated the failings in the activity of the Palace of the Pioneers at Tbilisi. The bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Georgia made no attempt to discuss the same, and did nothing whatever to redress the shortcomings. This only goes to show that the Central Committee has not taken the criticisms made by the press to heart and has hushed them up."

HUNGARY

ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

The Hungarian government, after long investigations, received a severe reprimand from the Economic Council of the Cominform. It is accused of sabotaging the five year plan set up by the Soviets, and of falsifying economic statistics. The heavy industry is blamed for exceeding the consumption of raw materials prescribed by Soviet experts. At the same time the Hungarian government was ordered to take sharper measures against acts of sabotage committed by the employees and workers in industrial concerns. For agriculture, too, energetic steps are announced as imminent. The whole land population, men and women up to the age of 65, and even children, are to be put to work in agriculture.

PROOF OF A PROPER ATTITUDE

The paper of the Communist Party in Hungary, "Szabad Nép", writes April 25, 1952:

Class consciousness has become more evident among our party members in the course of the last few years. Their sense of duty, too, is more apparent, as may be seen by the regularity and promptness with which they pay their dues. It may be said that the settlement of members, fees as they fall due, is a standard by which the work of the party in question can be measured...

In the next sentence, however, the paper explains how this increase in "class-conscious sense of duty" is attained: numerous places in the provinces have set a bad example. In February, for instance, at Ibrány only 28.7% and at Kotáj only 30.1% of the party members paid their contributions. The reason given by the paper is, that in these villages of the Komitats Szabolcs there is no net of "confidential advisers", which merely proves the continuous watch kept over party members in order to secure discipline.

SLOVAKIA

NO ENTHUSIASM

Although communist agitators went from house to house canvassing for the first of May, the demonstrations were but sparsely attended. School children and factory hands who had been ordered to appear, formed the majority of those present. The indifferent applause for the speakers and the lack of enthusiasm was noticed by all.

At Bratislava there was a communist demonstration on April 15, the day of the "liberation" by the Red Army. When the chief speaker, comrade P. David, saw that his words aroused no enthusiasm he asked: "At the time of the Slovak Republic I was witness to much enthusiasm on this square. Were you better off then than you are today? Why this silence?"

ERECTION OF THE H.U.K.O. CONCERN MAKES SLOW PROGRESS

In eastern Slovakia a huge concern, H.U.K.O., is being build up and the work carried out, in the main, by convict labour, as absenteeism has taken on such proportions. The president of the Communist provincial government, Duris, was himself at pains to raise the morale of the workers and endeavored to convince them that they were working in their own interest and not for the Soviet Union, as enemy propaganda alleged. He failed however to influence them and the government was forced to bring in several thousand Chinese and a hundred Italian communists.

FOOD SHORTAGE

The prevailing food shortage in Slovakia is becoming more than critical. The shops cannot even supply the rations which are short enough as it is. There are not enough potatoes. Proceedings against persons who hoard foodstuffs or purveyors of inferior products, are intended to draw the attention of the population from the real cause of the shortage which is the stringent exports to the Soviet Union. People are thus reminded afresh of the time of plenty when Slovakia was independent.

TURKISTAN

"POLITICALLY BACKWARD"

The "Pravda" of May 4, 1952, reports on the last plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiz S.S.R., one of the five republics into which Turkistan has been divided for political reasons:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiz S.S.R. has not seized the right methods for making the backward areas politically ripe, nor for strengthening trained workers. It takes too little notice of the political and professional schooling of the workers.

At the plenary meeting, the false methods made use of in educating the young workmen were strongly censured. Some of regional and district committees of the party seemed to be afraid of engaging new men, especially from among the young ones, for the various posts. The shortcomings in the political training of the cadres are also sharply criticized. Many of the leading men neglected to improve the level of their theoretical knowledge. Cadre education was suffering from the ideological errors contained in the text-books and works by native writers, in books on Kirghiztan's history."

"Soviet patriotism" is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism. Assurances that the Russian imperium is indivisible cannot destroy new Soviet patriotism, but it may paralyse the willingness to fight of 100 millions of nationally conscious non-Russians.

From this formal criticism by the "Pravda" correspondent in the Kirghiz capital Frunze, the demand stands out prominently to entrust leading functions to new men, young men. The wish is evident to take young men belonging to the generation brought up in Stalin's ideology for political leadership, those who will therefore be more likely to take a strong stand against "deviationism", above all of a national trend, than their immediate predecessors whose way of thinking is rooted in Turkistan's national past.

UKRAINE

MUSCOVITE REPRISALS

The Kremlin's confidential man in Ukraine, Leonid H. Melnikov, a Russian, now secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (a position never given to a Ukrainian), has penalized many kolkhozes and party heads of late.

The reason, according to Soviet press notices, being the destruction of the sugar beet seed by insects, which the central committee of the communist party of Ukraine declares is due to "the carelessness of party and agricultural offices".

The regional and executive committees of the party at Kyiv were blamed for "not inspiring the necessary intensity into the work of the party and agricultural offices". The top level leaders were warned that they would be "called to account if the position were not improved in the shortest time."

The work of the highest party offices in Vynnytsia, Poltava and Kirovograd, were stated to be "entirely unsatisfactory". The representatives of the Ukrainian agricultural ministry and the main administration offices of the sugar factories were reprimanded and their superiors warned.

In a resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was stressed that all the kolkhose in the Republic had every possible means at their disposal to attain a good beet crop and the failure of part of that important seed was only due to gross negligence.

Rudenko, public prosecutor in Ukraine, was ordered to regard "every instance of destruction in sugar beet as injury to the whole Soviet State, and to discover the guilty ones and punish them accordingly".

After this order was issued there was a meeting at Ismail of all the secretaries of the regional committee and the district leaders of Ukraine, upon which many hundred communists were punished by Melnikov.

THE VOICE OF OUR PEOPLES

Slovenska Republika

The Slovak Republic Will become a Fact ...

From an article by Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, in the "Slovenska Republika" No. 2-3, 1952, we have taken the following extract.

"We see that today, too, short-sightedness reigns. We see that everything is being done to repeat the injustice to Slovakia. The group of those seeking to renew Czechoslovakia is strong and financially backed. No consideration is given to the fact that they are not representatives of the Slovak people, but of Czech interests in Slovakia, nor that they are pursuing aims rejected by the Slovak people. No attention at all is paid to the fact that it is a question of former and present Moscow agents who helped to build up the Iron Curtain. Why is that so? Because so many people and responsible politicians in the West are deliberately misled... There is no doubt that many Anglo-Americans sincerely desire to realize the principle of democracy and self-determination, but there are others among them who are ready to support the Czech ambitions of domination.

All Slovaks, abroad or at home, most consistently follow the aim they have set themselves — independence... Where that is concerned we must be ruthless and allow no compromise. For us it is perfectly clear that no other solution will secure a decent living standard for Slovakia...

We must make it clear to everyone that in Slovakia the fight against communism is necessarily combined with the fight against Czech domination. Without Moscow's aid Czechoslovakia could not have come into existence (1945), just as the communist regime in Slovakia cannot be maintained without the help of Prague...

If we refuse to compromise in this principle question then, without doubt, we shall achieve our object. The Slovak Republic will be realised... Let us act as becomes a self-reliant people. One should not beg but act, not beg but fight."

Daniza

The well-known Croatian publicist, Professor Bonifacic wrote an article for the oldest Croatian newspaper appearing in America, "Daniza" ("Morning Star"), entitled "Croatistic in the World", in which he deals with the all-Slavic ideology and the confusion caused thereby, the victims of which, in the past were the Croatian intellectuals:

"To stress our importance, — according to the well-known saying of the Montenegrins: "With the Russians we are 150 millions", — the founders of our historical science sailed gaily into the Slavic fog. What that meant is only now made clear to the Croats. It will be a long time before the other peoples see with the same clearness, and it is our duty to make known to the world where Croatistics lead to, in order to overcome the chaos which our people helped to produce... We

are a people with a lively imagination, so that it is no wonder that those early historians tuned their song to the idea of the all-Slav thesis, which was to be our salvation...

The devastating war between Serbs and Croats is, at bottom, only the result of that poetical and propagandist phrase of brotherly love, unity and "the rotten occident" from which only our big brother, resp. mother Russia, would save us. To-day it is Tito and Stalin...

Austria threw slavistics as a sop to the Slav professors and the best Slav thinkers for a whole century gave themselves up to philological treatises

and the discovery of all-Slavic fragments... At the all-Slavic Congress in Prague everyone spoke German... Slavistic was carried to Moscow, Petersburg and Belgrade where it soon became the maid of all work for political combinations. Up to the time of Anton Starcevic and Anton Radic the Croats had no expert on the subject, but only aymen. The Croatian, Jagic, is the last who is proficient in every field of slavistics, but he does not realize that he is merely a Russian and Serbian agent. Dr. Anton Radic was the first to put a stop to that "knightly train", showing with scientific arguments what it was all about... From Moscow, Petersburg and Belgrade slavistics wandered to Paris and London and now the first "Yugoslav chair" is being instituted at Columbia University, New York..."

Communist Espionage in the West

Editor's Note: The following deposition of an agent of the Tito communist secret police bears the mark of truth. It was made before the Croatian National Committee and thence forwarded to the editorial staff. The name of the witness must remain undisclosed.

At the end of the war I fell into British hands and was later handed over to the Tito partisans at Bleiburg (Slovenia). I was then taken to my native town to face my trial. The charges consisted exclusively of false statements, made with the purpose of compromising me in the eyes of my fellow-townsmen, who knew me as a political opponent, and of passing upon me the severest possible sentence. This sentence was fifteen years imprisonment, which I was to serve at Srem.

One day in 1949, there came to me an acquaintance who was serving as major with the secret police (O.Z.N.A.) and made me the following offer: "I am come to help you to regain your freedom. You know you have no prospect of being released before the expiration of your sentence. If you are wise, therefore, you will not refuse a few conditions. I will give you three days to reflect."

The conditions were: "You will in the interests of socialistic Yugoslavia, go on a mission to Italy. There you are to mingle with the Yugoslav refugees in their camps. You will give out that you were sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment on account of your stupid Croatian patriotism. In the camps you are to ascertain what people are there, why they have fled the country, how and by which paths, alone or by the help of intermediaries, with what people in Yugoslavia they are maintaining contact, from which side they receive financial support, what aims they are pursuing and who are their most active elements. Furthermore, you must disrupt their political work, e. g. undermine their trust in each other and in their leaders. Keep us informed as to all your activities.

Since the conditions of my confinement were indescribably intolerable, and I had no hope of escaping from this hell in any

other way, I decided to accept the offer and in this way to gain my liberty. On my release I was sent to a "Spy School at Novi Sad. The School was in Dunavska Ulica (Dunavska Street) No. 29, and was run by a colonel. Our bedrooms were in the same building, so that we were constantly under surveillance. The names of the O.Z.N.A. members who supervised us were unknown to us. There were 14 of us in a room, in an adjacent room there were three women or girls who were being trained in the same manner. Our treatment was unobjectionable and the food good. The lectures lasted from 8—11.30 a. m. and from 6—9 p. m., the syllabus covering the following fields:

1) Instruction in the reporting of the activities of the emigré groups.

2) The fomenting of intrigue within the single emigré groups in order to shake the confidence of members in each other.

3) Instruction in the tactics of approaching a certain person (here was given the name of a distinguished expatriated Croatian, important for the O.Z.N.A.).

4) Guidance in the method of reporting on single individuals, if possible in the form of a biography: under what name they are living, why they fled, accomplices in their flight, place of crossing the frontier, connections with Yugoslavia, activities in exile, connections abroad, origin and form of their instructions, and, if possible, insight into and supervision of their correspondence.

5) Instructions concerning contact with the Yugoslav Embassy in Rome, i. e. the U.D.B.A. chief in Rome, D. Pajevic, from whom, in my case, I was to receive orders.

6) At any given moment I should receive the order to liquidate the Croatian personage in question.

The course lasted from October 15, 1949 to March 13, 1950. I was then taken via Lubiana to a villa near the Italian frontier, where the U.D.B.A. was established. There I was closely kept until March 31, when I was taken by night in a car to the border itself in order that I might submerge myself as a refugee in a camp.

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Editorial

Quo vadis, America?

Faults and Inconsistences of U.S.A. policy towards the enslaved Peoples of the Russian Empire

The Irony of Fate

When Secretary of State Acheson recently made the historic statement that in reality bolshevism is only a *continuation of Russia's century-old policy of conquest*, thus revealing plainly the cause of the present crisis in world affairs, we hoped that a new era in American policy had begun towards the peoples who had had the misfortune to fall a victim at some time or other to the same Russian imperialism. But what a bitter disappointment! These significant words from the mouth of the responsible leader of American foreign policy received no more attention than an ordinary notice in the newspaper, and the change expected in this policy as far as it concerned peoples languishing under the yoke of Moscow's tyranny has not taken place. The State Department remains as before under the pernicious influence of those Russian imperialists in exile who strive at all costs to get from Washington a guarantee that the Russian imperium will continue, if behind a facade of "federal democracy".

Thus, for instance, the so-called *American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia*, now under Admiral Kirk's leadership, is still in the hands of people like Eugene Lyons, who continue their attempts to bluff the American public by pretending that it would be possible, in the event of war, to win the Russian people for a mass movement of resistance against Moscow, but that it would be necessary to promise it the continued existence

of its imperium and to conduct the war against Moscow solely as one against bolshevism. In a decisive hour American policy is thus misled, and loses a unique chance for the sake of illusory advantages, a chance of mobilising in the coming conflict the huge potential of more than 90 million people of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow who represent the West's safest and most natural ally. Still worse! By yoking American policy to the inviolability of the Russian imperium and by ignoring the claims of all these non-Russian peoples to freedom and independence, the sacred, national feelings of these masses of people are deeply wounded. They will even be driven right into the arms of Stalin, who is in any case trying to win them, if with hypocritical promises of national independence, and to stir them up against the "imperialist, reactionary" West and even to inspire them with Soviet patriotism.

Amerikans misused by Kerensky & Co.

Kerensky's influence in the State Department and the policy pursued by the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia will ultimately lead to American soldiers being made a cat's paw of in a future war by an unaltered Russian imperialism, if of a new brand. The sons of the freedom-loving American people, therefore, the descendants of Washington and Lincoln, the world's great symbols of liberty, will have to fight and die so that our peoples may be burdened with another yoke instead of that of bolshevism. Russian exiles throughout the world have always attempted to suppress protests against the subjugation of non-Russian peoples by Russian tyranny. They have always wanted to convince the world that all evil in the Russian imperium is the work of the government at the moment and not of the despotic nation that keeps other peoples in slavery. Paradoxically enough, this Russian propaganda finds support in the United States of all countries, the land of liberty, where political persecutees from all nations have found asylum for years. Thus Americans to-

day allow themselves unconsciously to be misused by Kerensky and his like to champion slavery in the East. This is the role played by American institutions, called "private", but in reality half-official, under men like George F. Kennan or Admiral Kirk, bodies that try to whitewash the red sign of the bolshevist dungeon of nations and to replace its letters "U.S.S.R." by those of a so-called "Federation."

Propaganda that has misfired

While the Kremlin is making determined efforts not to lose face with the many different nations in the U.S.S.R. and only dares to address them as "peoples of the Soviet Union", even granting them delegates of their own in the U.N., the official voice of America continues to talk with the accents of old Russian imperialism. Even in broadcasts intended to be propaganda for our peoples, the latter are always addressed as either "Russian peoples", "peoples of Russia", or simply as "inhabitants of the Soviet Union", without regard for the effect on all non-Russian peoples who, as nationally conscious peoples, cannot welcome such forms of address. As long as American propaganda broadcasts use their present language for the "Russian peoples", the rulers in the Kremlin would scarcely have any reason to forbid listening in to these broadcasts, or to prevent their transmission.

If American propaganda broadcasts to our peoples are to have the success they promise, they must first of all outdo the lying but cunning propaganda of Moscow bolsheviks. But fine words about freedom and independence are not enough. So if America today wishes to dissipate the scepticism and mistrust of the sorely tried non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., and win them as reliable allies, it must recognize their political independence not in words alone; it must provide concrete guarantees that it takes such a policy and plans for the future seriously.

"Voice of America" is not enough

One of the essential guarantees is genuine cooperation with our peoples and their true representatives even now,

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in the cold war against Russia. For instance, it is radically wrong that members of our peoples should be allowed to address their enslaved fellow-countrymen at home only through the "Voice of America". Let the "Voice of America" be America's voice in which Washington's views and intentions as regards the problems of the subjugated peoples are interpreted to them. But the speakers and representatives of our peoples must have the possibility of addressing their fellow-countrymen directly and in a language uninfluenced alike by prevailing tendencies in America's policy towards the Soviet Union and by the political barometer in Moscow.

Just as, during the last war, there was a "Voice of Free France" as an ally of the West, there ought now to be a voice of Georgia, of Ukraine, of Byelorussia, of Turkistan, of Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, etc. Our peoples now living under tyranny and engaged in a desperate fight of resistance, want first and foremost to hear *our* voice, uncensored, and as it actually is. It is only when our peoples hear that we are waging war in the ether as full partners and allies of the West, enjoying equal rights with others, and acting in the real interests of our peoples, that they will be convinced that the West, and above all America, is seriously concerned with the fate of the subjugated peoples and their freedom in the future. But as long as members of our peoples are forced to beg humbly for permission to lament the fate of their people in one or part of a broadcast, and to submit their script for a Russian or Czech imperialist to censure, all wireless propaganda will be in vain and the dollars it costs, useless.

That is why the A.B.N. is not pressing for admission to the "Voice of America". We want to be able to speak freely to our peoples as independent and equal allies of the West. If the West cannot make up its mind to provide us with the necessary technical help yet, we can wait, for we have nothing to lose, except our fetters. It is doubtful whether the West, which has much to lose and perhaps fetters to gain, will be able to wait as long.

The Power of the Idea of Liberty

"The peoples are the thoughts of God", says the philosopher. Every people, small or great, has an equal right to liberty, life and happiness. All peoples are equally pleasing and valuable in the sight of God. Why does freedom-loving America think that it is entitled to interfere with this or that people's way of life and determine its relations to its neighbours and even with what peoples it must live in one community? Would it not be better for America as the leading power in the world to help these peoples shake off

their alien yoke and erect states of their own within their traditional ethnic frontiers, in accordance with freedom-loving America to stand up for the principle that every people has an inalienable right to the land of its fathers and that all violations of this principle by forced mass-deportations of populations and whole tribes be made good by the reestablishment of the natural order as desired by God?

Only when these fundamental conditions are fulfilled will our peoples be able and willing to find the way to a continental community and there after to a world organization. If the peoples sit round the table of such an organization as free and equal members, thorny problems and differences will be easier to solve. Then, if geopolitical, economic or other considerations should induce any peoples to form any kind of communities, then only as the result of their own free will. But no one may force such communities on peoples against their will and interest; nor may they be prevented from forming communities in their own interest and by their own free decision.

But why do Great Powers keep finding their own new formulas for our alleged "liberation"? First, they created for us a "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"; then they gave us a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"; tomorrow they will perhaps present us with an organization, entitled, say, "The Anti-Soviet Union". Enough of those recipes! We want to have a chance to build our temples of liberty according to *our* own creed, and to, hold the prayers of our countries for freedom in *our* own language! And once we have established our own free states, then the Great Powers should sit down with us at the same table, to discuss world problems.

Today all of us — you as well as we — strive for the same goal. Our first aim is to *remove the Russian rule of despotism and to help the victims of Russian imperialism to their freedom*. It is only when this goal has been reached that the world will be able to breathe freely; all other problems will solve themselves. That is the order of solution for all the questions with which our century is faced. They cannot be solved by presuming to determine the state of the world for a thousand years in advance and to attack a mass of problems indiscriminately and at once.

The world cannot be made happy merely by the establishment of extensive states, still less by the formation of one world-state out of continents seething with millions of enslaved peoples, but only by the realization of true national freedom. The power of the idea of liberty is greatest, the power symbolized by the statue that guards the entrance to New York har-

bour, and its torch lightens the world's darkness.

Questionable "liberation policy"

Hitler invented General Vlassov's "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", he, too, fondly dreaming that it would awaken resistance in Stalin's rear. But the movement was a farce and a bitter disappointment for the Germans. Certain officious American circles who seem to have learnt nothing from history and the experience of the Second World War, want to launch America's "liberation policy" with the experiment that already proved wanting in fighting the Soviet Union. They, in their turn, created a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" and replaced Vlassov by Kerensky. Nay, more! After Kerensky failed miserably, after it was obvious that the whole movement had no ideals to inspire the masses to resist, after the Committee was turned down by all non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. and their real representatives, some American circles are now trying to make up for the lack of ideals with dollars! The policy of these American circles towards the subjugated peoples and their exiled representatives was marked by corruption and the protection of treason. Instead of cooperating with the genuine representatives of our peoples and supporting their existing movements of resistance, these circles in America negotiate with mercenary quislings and cultivate national treason.

When Russian bolsheviks seek renegades among our peoples to carry out their plans, they at least cloak treason in the idea of a world revolution that will bring salvation to all peoples. They give the traitors the weapons of slogans about socialism, communism, etc. Americans simply give them dollars as the price of supporting Russian imperialism. This is a painful statement for us to make, but our love of truth leaves us no alternative.

A Severe Verdict

The situation becomes positively tragic for us when, in addition, American courts condemn our champions of freedom to spend long years in prison merely for reacting spontaneously to such treacherous provocations and giving vent to their deeply offended national feelings. Recently, for instance, an American court condemned three Ukrainian patriots to a total imprisonment of 21 years, only because they could not help chastising a Ukrainian traitor who had sold himself to Russian imperialism for American money. One of the men condemned was for years a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and had arrived in the West only two days before the incident. Although it was proved that

Continued on Page 12

Triumphal March of our Ideas

Yaroslav Stetzko, A.B.N.-President, speaks in the New World

The President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), arrived in Canada from England on March 26, this year. The object of his visit is twofold, to get into personal touch with the emigrants from the nations subjected by Moscow, who are embracing the A.B.N. ideas in masses, and besides, to make these ideas, problems and aims, clear to the public abroad, at last from an authentic side.

President Stetzko's visit to Canada aroused much interest in the newspaper world and general public. Leading Canadian papers, as well as the emigré press published interviews, photographs and outlines of his life. He was pointed out as the personification of the stubborn, unbroken resistance in the struggle for liberation being carried on in his Ukrainian home-land and by all the other A.B.N. peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

There was a great rally April 13, in Massy Hall, Toronto, at which President Stetzko spoke before 2,500 people and appealed to the world to collaborate with the A.B.N. The "Toronto Daily Star" had two exhaustive articles and quoted verbatim from his speech:

"A weapon much stronger and more effective than the atom bomb, is the idea of the national liberation of nations under Russian domination"...

"A.B.N. is determined to fight for the sovereignty of each member nation in its belief that only in this way can the Russian threat be eliminated."

In all the Toronto papers e. g. "The Globe and Mail", as well as all the leading Canadian papers, the speech was received with interest and sympathy. After his speech, Mr. Stetzko was asked for several interviews and to speak on the wireless. Invitations to speak in other towns, Ottawa, Fort William, Winnipeg etc. reached him, which he hopes to accept in the course of his stay. Wherever it might be, Montreal, Toronto—everywhere, Mr. Stetzko was warmly received by the Canadian public as well as by the different organizations of Ukrainian and other subjugated nations. Several radio stations reported on the A.B.N., quoting slogans and articles from our "A.B.N. Correspondence".

"MacClean's Magazine" of May 1, 1952 published a five page illustrated article about the A.B.N. and the heroic underground fight behind the Iron Curtain, just when Mr. Stetzko was in Canada on his much discussed journey of enlightenment. The report bases on an interview the editor of this magazine had with Mr. Stetzko. During the interview he was informed of the conditions under which the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was still carrying on the heroic conflict, the stubborn resistance of all the peoples in the A.B.N., as well as their political ideas and aims. The above-mentioned article is illustrated with interesting photographs of armed U.P.A. detachments underground, A.B.N. rallies etc.

At the public rally in Massy Hall, To-

ronto, on which a Toronto paper, "Homin Ukrainy", (Ukrainian Echo) reports under the heading, "We ask for Nothing, we will only warn the West of the Menace", the audience of 2,500 unanimously adopted a resolution, which was printed in the newspapers and of which we give some extracts:

"The combination of the two elements, historical Russian imperialism and its present tool, international communism, forms the foundation of the present Soviet-Russian political theory and practice, aimed at the domination of a whole and undivided world."

It is a dangerous illusion to believe that any reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is possible. Any assumption that a peaceful co-existence of the two power blocs within this world is possible is a misrepresentation of the firm facts of the present political life and future development. Considering the continuous Russian aggressiveness and the idea of a peaceful co-existence, based on any spheres of influence or the balance of power, is a dangerous illusion which might result only in a full defeat and surrender of the peace-loving partner."

Bolshevism with all its theory and practice lived and still lives to-day psychologically in an atmosphere of war. This atmosphere strikes out any possibility of agreement and co-existence. All peaceful declarations and propositions made by Moscow are in reality propaganda moves to cover its preparations for decisive action and to demoralize the democratic world in order to facilitate the way to achieve their purpose."

Since a true reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is impossible, the only way left to the free world to secure peace and normal conditions is to remove and destroy the only source of to-day's crisis, Russian imperialism and its tools."

To secure victory two things are necessary. The first one is the maintenance of the

physical and moral strength of the free world, and the second is to win the sympathy and understanding of oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain by supporting their national movement for freedom, their political underground organizations and insurgent armies and fighting groups within the U.S.S.R. and their satellite countries, and by recognizing all fighting groups and still underground armies behind the Iron Curtain as regular fighting forces in accordance with the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907."

It is necessary to combat not only communism but also Russian Imperialism which is the actual moving force behind the screen of communism, social justice etc. The Russian Empire always was and still is a prison of nations which must be disbanded for the sake of world peace. The necessity of the partition of the Soviet Empire into independent national states on ethnic principles must be recognized. Russia must be forced back to its ethnic boundaries. This would deprive Russia of huge natural resources and manpower which would make her unable for future aggressions against the democratic countries. This is the best and the only warrant of the preservation of everlasting peace in the future."

It is necessary to create an atmosphere in which the soldiers of the Soviet Army will prefer to fight on the side of freedom. The majority of them are mobilized from the non-Russian people who are strongly anti-Russian and would utilize the possibility to turn their arms against their Russian oppressors which already happened once during the last war."

There is every reason to assume that the journey of the President of the A.B.N. in Canada will leave a lasting impression both on the emigrés from the countries behind the Iron Curtain and the whole of Canada. While it means a powerful impulse for the people of our subjugated countries to fight on, giving them confidence in the overthrow of Moscow's tyranny, this campaign of enlightenment reveals a new aspect to the outside world for the study and solution of the present world crisis. Thus A.B.N. ideas go their slow but sure way to victory.

Impressive Rally in New York

General Farkas de Kisbarnak, Chairman of the A.B.N. Military Commission speaks before an Audience of 4,000

Just before going to press the news reached us, that a rally had taken place in Manhattan Centre, in New York's largest hall, on May 4. The rally was arranged by the American Friends of the A.B.N. and directed by the Slovak representative, Mr. Sciranka, an editor. The following countries were represented: Aserbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, National China, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Slovakia, Turkistan, Ukraine.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. was represented by the chief of a Hungarian national delegation and Chairman of the A.B.N. Military Commission, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, who held a much

applauded military speech. He spoke of the potential importance of peoples subjugated by Moscow, in the fight against Russian bolshevik tyranny and warned the West against missing the opportunity of preparing a second front with the help of these subjugated people, against bolshevism, if victory is to be secured.

Representative Ralph W. Gwinn of Westchester, and Representative O. K. Armstrong, of Missouri, as well as many other representatives of public life and the press were among the American guests. Representative Armstrong even addressed the meeting. Messages and telegrams were received from Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican candidate for the Presidency, Governor John



Side Lights:

Incitement Against A. B. N.

There is no denying that the political importance of the A.B.N. is growing both behind the Iron Curtain and in the West. Its adherents and also its opposers are increasing in number. Prominent persons in Great Britain, America, Italy and Germany, even whole organizations and societies, declare they are in sympathy with our struggle and aims.

At first our enemies tried to make light of us. For years, about from 1945 to 1947, they never deigned to mention us, believing that we should thus be smothered.

These times are long past. Anyone reading the Russian anti-communist papers will bear us out when we say that there is hardly a copy of those papers which does attack the A.B.N., and with malicious intent.

We are, above all, accused of chauvinism of "zoological nationalism". They accuse us of not wanting a union with Moscow, an unheard of thing in the age of unions on a grand scale.

No consideration at all is given to the fact that there is little or no room for chauvinism where a people is subjugated. These writers are heedless enough to call their own policy of oppression, magnanimity and the intention of taking the lives others "grand adjustment for co-operation among the peoples in the Russian democratic empire". They have no scruples in glossing over the fact that though we are living at a time of close collaboration among nations on a super-national basis, each remains a sovereign state, on an equal footing with the others.

The Russians offer the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, Turkistanians "generous" cultural autonomy in a centralized Russian empire. We thank them kindly for their offer, but prefer not to accept. We are too much aware of our role in the world even to discuss such a proposal. We want to be free from Russian tutelage, free from Russian obtrusiveness in forcing us to do their will.

That is all we ask. If such a natural desire is chauvinism then it would be difficult to say what the Russian attempt at enslaving our people should be called. General Fuller, in his pamphlet "Russia is not Invincible", says "Lenin took the basic maxim of Western civilization — the truth shall make you free — and inverted it. Thus in the Bolshevik vocabulary every word is perverted; a lie is called the truth, truth is denounced as a lie. Police ter-

Davis Lodge of Connecticut, and many, many others. The greetings from these prominent men were read to the enthusiastic audience.

Afterwards there were two press conferences for American newspapers and press agencies, held by General Farkas. The rally was given much space in the American papers.

We shall publish further details of this memorable rally in New York in the next number of the Correspondence as well as reports about the information campaign of the A.B.N. in U.S.A.

ror is called democracy, serfdom is called freedom, conquest is called liberation. Subjection is called self-determination, and the political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party is called the proletariat, in the interest of which all individual freedom and natural rights are suppressed."

It seems as if the astounding ability to twist everything round is not a monopoly of the bolshevik alone, but an attribute of the Russian imperialists altogether.

Moreover, why should the non-Russian peoples join just the Russians in a grand alliance and share a common fate? Is it not conceivable that they might cling together, or join other peoples in central and southern Europe? Might they not enter the European Union without having to take the round-about way over Moscow?

There are sufficient possibilities, and varied enough, to suit the spirit of the times. We refuse most decidedly to have just the Russian version of this spirit thrust upon us.

In order to give expression to their free will, nations must first be free, only then can they decide what they will do in the question of alliances on a grand scale, not, however, vice versa!

Admiral Kirk's First Political Pronouncement

A political declaration was recently issued in the form of a pamphlet by the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". It is the first political announcement since the resignation of the former president, Eugene Lyons, who was succeeded by Admiral Kirk. As our readers know, we have not shared the political views of the Committee hitherto, and have therefore read the declaration with the greatest interest to ascertain whether any considerable change in policy has taken place under the new leadership.

Our attention was, of course, first turned to that part of the pamphlet dealing with the nationality problems in the Soviet Union. The American Committee, as we know, took the standpoint that the revolution in the Soviet Union was only to be under the motto of a fight against the bolshevik regime, while the solution of the nationality problem was to be shelved, as far as possible. The peoples of the Soviet Union were to decide after the day was won whether they wished to live with the Russians in one empire, or whether they preferred their own national States. Their decision was to be settled by a plebiscite.

That program was unacceptable for the non-Russian peoples, as they upheld the conception that the anti-bolshevik revolution should decidedly not be waged with social and political captions, but won by actuating national problems. They base their arguments on the intense urge of the non-Russian peoples for independence, and estimate it so highly that they can never disregard it. They reject the suggestion of a plebiscite because through all the centuries of their history they have proved to be independent people with the determination to govern themselves.

This new declaration by the American Committee does not go into the matter with the necessary clarity. They state,

it is true, that the Committee is founded on the principles of democracy, and the right of self-determination, but avoid stating in so many words whether that right is now unreservedly acknowledged, or whether the previous conception still holds good that a plebiscite is to be held later to validate that right. The tone of the whole declaration points rather to the fact that Admiral Kirk has decided for the policy of his predecessor and has taken on, thereby, a burdensome mortgage from the Committee's past. If this interpretation is correct then, much as it is to be regretted, there can be no co-operation between the real representatives of the non-Russian peoples and the American Committee in the future.

We are far from taking Admiral Kirk's decision lightly, for we well know what far-reaching effects these principles of the American Committee, which may be regarded as the expression of semi-official American Russian policy, may have. Principles are here laid down which may be decisive for the success or non-success of the revolution within the Soviet Union and the outcome of the conflict between the West and the Moscow despots.

We have often pointed out what a serious danger the line taken by U.S.A. may become in turning the conflict against the West. We shall not cease from repeating this warning as long as there is time. R. I.

The First of May

In the course of the last decades, May 1st has become one of the most impressive international holidays. In every country millions of people march out to demonstrate their wish for social justice. At bottom, this day displays the untiring efforts made by man for a better distribution of this world's material goods and the ideal of equality before the law. These efforts are an ineradicable part of the history of mankind. Man has experimented unceasingly, sought new forms and state systems and methods of statesmanship, in the attempt to reach the ideal.

In this lies the deeper sense of the mass demonstrations on May Day in free countries. It gives the working man or woman always the chance of bettering his or her living conditions by his or her own initiative.

All that is quite different in the Russian sphere of influence, for there, every attempt at improving the worker's position is prohibited. In communist-controlled countries the struggle for the further improvement in social conditions is regarded as concluded. Communism is officially considered the last step in possible social justice. Any attempt at something new or different is looked upon as a crime and punished accordingly.

The most despotic dictatorship, however, cannot curb the human spirit. Underground and in exile, mighty currents are working, ready to sacrifice all in order to make the way free for social justice in those countries ruled by Bolshevism.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to give some reports of the free trade union movement of workers behind the Iron Curtain.

1945 marked the commencement of the movement. It was in that year, that

the Ukrainian, Slovak and Polish workmen in France joined the Christian Trade Unions in that country in their national sections. Their example was followed by the exile workers in Belgium, England and other places. By 1951 the movement had grown so much that March 31, and April 1st 1951, under the patronage of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (C.I.S.C.), the first conference of the Free Christian Trade Unions of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and the Balkan States was held.

At the conference there were delegates from France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland, 81 all told, representing 15 nations. The exile trade unionists of S. America, Australia, Canada and U.S.A. were represented by European members. The French ministries, Labour and Health, the International Labour Office and the Vatican Emigration Office, sent delegates. F. Krakowski (Poland) and the Secretary-General, Ivan Popovich (Ukraine) were chosen presidents of Free Exile Trade Unionists. That the Exile Trade Union Organization was accepted as a member of the Association of International Christian Trade Unions, domiciled at Utrecht, in November 1951, was the result of the conference.

In the proclamation which the International Federation of Christian Workers in Exile issued on May Day 1952 it states, "We raise a lively protest against the enslavement of workers in countries behind the Iron Curtain and appeal fervently to all peoples in the free world for the sake of solidarity and the sacred principles of individual freedom to support us. Help us to change the terrible social, economic and political conditions in our countries. Demand from the present despots in the U.S.S.R. that they introduce the principles laid down in the Declaration of Human Rights, without delay. It is a question, above all, of releasing all deported workers, permission for free trade unions to function, and for those labour laws which are, valid in free countries and recognized by the International Labour Organization.

Croatia's National Holiday

Every year on April 10th the Croatian exiles celebrate their national holiday, as on that day in 1941 the "bastille" called "Yugoslavia" fell together like a house of cards and gave place for the reinstatement of the independent Croatian State.

The Croatian Association in Germany celebrated the day on April 14, 1952 in Munich, where Dr. S. Buc and Dr. Kukolja, a priest, spoke before a packed house of the meaning of the day. Both speakers stressed the determination of their people to reject a "Yugoslavia" of any form whatsoever for all time to come, and to fight for an independent Croatian Republic until it was achieved. "At the first opportunity", Dr. Buc said, "the Croat people will rise and show its determination even more clearly, if possible, than in 1941, and gain its State independence".

Mass Murders in Vinnitsia

Eye Witness Report by Ihor Zhurlyvy

Vinnitsia was merely a system

Two heinous crimes committed by the bolsheviks in the last World War were discovered and proved almost at the same time. In the forest of Katyn the bodies of several thousand Polish officers were exhumed and in the Ukrainian town of Vinnitsia more than 11,000 Ukrainians were found buried in mass graves, who had been shot without trial between 1937 and 1939 by order of Moscow. The number of the victims

documents about the Vinnitsia crime when reporting to the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the American Senate about Russian bolshevik methods of genocide. A year later the Ukrainian Youth Association in New York published a pamphlet in Ukrainian dealing with this subject. On March 30, 1952 three thousand Ukrainians in Newark (U.S.A.) held a mass demonstration to protest against Russian bolshevism and imperialism. On this occasion Frank E. McKinney Chairman of the Democratic



Bodies of victims exhumed at Vinnitsia

of bolshevik terrorism in Vinnitsia exceeds those of Katyn; the important fact, however, is that the murder of these 11,000 Ukrainians is only an example for the mass execution then and later of millions in Ukrainian towns, as well as in Byelorussia, Cosackia, the Caucasus, Turkistan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia.

Leaders of the German Reich at that time were naturally interested in showing the world the true character of the rulers in the Kremlin. Though the Ukrainian population told them of similar mass graves in other towns of Ukraine, they confined themselves to Vinnitsia, but this was probably owing to war conditions.

Why was Vinnitsia given second place after Katyn?

During the war the world was more shocked by the Soviet crime of Katyn than by the discovery of mass graves at Vinnitsia: General Anders' Polish Corps was fighting on the side of the Western Allies, and German propaganda wanted to make use of Katyn in order to undermine the morale of the Polish soldiers. The Western Allies had no Ukrainian corps. Had there been not only a Polish but also a Ukrainian exile government in Western Europe, the world would have been better informed both about the mass-murders at Vinnitsia and similar horrors.

Since, Ukrainians in exile have done their best to make up for this neglect on the part of the Western World. In May 1950 Prof. L. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress of American Committee, submitted

Party in the United State, in addressing the meeting, said: "We know about the mass graves of Vinnitsia"...

What I saw with my own eyes

I offer my testimony in the inquiry on the bolshevik crime at Vinnitsia. On hearing of the exhumation in 1943, I immediately went to the place. I had very good reason, for in March 1938 my father had been arrested in Odessa by the N.K.V.D. and I had heard no more of him since; even before 1938 several of my relatives and friends had been arrested and disappeared without leaving a trace. I went to Vinnitsia hoping to find out what had happened to my relatives.

The evidence of the following citizens of Vinnitsia — H. Hulevykh, Opanas Skrepka, Maria Ponomarchuk, Fedir Starynyzya, Vassyl Koslovsky, Trokhym Amosov, etc. — was later officially recorded, stating that in March 1938 the big market garden in Litynska Street was surrounded by a fence 3 meters high. At night trucks drove into the garden. The plot was guarded by members of the N.K.V.D. until the Germans entered the town. Other witnesses — Hulevykh, Klymenko Yuriy, Petro Bockhan, Eugeniya Pro-linska — stated that in Autumn 1937 huge graves had been dug in Vinnitsia cemetery, that trucks drove into the cemetery at night, that loads were thrown into the graves that were immediately covered with earth. N.K.V.D. guards were present here, too.

Similar happenings were observed in the Town Park in Spring 1939 by other citizens.

Mass graves of Ukrainians who had been shot were found in all the places indicated.



Mass graves under a pleasure park

Thirty-seven mass-graves were found in the garden in Litynska Street. There were 100-130 bodies in most of them, in two there were 250 and 280. The total number of corpses discovered here amounted to about 4000, in the cemetery some 3000 and in the Park about 4000. All the graves were of the same size — 2 meters wide, 3 meters long and 3-4 deep. The distance between them was generally the same, so that excavations revealed to the survivors a huge subterranean world laid out on a geometrical plan and peopled by the dead.

The bolsheviks erected over the graves in the Park a platform for dancing and a bandstand and a merry-go-round. The young Ukrainians never dreamed that they were dancing on the graves of their fathers and brothers. The official name of the park was, "The Municipal Park of Culture and Recreation".

An international commission of important European authorities for forensic medicine and pathological anatomy worked in Vinnitsia for two days, July 13 and 14, 1943. Among them were: Dr. Senon, Ghent, Belgium; Dr. Mikhailov, Sofia, Bulgaria; Dr. Pesonen, Helsinki, Finland; Dr. Duvoir, Paris; Dr. Kazzaniga, Milan, Italy; Dr. Yurak, Zagreb, Croatia; Dr. Poorten, Amsterdam, Holland; Dr. Birkle, Bucharest, Rumania; Dr. Chegwist, Stockholm, Sweden; Dr. Kressek, Preßburg, Slovakia; Dr. Orsos, Budapest, Hungary.

The commission worked on the scene and openly, so that everyone interested might watch. I myself watched the Commission at work. The medical men themselves selected the bodies they wished to examine. Many of them had broken jaws and shattered skulls. From the stage of decomposition, and other signs, the Commission decided that the shooting in the market garden must have taken place in 1938. Here are some extracts signed by the Commission:

Scenes of Horror

"Eleven examinations of corpses were conducted by members of the Commission personally, and in twenty-four cases an inquest was held. The male corpses were without exception clothed and nearly all had their hands tied behind them. The three female bodies, taken from the grave in our presence, were completely naked and not fettered. Many of the dead had two or three different shot-wounds. In one case, to judge from the lump of clay in the esophagus and the pear-shaped bulges in the throat, the victim must have swallowed earth while still alive."

The relatives of the victims demanded that the bodies should be exhibited. In spite of the almost unbearable stench, many thousands, especially women, came to inspect the bodies. The faces of the dead were unrecognizable, but 450 were identified by clothing, monogrammes, letters and papers found in pockets. Indescribable scenes occurred.

I spoke to several women who had recognized relatives. They all declared that their husbands, brothers and fathers had been arrested for political reasons in 1937/38. A few months after their arrest, N.K.V.D. men appeared to confiscate their clothing. In 1938 families were informed by the authorities that the prisoners had been condemned to "ten years hard labour in remote areas and were not allowed to write letters".

The experience of Vinnitsia was a frightful shock for me. While my father was under arrest in Odessa in March 1938, the N.K.V.D. people searched the house for arms and anti-bolshevik literature. Nor had I been able

An Open Letter's Accusal

The Gold Medal of Disgrace

Last year the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, Dr. Jewlet Jonson, the President of the "International Democratic Federation of Women", Mrs Eugenie Cotton, and the President of the "International Peace Council", M. Frédéric Joliot-Curie, received the so-called International Stalin Prize for their services in strengthening the cause of peace. The former political prisoner of the Soviet convict colony Kolyma, Mykhailo Mlakovy, who escaped from this hell upon earth and who has written a novel in Ukrainian about his experiences there, called "For What", published in Argentina, has directed an open letter on the occasion of the above award to the three prize-winners. A remarkable letter of which we give extracts. (Ed.)

Dear Madam,

Dears Sirs,

From Russian newspapers I have learned that you received the so-called "International Stalin Award", for strengthening peace among the nations, in the Kremlin in summer 1951. This award consists of a diploma and a gold medal, bearing the head of Stalin. . . . According to Russian press reports you were delighted with this prize. Gold medal in hand, you emphasized in your speech of thanks the importance of the fight for peace and truth and against war. War brings horrible suffering, the annihilation of thousands of lives; it destroys the happiness of families and makes orphans of the children. You closed your speech with the words: "Long live the leader of all progressive mankind, the great champion of welfare for the whole of mankind, J. V. Stalin." On reading all this the question arose in my mind which I am now taking the liberty of asking you publicly.

Are you, or are you not, aware of the great deception that is being practised and spread all over the world by the man you call the leader of progressive mankind, greatest champion

of peace, truth and the welfare of all?

May I draw your attention to a fact which proves how much Stalin cares for "the welfare of human beings"? You actually have the proof in your hands, in those gold medals, for they, or rather the material they are made of, are witness to Stalin's tyranny. If you look carefully at your medals you will notice dark spots on them. . . . and I, as one of the many hundreds of still surviving, or already succumbed, Kolyma slaves can explain these spots — they are made by our tears, our blood, our deaths. They represent the misery, the tears shed by our parents, our brothers and sisters, wives and children tyrannised by Stalin's henchmen merely because they were our relations.

There you have Stalin's "truth". I have written a novel showing the circumstances under which political prisoners extract this gold in Kolyma, giving it the title "For What?", which has appeared in Argentina in the Ukrainian language. Concisely put, these are the circumstances.

Under the pressure of N.K.V.D.—M.V.D. interrogation methods in the prisons, innocent victims are obliged to confess political crimes which they have not committed. They are condemned to long terms of imprisonment in absentia and thousands of them are dragged to the forced labour camps of Kolyma. Conditions there: Warders placed over the political prisoners beside the N.K.V.D.—M.V.D. are criminals, murderers, robbers and thieves.

Political prisoners are looked upon as entirely without the law and exposed to every kind of chicanery, punishment and ill-treatment, which is excused by the necessity of fulfilling the norm required for the extraction of gold (socialistic planned economy).

The working day is supposed to last twelve hours, but is extended to fifteen, sixteen or seventeen hours. Without a day of rest prisoners work the year round, in the open without regard to climatic conditions, rain, snow and sharp frost (up to 70° C.).

The norm to be fulfilled is far beyond the physical strength of a prisoner. The quality and quantity of the food supplied depends on the fulfilment of the norm. Those who do not fill it satisfactorily have to starve. The living conditions are horrible, clothing absolutely insufficient and owing to these circumstances mortality is high and mutilation, and even suicide are prevalent.

I know that you will not believe me, but there is a way. Go to Kolyma your—

to learn anything about my father's fate. N.K.V.D. men came some months later to me, too, to confiscate my father's clothes. And I, too, was finally officially informed that my father had been condemned to 10 years imprisonment in a remote camp without the right to correspond with us. And the same thing had happened to many of my father's friends and acquaintances.

Uneasy premonition or horrible certainty?

The gloomy premonition darkened to horrible certainty and has lain like a heavy weight upon my soul ever since. I gave up all hope of ever seeing my father again. But from beyond the grave our murdered fathers and brothers call to us:

In Vinnitsia, a town of 80,000 inhabitants, 11,000 people were murdered in the course of 2 years. How many may it have been in Odessa, a town of half a million inhabitants, or in the whole of Ukraine with its 40 millions? How many in the other republics of the Soviet Union?

When will investigations into the mass murders at Vinnitsia begin? A Vinnitsia committee must be formed! The world must be enlightened about all the other peoples enslaved by Moscow.

Editor's note:

Reports, information, documents and other evidence about Vinnitsia, or about any other cases of bolshevik mass-murders should be addressed to our office.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

INSTRUCTIONS ALONE, INADEQUATE

The Soviet Republic Azerbaijan, important for its oil and also for cattle-breeding, is giving the Moscow central offices a good deal of trouble, as the local party offices have proved incapable of making their people feel at home with Soviet working methods.

April 24, 1952 the Moscow "Pravda" published a long article by T. Yakubov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, from which we take the following extracts.

"It must be confessed that not all of our party functionaries have mastered the bolshevist method of work supervision. Many of them lack energy and perseverance in realizing the instructions of the party and government in the task allotted them.

Cattle-breeding is one of the most important agricultural branches in the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabachskaya. In the course of the past year the question of fulfilling the plan for cattle-breeding in the kolkhose was discussed no less than 18 times at bureau meetings and the plenary meeting of regional committee. And with what result? In no breed of cattle was the plan fulfilled.

The explanation is that the bureau of the regional committee of the party believes too much in the power of its instructions and gives no thought to their execution.

The fact that the party functionaries do not know how to concentrate on the most important and decisive kind of work there is, is one of the wide-spread

self and see it all with your own eyes. Ask Stalin for a pass to Kolyma, otherwise you will publicly give back your gold medals.

Please look at the slaves there. They go about, drag themselves, in the most impossible rags, rags such as you have never seen in your life. They are all branded with the mark of Stalin's forced labour, the mark of slaves who work unceasingly, a fact which distinguishes them from the inmates of other camps. Look at their faces, hands and feet deformed, distorted and frozen, swollen from lack of food.

These creatures, so unlike human beings, get about on sticks or crawling, driven by their guards and by the dogs which play an important role in this "peaceful socialistic economy". At a word from their masters these dogs knock down and bite cruelly any one who lags behind his group, while the guards scream "nye atswatj!" (get on with you!) ... Don't forget the cemeteries lying close to the main camp and the "Kommandirowkas".

The chief cemetery of the gold mine "Odinokiy" lies left of the camp entrance, and stretches about a quarter

flaws in the work of local party organizations. It may happen that a party committee has grasped the solution of a problem correctly but then stopped half way; a thing that has often occurred in the Asibekovsky District Committee in Baku.

COSSACKIA

MOSCOW NOT SATISFIED

In the budget for 1952 which has just been accepted by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian S.F.S.R., only 6% is provided for the Cossack areas whose population is 12% of the inhabitants of the Russian S.F.S.R. This sum does not even approach what has been provided for the two towns of Moscow and Leningrad.

The VIII plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Komsomol in the Russian S.F.S.R. which ended April 12, ascertained defects in Komsomol organizations in the Cossack area in matters of ideology and organization. The plenary required of them that they should keep the minimum of the prescribed working days, attend to working discipline and combat the laziness of Komsomol members. The Komsomol paper, "Komsomolskaya Pravda", demands the co-operation of these organizations in raising the amount and quality of work, the reduction of the prime cost of production and economy in the consumption of raw materials, fuel and electricity.

In an open letter to Stalin the workers and technicians in the oil industry of the Cossack area bind themselves to fulfil the plan completely. At the same time, they promise an increase of 1.2% in oil production and a reduction of the

of a mile across the slope of the "Sopka" (hill). There, among others, Khrystenko is buried, professor of the Ukrainian language at the University of Charkiw. On the little board stuck in the grave stands the number 19/21. I do not know what it means and it is dangerous to ask. Doubtless it indicates the contents of this mound, i. e. the number of bodies lying in it, for it is Soviet practice to make a mound over collective graves, here too...

The whole cynicism of Stalin's demagogic utterance "Of all the treasures in the world, man is the most precious" is exposed here before you, in all its nakedness.

I feel sure that it will be Kolyma which will heal you of your political blindness, that just this wild country will tear the Stalin veil from your eyes... And then you will call Stalin by the only name he deserves: the red tyrant of the present.

Having convinced yourselves of Stalin's fraud and his crime against humanity by seeing with your own eyes what it means, I am sure you will have the courage to throw his golden medals openly at his feet...!

cost price of 0.6%. That is not much of a promise.

In reviewing the quality of the political work, the Stavropol district Committee discovered a very low standard. They complain that the leading role of the communist party is as inadequately explained as "the reactionary character of American imperialism". ("Komsomolskaya Pravda", 16. 4. 52.)

ESTHONIA

RESISTANCE AGAINST RUSSIFICATION

The Moscow "Pravda" of April 14, 1952 reports on a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Esthonia among other things that:

"Members discovered defects in the political work among the masses. The necessity of raising the standard of lectures and talks was emphasized and demanded, so that the remnants of bourgeois nationalism might be the better combated.

Comrades taking part in the discussion criticized the work of the department for propaganda and enlightenment because the District Committee of the Party was inadequately supported by the Esthonian Central Committee in the work of building up their propaganda and because the cultural care of the workers in the shale water basin and fishermen and coldchase labourers on the island of Saarem was given too little attention."

For months the public institutions of the non-Russian republics, including their party organizations, have been hauled over the coals by the central authorities in Moscow because their work breathed the spirit of "bourgeois nationalism". That these reprimands are so systematic indicates that there must have been some serious incidents, which in the eyes of Moscow appear to be "ideological deviations" while in the hearts of those concerned they are merely the natural expression of the people against alien domination. The fact that no such "ideological defects" or "distortions" are discovered in the work of the Central Committees of the Russian Communist Party is a significant indication that anti-bolshevist resistance only exists where national oppression is added to social.

EASTERN GERMANY

FRESH TERRORISM FROM THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE

(I.W.E.) In the period from 1st to 31st of March 189 persons were arrested in Dresden by the Soviet M.G.B., among them 12 youngsters. They were accused of anti-communist activity or "crimes" against economic life.

ANTI-COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATIONS in LEIPZIG

(I.W.E.) During the Easter holidays anti-communist demonstrations took place in all parts of the town. At Leipzig-Leutsch commandos of the People's Police were called out to remove

slogans which had been put on the walls of houses during the night. Thousands of anti-communist leaflets were distributed at the stadium where international sports were going on.

THE ARREST OF RED ARMY MEN IN SCHWERIN

(I.W.E.) On the night of April 11th the barracks of the Soviet garrison at Schwerin were suddenly occupied by a special force of the M.V.D. The investigations lasted till early morning, 45 members of the garrison, officers and men, were arrested and taken away to an unknown destination. The N.K.V.D. action was in connection with the anti-communist placards in Russian which had appeared in the streets of late. The cinema requisitioned for Soviet troops had been closed for a few days by order of the N.V.D. because anti-Soviet leaflets had been found there, shortly before the above event.

WORKERS ATTACK PEOPLE'S POLICE

(I.W.E.) On April 26, a skirmish occurred at the station of Oberschema between workers of the Wismuth Company (Uran Mining Company) and a force of the People's Police. 5 policemen were injured. A squad of mobile police arrested 6 workmen. The riot began when the police were about to search the men.

LITHUANIA

RESISTANCE ON THE NATIONAL HOLIDAY

As in other years, the bolsheviks kept a sharp watch on the 16th of February, the Lithuanian national holiday, but in spite of that leaflets were scattered, not only in Wilna as usual at the famous Rasai cemetery where so many historical personages lie buried, and the castle of former rulers of the country, but in **Kauen**, **Schaulen** and other towns to remind the inhabitants of the meaning of the day. These leaflets were directed, too, against the occupation authorities and contained many a warning. Where and whenever possible the Voice of America, the Vatican radio, Radio Paris and other foreign senders were listened to, although extreme personal danger was entailed thereby.

CAUCASUS

EVEN THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE TOO LENIENT

The subjugation of the Caucasus peoples in the past century cost Russian imperialists a great deal of blood. By their countless uprisings, these peoples and among them the Ossetins, have shown the world that they refuse to be ruled by Russia and will have a national life of their own. Though Moscow attempts to-day to hush up the fact that the presence of its statthalter in the Caucasus is still regarded as vexatious compulsion, the Soviet press offers proof

enough that the national spirit is still alive in the Caucasus.

The Moscow Pravda of April 21, 1952, has an especially clear hint of the difficulties facing the Russian-communist policy in the Caucasus Republics.

"A few days ago there was a plenary meeting of the communist party of the North Ossetin area to discuss the lecture given by the secretary of the regional committee, comrade Kulov, on 'The Position and Measures taken for the Improvement of the Ideological Work in the Republic.'"

The speaker and others taking part in the debate, declared that the regional committee had suffered serious errors to appear in its supervision of the ideological work.

It was maintained at the plenary meeting that town and district committees for political training showed little interest in their work and were not using the proper measures to raise the standard of instruction...

In books and pamphlets which had appeared in the last few years in the field of history, linguistics, and literature as well as in some works of literature and art, serious mistakes of an ideological nature and a wrong picture of bourgeois national life had crept in.

In the works by W. Abajew "The Origin and Cultural Past of Ossetin as Shown by the Development of the Language", B. Skiskij's "History of the Ossetinian People", in the tales by M. Totojew, W. Galzew and others the patriarchal-feudal period in the history of Ossetin is idealized.

The North Ossetinian Institute for History, Linguistics, and Literature has failed to solve the task of research in the study of Ossetin's history, language and literature. There are many ideological misconceptions in books issued by the institute... Although serious literature can boast of a certain advance, it must be stressed that Ossetinian writers have little to say of the Soviet way of life in their works, or the development of the new man, the builder of communism or of the economic and cultural achievements in the republic. They propagate the idea of internationalism, of friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, too ineffectually.

POLAND

MOSCOW'S DANAE GIFT TO THE POLES

All the denials and counter declarations made, by the Soviet press in the Katyn question have not been able to prevent the old anti-Russian feeling the Poles have always cherished from becoming sharper. The comments made by the official Soviet papers have made no impression on the Poles.

Moscow thus has no alternative but to seek other means of cajoling them. The Soviet government has decided to erect a Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, at its own expense, to be finished in 1955. A congress hall for 3,700, a theatre for 800, two cinemas for each 480 and a concert hall for 500 persons are planned. Ten floors (5-15)

are to be provided for the Society for Spreading Science and the Institute for the Training of Scientists; 15 further floors are intended for the Polish Academy of Science. The Polish Youth Organization will have rooms put at their disposal in one wing of the building.

Thus Moscow will pay in money for the blood of the Polish officers who were shot—that is one side of the matter, on the other, this step of Moscow's will contribute essentially to getting Poland's political and cultural life more firmly into Russian hands, as the political, scientific and cultural organizations are obliged to move into the palace owned by Moscow and will therefore feel bound to their host.

RUMANIA

LIQUIDATION OF THE MIDDLE-CLASSES

The new acts of terrorism by the Russian bolshevist despots in Rumania are in a fair way to exterminate the middle-classes entirely. State Militia and secret police began in March with the eviction of the "enemies of class and State" from all large towns.

SLOVAKIA

PARTISAN ACTION AGAINST ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

It has now come to our knowledge that in December 1951, detachments of the Slovakian White Partisans in the Michalovce, Humenne and Sabinov areas (east Slovakia), carried out courageous sorties against their oppressors. They raided a number of villages in the district and liquidated the leading and most dangerous communists. After the raid they withdrew to the mountains.

In this connection the incorrect information spread by some Czechoslovakian broadcasts that former communist partisans are now taking a leading part with anti-communist partisans must be refuted. On the contrary, former red partisans are placing their experience in plundering and murdering, gained in 1944, at the disposal of the communist army and police, for putting down Slovak partisans. While the red partisans fight for Moscow and communism, the Slovakian White Partisans fight for the freedom and independence of Slovakia.

TURKISTAN

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS OPPOSES MARXISM-LENINISM

Under the heading "Some Questions Concerning the Ideological Work in Kazakhstan", the "Pravda" of April 10, 1952, writes of the difficulties the professional men in the Kasakh S.S.R. are encountering with the "party line". The secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party there, himself says, "The Party organization has closed its eyes to a number of serious errors in its ideological work. Not only in history where most serious errors have

been allowed, but also in literature and art.

Some historians, literary critics and writers have left the Marx-Lenin point of view in their writings on Kazakhstan's history and adopted that of the bourgeois nationalists. They have not been correct or scientific in their elucidation of the progressive character of Kazakhstan's voluntary union with Russia. This false conception derives chiefly from the glorification of the feudal-monarchic movement of Kenessar Kasymov in the forties and fifties of the last century. Kenessar never defended the interests of the Kasakh people. He followed one aim and that was to separate Kazakhstan from Russia, and with that object in view he kept in close contact with the foreign enemies of the Kasakh people.

Instead of giving this feudal monarchic movement a correct interpretation, some historians have regarded the proceedings from the bourgeois national viewpoint and in contradiction to the historical truth have represented them as a national liberation movement.

Some authors and literary critics have given licence to serious ideological distortions in their work. Instead of a thorough analysis of the class character of a number of Kasakh legends and songs, told and sung by royal poets, they have idealized them. In one or two of their books even Soviet life has been misrepresented, while life in the feudal period (that is the time before Kazakhstan came under Russian domination. Ed.), has been glorified. It must be added, too, that the compilers of a number of text books on Kasakh literary history and language have taken advantage of the short-sightedness of the Kasakh S.S.R. Ministry for Education, and propagated alien ideas among the people.

In the time since the fifth congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan important ideological work has been achieved. The Institute for History, Archaeology and Ethnography at the Science Academy of the Kasakh S.S.R. is preparing the third edition of the history of the Kasakh S.S.R. At the discussion over the first volume, historians from Moscow and Leningrad took part as well as those of the Republic itself... The discussion concerning the character of the national movements in Kazakhstan aroused great interest... It showed that considerable differences of opinion existed among the historians of the Republic as to the interpretation of these movements and that a deeper study of many of the questions was called for." (Pravda.)

We may assume from the last paragraph that Russian historians will now be put in to work over the history of Kazakhstan to guarantee the ideological line prescribed by Moscow.

UKRAINE

BETTER WORKING DISCIPLINE REQUIRED

The Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" published an alarming report, April 17, 1952 from the town of Khar'kov, showing what little enthusiasm the Ukrainian youth has for the "building up of communism". Even the young

Bolshevist "Church Conference"

According to reports in the Soviet press, the head of the "Russian Orthodox Church", Patriarch Alexey, has asked the churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union to attend a conference to discuss, in common with representatives of foreign churches abroad who will be invited, measures for the defence of peace. The following churches and religious bodies within the Soviet Union have already consented: the Georgian Orthodox Church, the Armenian Church, the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the All Soviet Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists, the All Soviet Council of the Seventh Day Adventists, the Russian Church Old Order, the administrative body of the Musselmans in the European part of the Soviet Union and Siberia, the administrative body of the Musselmans of Turkistan, the administrative body of the Musselmans of countries beyond the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Aserbaijan), the administrative body of the Musselmans of North Caucasus, the Jewish Religious Communities, the administrative body of the Buddhists in the Soviet Union etc.

The conference which is planned for the first half of May, is to be under the motto which is the subject of the main

Ukrainian communists who belong to the Komsomol (Young C. League) are accused of sabotage. Among other things the paper mentions that "35 young workmen, without any reason, failed to report for work 2½ months at the Khar'kov plant "Light of the Miners". Many of the young workers, also Komsomol members, did their work as if they were half asleep, and produced defective instead of quality goods. For that reason the Komsomol organization of the plant decided to call a meeting of the young workers to discuss the question of working discipline".

The meeting resolved, according to the same report, that the "moral responsibility of every young worker for his comrades' behaviour, must be intensified".

PURGATORIAL CRITICISM

According to reports in the Soviet newspapers, an all-Ukrainian discussion between leading representatives of all branches of art took place in Kyiv from April 3, to 5, 1952. The president of the Committee for Art in the cabinet of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, D. D. Kopyzja, held a lecture an "Conditions and Measures for Improving the Work of the Institutions and Collectives, on Art in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic with the Object of Fulfilling the Resolutions Passed by Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that of Ukraine, in Questions of Ideology".

What this circumstantial title conceals is exposed in a long article in the Kyiv newspaper "Radjanska Usaina" April 9, 1952, which is devoted to the above meeting and emphasizes the "penetration of inimical bourgeois national ideology in literature and art."

lecture, The Church should fight jointly with the People for Peace". The speaker for this lecture has not yet been named.

The appeal issued by the two Soviet bishops, Archbishop Flavian and Bishop Yossif, immediately upon the announcement of the plan, points to the character the conference will have, for they declare in their appeal, "the American monster reviles everything that is sacred in the soul of man. The monster has risen against the whole of mankind, its breath pollutes the air, it threatens the world with bacteria of plague, cholera and typhoid, it arouses justified fury in every true Christian."

These words may be a fair indication of what is to be expected of the Conference of the Soviet "Church representatives". It is an open question whether representatives of Churches abroad will still be willing to take part in it.

Two Aims — Two Ways

For the success of the anti-bolshevist struggle it is necessary to know the goals and aspirations of the people enslaved by bolshevism. Yet some American groups try to achieve the co-operation of the non-Russian peoples with the Russian emigrants. Until now all these experiments were without success. The reason for this are the different conceptions, goals and character of these two groups.

The Russian emigrants stand on the point of view that the U.S.S.R. of to-day is the same Russia of yesterday, but under other rulers, disagreeable for them. Their principal goal is to change the bolshevist government of to-day into a pseudo-democratic government of tomorrow. All other problems they consider only as "international affairs of the Russian people". The solution for all questions is that they postpone them to the time after the collapse of the bolshevist government and the establishment of a new government of a great and powerful Russia. To such internal problems the Russian emigrants count also the question of the self-determination of all the non-Russian nations which already a long time ago expressed their will to have their own states. Many of these peoples proclaimed their independent states after the revolution of February, 1917, which were occupied after a long struggle in the years 1920 to 1921 by bolshevist Russia.

Some of the Russian emigrants accept this wish of some non-Russian peoples, but they have their own, specific Russian interpretation of self-determination, making it dependent on the permission of the new government in Moscow. How this will be, all the non-Russian peoples know well, because there will be no difference between the former tsarist, democratic or bolshevistic practice. All they know is, that the Russian emigrants are just looking for cheap helpers to fight only for the change from the bolshevist government to a new and strong centralistic government. Even the tyranny of Stalin certifies the various nations in the Soviet Union through republics existing only on paper. But this the Russian emigrants cannot understand. →

Turkestan's Accusation

An Appeal by the Whole of Islam

The President of the National Turkestanian Unit Committee, Veli Kayum Khan, who is also the Vice-President of A.B.N. Council of Nations has sent the memorandum given below, containing an urgent appeal to all religious and political leaders of the Islamic peoples, to achieve an international investigation by the U.N. into the unspeakable terrorism the people of Turkistan are being subjected to, and to give their support to the resistance they are offering against religious oppression, economic exploitation and political thralldom. (Ed.)

1. The 25 million Turkestanian — Islamic people have been oppressed for 34 years by Russian Bolshevik Imperialist terror. Their country has been sealed off from the outside world and the inhabitants deprived of all human rights.
2. In this Islamic country there is no National Government, nor can they freely elect their own representatives. The five "Republics" into which Turkistan has been split up by Soviet Russia are controlled from Moscow and all major posts are held by Russians. Their Governments are not independent but are merely the instruments by which Moscow carries out its decrees.
3. In Turkistan there is no free trade or industry and private ownership of land or property is forbidden. There is no freedom of press or speech and strikes are forbidden as are independent merchants or farmers. The people are enslaved and must work in state factories or on state farms.
4. The most powerful propaganda is directed against the Islamic religion. Mosques are closed or have been destroyed and any form of religious activity is forbidden.
5. For propaganda purposes, a "Red Mufti" has been proclaimed and a limited number of "State Mosques" have been opened in order to give the Islamic world the impression of "religious freedom". Those people, who go to pray are registered by

Contrary to this clear restoration and imperialistic conception, the non-Russian peoples introduce their own platform: Russia has not existed for 35 years. There is only a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics among which Russia is one. Many free democratic republics were included by force in this Union. But the Russians are an instrument of the rulers in the Kremlin as they were an instrument of the tsars of Petersburg. Thus they are partly guilty of all the cruelties to and oppression of the non-Russian peoples.

Nevertheless the non-Russian peoples do not struggle against the Russian people, but against the Soviet regime in the Kremlin. The non-Russian peoples struggle for the destruction of the prison of nations which is the U.S.S.R., for the liberation of the enslaved peoples and for their return to the family of the free peoples of the world. The non-Russian peoples are basing their fight on the right of self-determination proclaimed by the late President of the United States, Mr. W. Wilson, and on the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

agents of the "Organisation of the Godless", which is supported by the Communist Party and the State, and these are sent to punishment camps or deported.

6. In the schools all from of religious instruction is banned. In the same way our Arab script has been forbidden and, in its place, Russian script introduced.
7. The Russian Imperialists have murdered over five million Turkestanians during their rule of terror, amongst them religious leaders, nationalists and all classes of the people, all of whom have been arbitrarily declared "Peoples enemies".
8. Our people replied to these oppressions by rising in arms, but these Nationalist risings were broken by military force with much bloodshed.
9. Our countrymen have neither sufficient clothing nor satisfactory housing. Their food is insufficient.
10. The Russians have not only robbed us of our possessions but also try to destroy our culture, customs and beliefs. Specially trained propagandists make speeches against religion.

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee has again been asked, in the name of God and Islamic Brotherhood, to direct the following request to Their Majesties the Kings, Religious Leaders, Politicians and Organisations of the Islamic Lands:

1. That all do their utmost to help the Turkestanian people in order that this Russian Imperialist Terror be stopped and that the Russians leave our country.
2. That the Islamic countries should form a commission for the study of Turkistan which could with its own eyes satisfy itself as to the true conditions prevailing there. This Commission must demand permission from Russia for free circulation in all areas of Turkistan.

Such a Commission should be completely non-political in order to examine the prevailing conditions impartially. It should be supported by U.N. and after its return should publish its report to the world.

If in fact the freedom and advanced social conditions proclaimed by the Russians does really exist in Turkistan then they can and must allow such a commission to make an inspection. Should they, however, from the fear that their lying propaganda in the Islamic lands will be seen through,

forbid its entry, then the Commission should take the following steps:

1. It must brand Soviet Russia as a regime of Imperialism and Terror. This should be announced by press and radio and at conferences and meetings.
2. The Commission should press its Governments to break off diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Russia. All goods coming from Soviet Russia should be boycotted as being produced by the hands of slaves.
3. Soviet propagandists coming from all parts of the Russian empire should be forbidden entry into Islamic countries.
4. The Commission should present the tragedy of Turkistan before U.N. and should call for assistance from all the free countries of the world.

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee will send its accusation to U.N. and other world organisations and is ready to prove its allegations. The many thousands of Turkestanians who have fled from their homeland and are living in a state of destitution and poverty should be given all possible help from these quarters.

24th March 1952

National Turkestanian Unity Committee

Foster-Brothers of the Bolsheviks

The first thing that strikes one on reading the Soviet Russian and Russian exile papers is the similarity of their themes. One of them never fails to appear in their columns, — the nationalism of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the danger caused thereby of Russia being cut up into sovereign states i. e. its natural divisions.

For the Soviet it is a duty always to attack and revile the "bourgeois nationalists" and their endorsers abroad, the "Anglo-American imperialists". No falsification of history is therefore too absurd, if it conduces to arousing hatred and aversion for such "terrible enemies".

The two page long article in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" (6. 2. 52) was a substantial contribution to the campaign of hate. In it, a number of Soviet historians maintained that the "United States was the organizer and initiator of intervention against Soviet Russia". One learned that the U.S.A., by this means, intended turning the Baltic States, Ukraine, Turkistan, Cossackia, Caucasus, and Siberia into U.S. colonies. They wanted, too, to divide even the ethnic territory of the Russian people into a "number of separate areas, each of which to live from its own economy and none independent enough to create a strong state of its own".

The reason for this systematic agitation on the part of the Soviet press is clear; the non-Russian people's movement for independence is to be discredited and the hopes of these peoples that they may be freed from Russian oppression by the U.S.A. disappointed; what is the good of hoping if one alien domination is to be replaced by another?

The same almost panicky fear of the non-Russian peoples' leaning towards independence is reflected in the press



THE VOICE OF OUR PEOPLES

The Caucasus

In its April Number, *The Caucasus*, a magazine published in Munich, printed a protest by exile Azerbaijanis living in Turkey, against the participation of unauthorized delegates at the Wiesbaden conference of Keren-sky's Liberation Council.

"We have learned that Mr. A. Fatalibeyli is still supporting the Wiesbaden treason in spite of the fact that everywhere decided protests have been raised against the participation of some adventurers at the Wiesbaden conference. This fact is confirmed by his work with the magazine 'Swobodnyj Kavkas' which is spreading the ideas of the Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia.

It has become known to us that A. Fatalibeyli has been circulating the rumour that he speaks in the name of the 'new emigrants'.

We, Azerbaijan volunteers, who in World War II took part in the struggle for national liberation declare that there is nothing in common between us and Fatalibeyli-Duginskij, as we certify by our signatures. Kindly publish this letter in your magazine.

March 1952.

Turkey.

The protest bears the following signatures: Dr. Salachly; Selim Seldchuk, engineer; A. Risa Turan, student; Latif Elsewer, teacher; Fejsula Klytch Ali, lawyer; M. Chakki Türkekul, teacher; A. Gajdar Aros, lawyer; Ssulejman Tekiner, teacher; Dr. Memet Kengerli; Chussejn Aksu, lawyer; Nabi Turanli, teacher; Dr. Fejas Kassimoglu; Dr. Sultan Chadschioglu; Dr. Achmet Jaschar; Gajdar Ismajilli, teacher; A. Oset Babaglu, engineer; Enwer Roman, economist; Dschemil Taker, teacher.

Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart

(Ukraine Past and Present)

The above named magazine (No. 1/52) writing of the attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the National Socialist measures against the Jews in World War II, in an article headed 'The Tragedy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church', quotes a letter from a Jewish Rabbi, Dr. Herzog, Palestine.

"When the Germans allowed a pogrom against the Jews to break out in Rohatyn, West Ukraine, the Metropolitan Sheptytshy sent a letter to Himmler protesting in no unmeasured terms against the massacre of innocent and helpless people. This act of the Metropolitan aroused great excitement, for it was an act of extreme courage at a time when no one in Europe dared to take the part of the Jews openly against the mad cruelty of the Gestapo. The whole Ukrai-

of the exiles. There, too, is no scruple about falsifying history to suit their purpose, although they do not go as far as the Soviet Russians, still it is the aim of those exiles also, to preserve undiminished the domination once gained by force over alien countries. No thought is given to the fact that they are thus playing into the hands of Soviet policy. It is by this that the chauvinist and imperialist circles of the Russian exiles prove themselves foster-brothers of the Russian bolsheviks.

W. G.

nian population then followed in helping the persecuted Jews in every possible way, often concealing them at the risk of their own lives, for any such thing was forbidden on pain of death. It may be added that the Ukrainians themselves were suffering a good deal from Gestapo terrorization."

Kosachiy Vvestnik

(The Cossack Courier)

The leading article of the chief paper of the Cossack exiles, of April 24, 1952, deals with the ever growing

attacks made by Russian exiles as well as the Soviets against the Cossack liberation movement.

"It must be noticed that the methods employed in this press campaign is as like that of the Soviets as two peas. We know why the Russians are resisting the Cossack liberation so stubbornly. They do not want to give the Cossacks their freedom in a future Russia. Since their subjugation the Cossacks represent an important military factor for Russia and are used, against their will, to expand and hold together the Russian imperium . . . Besides, Cossackia, owing to its geopolitical and military political situation, is of special importance, more especially so since the building of the Volga-Don-Canal."

Vanguard of the West

In the March 29, 1952, number, the "Manchester Guardian Weekly" published an open letter from the well-known Spanish diplomat, scholar and writer, Salvador de Madariaga, to the British Labour member of Parliament, Aneurin Bevan, from which we give an extract concerning the fate of the subjected peoples of the East. This open letter coincides with a discussion being carried on between the British philosopher, Bertrand Russell and the American magazine "The New Leader", on the subject of the problem of western defence and the rôle of U.S.A. in the conflict with the Soviet Union. In his open letter the Spanish publicist, who is at present a visiting professor at Oxford University, writes.

"... Often your utterances and those of your friends sound as if you were ready to hand over, for good and all, the peoples of half of Europe to Moscow, provided the standard of living of the British working classes remains unimpaired. Is that your principle?

"What", you might argue, "war? Since we can do nothing to save them, let them go." There are a number of answers to that. Life and death issues cannot be left to drift on the easy stream of empiricism. Do you or do you not accept in your spirit that the men of Eastern Europe should remain for ever in slavery and their nations be reduced to colonies of Soviet economic imperialism? God forbid that

struggle should develop into a hot war; but a spiritual war there must be while the Eastern Europeans are oppressed, since we cannot but be with them against their oppressors and not with their oppressors against them. That is if, as you said at Durham, you stand on principles. There is a tremendous power in standing by what is right. There is nothing but corruption in letting go what is right just because it is expedient.

As for war, why it is on. A war is not merely a string of battles. It is a conflict of will. To-day there is war between the communist will and the liberal democratic will. This war is hot in several Asiatic spots, cold in the West, but hot also in the East of Europe. The peoples of half of Europe are carrying on a war, partly active and underground, partly passive and open, imposed on them by Moscow. Every day hundreds, thousands of Eastern Europeans are sent to concentration camps to rot or to the firing squad to die. They are our first line of defence. It is in part because these shock troops of the West are dying for us in the East that the Iron Curtain does not coincide with the French Atlantic coast, and that we are still allowed to live "in this comfortable part of the world," to quote your own words. Is your principle to turn your back on them?

Your principle could then be put thus: "I am going to maintain my standard of living as long as the Eastern Europeans maintain their standard of dying." What would then be the difference between you and the old-fashioned heartless capitalist you so lustily flagellate?

The capitalist waxed fat at the expense of the hungry Asiatic; you wax free and prosperous at the expense of the hungry Eastern European slave."

(Manchester Guardian Weekly
March 24, 1952)

Appeal for Help

The Ukrainian Relief Committee in Istanbul, Turkey, appeals for assistance. In consequence of the Turkish system of taxation, the Committee was forced to give up its premises, though the president, Mykola Sabelo made great personal financial sacrifices to avert this catastrophe.

An appeal for a loan had not the desired result; Ukrainian Bishop Ivan Buchko put 100 U.S. dollars at the committee's disposal; cheques from other donors could not be cashed by regular channels in Turkey and were of little value for mortgaging.

The entire equipment of the Committee was mortgaged, above all the library with about 8,000 volumes of literature in Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Cossackian, and the reading-room. In order to make these accessible once more and to further political work, we support the Committee's appeal for gifts of money. These are best sent in the form of cheques by registered post to the Express Bank in Istanbul for the Ukrainian Relief Committee c/o Cpt. Mykola Sabelo, P.K. 2224, Bejoglu, Istanbul, Turkey.

Quo vadis, America?

Continued from Page 2

the accused had acted from purely political reasons, by doing what they considered to be their duty to their country, the court did not admit mitigating circumstances, but considered that it aggravated the offence that the Ukrainian traitor, who was only slightly hurt, had worked for Kerensky's Committee, financed by American money, and had been to a certain extent under American protection.

We are far from justifying or glorifying violence as an instrument in political warfare, at least under normal, democratic conditions. People can regard the cause of Ukrainian liberty and the only path open to Ukrainians in exile as they will. We cannot and do not want to demand that an American court should judge by our standards of right and wrong. And still we wonder if there is a civilized country in the world with a modern system of justice where offences committed for political reasons are punished more severely than the crimes of ordinary criminals. Is it not one of the traditions of justice that such offences should be more mercifully dealt with than ordinary crimes, and not the other way round?

To quote another example — When in the twenties, *Mencha Karnichewa*, a Macedonian, shot *Captain Panitsa* in the State Opera in Vienna, because she thought he had been a traitor to the Macedonian liberation movement, the Austrian authorities considered that the purely idealist motives of her act were sufficient reason for acquitting her. But the three Ukrainian patriots received severer sentences only because their consciousness of duty to their country would not allow them to let a renegade countryman go scot free. Is all this really consistent with a far-sighted and wise American policy of liberation towards our peoples?

(To be continued in our next issue)

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NATO is Not Enough:

Gen. Fuller Comments on the Present Situation

Special Interview for A.B.N. Correspondence

General J. F. C. Fuller, well-known as a military writer and the author of several important books, agreed to our request to answer a few questions dealing with the problem of cooperation between democratic nations on either side of the Iron Curtain, questions which were not settled at the recent NATO conference in Lisbon. For us who represent the revolutionary, democratic liberation movements of our peoples in the Soviet sphere of influence, it is peculiarly gratifying that an expert of General Fuller's calibre should have repeatedly stressed the importance of the A.B.N. in the world-wide struggle against communism and Russian imperialism. We appreciate his valuable support with gratitude.

We give General Fuller's answer to our questions:

Question:

The Lisbon Conference has without doubt contributed to the removal of many of the difficulties hitherto standing in the way of a European-Atlantic defence system. Do you consider such a defence belt sufficient in itself in view of the expansionist policy of Soviet Russia?

Answer:

No! *Vis-à-vis* Russia's expansionist policy, a defensive belt of nations is no more than a shield. What is still lacking is a sword, which under cover of the shield can attack his policy by fostering counter-revolution within the U.S.S.R. The shield is military, the sword political.

Question:

Some American circles, especially that of the "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" now under the leadership of Admiral Kirk, are suggesting that the Russian imperium should be kept within the frontiers of 1939 and that the communist regime should merely be replaced by a "democratic" one. Do you, General Fuller, believe that it would suffice to set up a democratic government in the place of a communist regime in the Soviet Union, in order to guarantee the security of the still free world and create a state of political peace in the Soviet Union itself?

Answer:

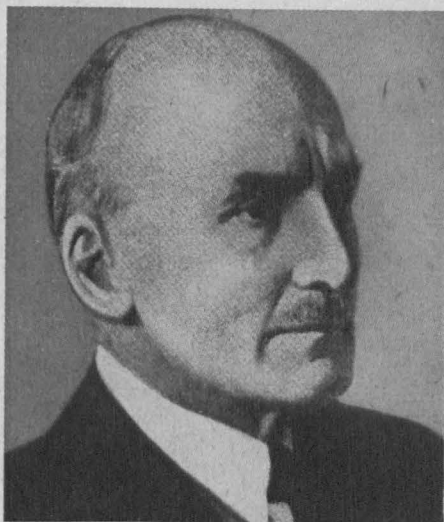
No! because Russian communism is but a means to an end — Russian Imperialism. No change in means will alter the end. Peace is only attainable by fractionizing the U.S.S.R. and thereby destroying the Russian Imperium.

Question:

Do you see, considering the growing chauvinism of the bolshevist Moscow government, any possibility of psychological warfare against the communist plans for world dominion?

Answer:

Because the growing chauvinism of the Kremlin is no more than propaganda to obscure the fact that the



U.S.S.R. is a mosaic of subjugated peoples, it is a sure sign that what is dreaded most is a psychological attack aimed at liberating them. Therefore the possibilities of psychological war are immense.

Question:

How do you explain the fact that in World War II the Ukrainian people, with a population of 45 millions, organized an underground army of 200,000 and the other less populous non-Russian nations also carried on organized resistance against Stalin and Hitler, while the 80 million Russian nation did not raise a single partisan against Stalin?

Answer:

My explanation is that, after 1000 years of despotic government, the Muscovite Russians have become so inured to serfdom that all desire for a more liberal rule has been squeezed out of them. It has made them slave-minded and utterly subservient to authority.

Question:

Do you share the opinion which the A.B.N. has always held, that only through the combination of the West's need of security and the longing for

independence that is so strong in the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, can the real strength of the western world be mobilized against communist aggression?

Answer:

Yes! The Western need of security is the shield, the need of the non-Russian peoples for independence is the sword. Only when both have been forged can the strength of the Western World be mobilized against Muscovite aggression.

Question:

Do you regard the use of the A.B.N. slogans i. e. the independence of the non-Russian peoples, as suitable now, or even possible in the psychological warfare being waged by the western world?

Answer:

The slogan of "Liberation and Self-Determination" should be the hub of all Western and A.B.N. propaganda and psychological warfare from this moment and until these aims have been attained.

Question:

In the last three years a large number of leading politicians have fled from the Satellite States to the west, who, in the years between 1944—1948, actively supported the communist governments of their countries behind the Iron Curtain or belonged to them. These people are now enjoying the moral, political and financial support of the West and are regarded as the real representatives of the political opinions of their people. Do you not see that by these benefits there is great danger of the western world losing the confidence and sympathy of the anti-communist populations in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.?

Answer:

Emigrés, turn-coats and traitors are never to be trusted. Those who run fastest shout loudest, and though it is true that many of these creatures are welcomed and listened to in the West, and more particularly so in the U.S., the anti-bolshevik peoples must remember that in a revolutionary age knaves win over fools, but in the end both perish.

Question:

Do you, General Fuller, believe, as we do, that the only way to obviate the danger to neighbouring States and the rest of the world, both from a political as well as a military point of view, is to restrict Russia to her own ethnological borders?

Answer:

Yes! When once again Russia becomes Muscovy — that is, restricted to her ethnological frontiers — the spell of the Third Rome will be broken, and the West liberated from the threat of subversion and war.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Editorial

How to Localize and Win the War Against Russia

As long as the bolsheviks parade the power of their countless divisions before the eyes of the Western World, and as long as the press in the West continues to alarm the peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain by reports about the divisions, the West will be too overwhelmed by the Russian "superiority" to produce any satisfactory program to meet it. Nor can Western Europe's efforts to put up 30 divisions against the advancing massed armies of the Soviet Union be of much value in strengthening the West's self-confidence and hope of victory.

A comparison of the two sides from the numerical standpoint reminds us of the meeting between David and Goliath. Russia has always depended on the uses of masses. The problem, therefore, is to find the proper method of destroying the numerical superiority of the U.S.S.R. and to apply it with due skill at the right time and place. The only weapon capable of blowing the Russian prison of nations up from within is not the atomic bomb but the idea of the national liberation of the peoples oppressed by Russia. And the support of the liberations movements of these peoples and the satellite states is the weapon the West must seize, if it would be victorious against Moscow at minimum cost. Cooperation with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), the common front of these peoples, is in the interest of the West.

The Peoples Behind The A.B.N.

There may at present be gaps in the organization and structure of the A.B.N., but that is unimportant. The decisive point is that it represents fighting organizations and liberation movements in various peoples that are

already operating. It is of little account which nations are represented by a definite organization in the A.B.N. and which are not. The main thing is that all the non-Russian peoples in the Bolshevik imperium are behind the A.B.N. as a factor of great potential power, since no nation has ever abandoned, can never abandon, its rights of sovereignty and claim to freedom. Even if recreant representatives of these nations in exile have deserted the banner of independence for their nation, this banner will be held aloft by the A.B.N. and the nation in question will throng to support it in the decisive hour. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast the slogan of independence for every people within its ethnic borders, no matter whether emigrés of one or the other people may support federation with Russia,

thus betraying their people's cause. The A.B.N., for instance, is firmly convinced that neither Aserbaijanians, the Byelorussians or any other of the subjugated nations will consent to federation with Russia, but will continue the fight for complete separation from Moscow and thus realize the sacred right every independent state has of deciding its own affairs.

Unauthorized Dabblers In Politics

We know very well that these peoples would never approve a resurrection either of the "Vlasov Movement" (K.O.N.R.) or of the "Kerensky Movement". Dabblers in politics in exile who accept as representatives of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet

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The First Essential

Equality of Rights for Every Nation

By Dr. Stephan Buc, former Croatian M.P.

Taking the whole breadth of Europe, from the Urals to the Atlantic into consideration, there never was in all its history greater and more unjust differences between the communities living there as nations than there is today. We can get a better grasp of the tragedy if we compare the psyche of modern man with that of his forbears. When Ivan the Terrible or Peter I was in power, their subjects were different from those under Josef Dzhugashvili-Stalin, just as the subjects of the "roi de soleil" in the Paris of the 17th century differed considerably from modern Frenchmen. It is true that then there were individuals who suffered under despotism and rebelled against slavery, but the masses cannot have been so unhappy because their consciousness was still sleeping. They were not awakened till the slogans of "equality" and "liberty" resounded in America and the extreme west of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Modern Man and the State

The great political, economic and mental revolutions that have taken place since then have completely changed the world, humanity and the individual. The individual is now

awake; he is conscious of his own rights, has been transformed from an "object" to a "subject". Changes had to be made in every department of life to suit man's altered needs. States that had grown obsolete were broken up and their political structure changed by force, if necessary. Thus the American people, awakened, took up arms to rid itself of English rule, and erected its own state; the French people sent their divinely appointed kings packing and established a republic, etc. We quote only the best known examples, but they will suffice, for we who are surrounded by the results of this modern development have no need of further proof. Thus, the ethnic-historical communities of Europe became nations, and "subjects", whereas they had been merely physical formations, as it were. "A nation is a soul", said Ernst Renan, thus characterizing the most significant factor in modern development.

Size is not the Criterion of a Nation

We must admit that this development came from the West where it began about a century earlier, a fact which does not demand any further comment. To define it more exactly, a nation is a community of feeling which should

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Union the ideas of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", automatically forfeit all authority to represent their peoples. Should the West attempt to introduce by bayonets the idea of an indivisible Russian imperium into the Soviet Union, and should the S.O.N.R. with some non-Russian dabblers in politics appear in their native countries, they will be received as traitors in the service of the enemy, and treated accordingly. Fresh blood will then be shed against new occupiers and traitors.

These traitors among non-Russian emigrés are being paid with American dollars today. But we warn the Western World against cultivating treason in these circles. That Russian imperialists are ready to play the part of Judas is no reason why Americans should do so. Sooner or later these traitors will appear before the court of their own peoples and they cannot escape punishment. Their doings in exile are not fundamentally different from the practices of the N.K.V.D. and the M.V.D. at home. Should they appear one day in their native countries in the ranks of the Russian "liberator", they will be confronted by the national divisions of their own people who will sweep them and their protectors out of existence.

The Oath Will Be Kept

At the foundation of the A.B.N. in 1943 in Ukraine in a meeting at a place that was occupied by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) the latter and the insurgent troops of other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union swore an oath of mutual loyalty and help, an oath sealed by blood. This oath will be kept, till the hour of freedom strikes, not only in Kyiv, but also in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, and in Baku, the capital of Aserbaischan, and their national flags fly as a symbol of liberty in all the capitals of the non-Russian peoples. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast to the device that alone represents the inflexible will of all peoples subjugated by Moscow, namely, "Our own life in our own country free of federal interference from Russia! Our own life in our own state, with an army, a parliament, a government of our own, independent of Moscow or any other alien power!" And that is what will come!

Just as the giant Goliath was brought low by the boy David, "Great Russia", a colossus on feet of clay, will one day be conquered by the united strength of our peoples — of 3 million Aserbaischanians, 15 million Byelorussian, 45 million Ukrainians and all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. Our idea of national liberation is so powerfully explosive that it will inevitably bring about the fall of the Russian imperium. It is the guarantee of victory over the giant Goliath. The intrigues of certain Western circles who try to purchase the services of instruments among non-Russian exiles for a new Russian imperialism and tyranny put obstacles in our way, thus undermining the West's chances of victory from the outset. Such attempts will not help to localize the conflict between the East

and the West. On the contrary. They will expand it all over the world.

A Tragic Paradox

It is a tragic paradox that the Western World should make every effort to avoid war while the attitude of its politicians towards the decisive problem of the non-Russian peoples must inevitably lead to a worldwide expansion of the war.

All who are serious about avoiding war keep their eyes on the Achilles heel of the Russian dungeon of nations, i. e. on the possibility of utilizing the explosive power of the idea of national liberation among subjugated non-Russian peoples. For this would, if not avoid war, at least localize it. It is therefore in the interest of the West itself to support these peoples in their fight against Russian imperialism, to attract them from the Russian front into their own. It is here that a blockade of the enemy can be successful by a concentric attack.

The West should not leave the entire burden to us, while it stands aside and watches us bleed to death. Russia today is not only our enemy, but the enemy of the whole world. We don't want to be made a cat's paw of and the West itself must take part in the fight and make sacrifices which can be reduced to a minimum only if the struggle is coordinated with the strength behind our liberation movements. The foundations of the Russian imperium are by no means firm and it would not be difficult to shake them if this was gone about in the right way.

The West must do something to give the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union some concrete hope and destroy their feeling of isolation from the Western world.

A Voice In Support Of Our Ideas

General Fuller, the English military writer, launched the following proposal in his article, "What the Kremlin Fears Most":

Lastly, I will end with a concrete proposal. Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change of regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western powers should coincide with the aim of the A.B.N. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish — that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step towards achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common Anti-Bolshevik front. The duties of this front should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in bolshevizing the world."

The ideas for which we have been fighting for years are evidently grain-

ing ground in competent Western circles. The sooner the West takes practical steps, the surer the localization of the war. If the biggest stations in the world begin to broadcast not only in the language but also in the spirit of the A.B.N., if our fighters behind the Iron Curtain feel that they are being supported everywhere, and if all these programs are coordinated with our centre of planning and we are recognized as an ally of the West with equal rights, then cracks in the structure of the Soviet Union will begin to appear. Even if the U.S.S.R. should reply to such measures by a declaration of war, it would not be able to conduct a war of aggression because the Soviet army would begin to disintegrate in the first weeks of the war just as it did when Germany invaded the country.

Instead, therefore, of puzzling about how to avoid the war that the Soviet Union is systematically preparing for, the West ought to be planning how to win it with the minimum of casualties. But if the West, for instance, approves a new edition of the "Council for the Liberation of Russia" (S.O.N.R.) and supports a policy of Russian imperialism, it will play into Moscow's hand just as surely as Hitler did when he refused to recognize the independence of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, thus paving the way for Stalin's "Patriotic War".

The Duty of the West

General Fuller shows great wisdom and far-sightedness when he writes:

"If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic, to think in terms of liberation is democratic."

The limitation of the war in time and place lies, therefore, in the hands of Western politicians if they will appropriate the ideas of the A.B.N. General Fuller expressed this clearly when he said:

"Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the A.B.N. — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

In conclusion let us repeat: the realization of democracy in the East is unthinkable without the disintegration of the Russian dungeon of nations into the national independent states within their ethnic frontiers of the subjugated peoples, the first condition for the complete development of the character of the individual. For us, the democratic idea cannot be separated from the idea of national liberty, a principle that is expressed by the slogans:

Away from Russia!

Freedom for peoples!

Freedom for the individual!

Side-lights:

The „Eastern Europe“ Conference

A conference was arranged by the Council of Europe for representatives now in exile of satellite states of the Soviet Union; it took place in London on January 21—22, 1952 and was attended by such prominent leaders of Western Europe as Henry Spaak, ex-Prime Minister of Belgium, General de Gaulle's, collaborator, Gaston Palevski, C. Davis, Chairman of the British Liberal Party, Arthur Greenwood, formerly a Minister in England and some German politicians.

The conference was intended only for representatives of states outside the Soviet Union in 1939. Representatives of nations incorporated at that time in the U.S.S.R. were allowed to attend only as observers.

In view of the attitude expressed during the conference towards the U.S.S.R., it could not well have been otherwise. The speakers assumed that a revolution in the Soviet Union was neither possible nor feasible. The Soviets, it was stated, would voluntarily abandon their satellites under pressure. The claims of nations that have been oppressed for more than 50 years were not mentioned at the conference.

Time was spent discussing the purely academic plan of a new economic and philosophical order, once the Soviets had voluntarily vacated their satellite states.

In the discussions, the concept "Europe" suffered considerably, for the area on which Christian and Western traditions have built up a way of life for its peoples, was reduced to the periphery on the West, a blow to the resistance of the free world to bolshevism, and to the vital force of Europe itself. There are no deadline dates, no provisions for superannuation when it comes to restoring freedom to peoples who have been deprived of it by force.

The weakness of this conference was that it was attended almost exclusively by politicians who had emigrated from the satellite states, after they had collaborated for years after the war with communists, and are therefore also to blame for the present unhappy state of their peoples. The Slovak Liberation Committee, the Czech National Committee in London, and representatives of Sudeten Germans protested against the presence of politicians with compromising records.

Millions That Haunt Their Dreams

Many rumours and intrigues have appeared in connection with the 100 million dollars fund that is said to have been earmarked in the American budget for foreign aid, in order to support the fight against bolshevism. It would appear that American funds are to be allocated only to schemes of resistance actually in existence. This decision

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Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

Continued from the last issue

II.

Conditions in Ukraine

In Ukraine, Russian terror continues ceaselessly, unhesitatingly. Its mechanism has improved with years. Its current phase is being experienced by thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians now. With rigid consistency and unparalleled ruthlessness, the Soviet regime is trying to subdue the Ukrainian people by turning them into obedient slaves of their superior Russian brother. It is nothing but conscious and deliberate physical extermination of a race, a horrible vivisection on the living organism of a people, which makes the blood in one's veins grow cold and one's hair grow grey. The very fact that the Soviet hangmen are able to perform such a **genocide** on an old, civilized and Christian people in the middle of the 20th century and in a corner of old Europe is the **shame** of this century and the shame of all mankind.

The methods by which the Soviets perform genocide on the Ukrainian people are still more shameful. These methods are nothing but the negation of all human progress and civilization. They are a cynical and degenerate mockery of the achievements of all mankind, an unprecedented crime against humanity.

The methods of Soviet terror in Ukraine are fully described in a unique and curious document which reached the West in the fall of 1947 when armed groups of the Ukrainian insurgents succeeded in penetrating Poland and Czechoslovakia and surrendered to the American authorities in the US Zone in Germany. The insurgents brought a copy of a Ukrainian underground magazine "**The Independent**" published somewhere in Ukraine in the first half of 1947. The magazine contained an article entitled "**The Shame of the 20th century**" which is not only a detailed but a horrible account of Soviet atrocities in Ukraine.

The U.P.A.

When the Soviet armies began launching their offensives against the Germans and the Soviet war-machine began to roll back over Ukraine, the Soviets met there a vast underground army of some 200,000 armed Ukrainian men, called the *Ukrainska Povstanda Armiya* (U.P.A.). It was an independent "third force" both anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet, aiming at the establishment of a Sovereign Ukrainian State and, therefore, opposed to both kinds of imperialisms striving at enslaving Ukraine. The U.P.A. started its activities in 1942, at the peak of German military power, grew strong in the struggle against the Nazis and contributed considerably to their defeat in Eastern Europe.

The Soviets knew of the existence of the U.P.A., but underestimated its force. The death of Soviet Marshal *Valutin* who fell in a battle against a

U.P.A. detachment forced them to reckon with its existence. Yet they were not prepared to deal with it. Their frontal attacks against the U.P.A. in 1944 and 1945, were not successful. The terror campaign against the masses of the Ukrainian people only resulted in making many Ukrainians join the U.P.A. The Soviets were forced, therefore, to change their tactics and to adapt a more elaborate and detailed campaign of destruction. This was the beginning of a hard struggle of the Soviet occupational administration and N.K.V.D. forces against the U.P.A. which is still being waged to day.

In Soviet terrorist measures against the Ukrainian liberation movement and its striking force, the U.P.A., we must distinguish two factors: (a) ideological-political means of fighting the Ukrainian "nationalism" which gave birth to the Ukrainian liberation movements; (b) an armed terrorist fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement and its supporters — the Ukrainian people.

The fight against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" is as old as Soviet dominance over Ukraine. The constant complaints of Soviet leaders of Ukrainian "nationalism" and "separatism" called the attention of the entire world and convinced it that Ukraine was anything but a "soft belly" of the Soviet Union. But behind these complaints a more serious thing hides — a terrorist ideological fight against the very spirit of the Ukrainian people. It is attacking the very soul of Ukraine trying to eradicate all those principles, on which the Ukrainians, like other Christian peoples, have lived for nearly one thousand years. It is attacking the Ukrainian Churches, both the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, aiming at supplanting them by Stalin's Russian Orthodox Church. Yet this attack too, is failing for, apart from physical extermination, the spirit of the Ukrainians is unquenchable. It could not be corrupted either by the martyrdom of Ukrainian churches and of free Ukrainian science, or by the shameless rewriting of Ukrainian history, the mutilation of Ukrainian literature or the slandering of great Ukrainian men of the past and present.

The Ukrainian experience of Soviet tyranny tells the world that the Soviets often use slander, lies, deceit, breach of faith, bribery, provocation, gross abuse, wilful distortion of truth to further their political ambitions. Lenin himself stated that "we have to use any ruse, dodge, tricks, unlawful methods, concealment, veiling of truth" in daily political manipulation. By this weapon of bolshevik strategy, the Ukrainian patriots were denounced as "fascists" by the genuine scarlet fascists from Moscow. By means of this weapon, any group in the world courageous enough to raise its voice against the savageries of Soviet dictatorship is conveniently dubbed "fascist" by the Soviet political opium dealers. Such

are the weapons of Bolshevik ideological strategy, emanating from Muscovite megalomania based on grossest immorality sanctioning as morally good every lie, falsehood, or crime against any non-Communist person, nation, or state.

The Kremlin and Nationalism

In the all-embracing campaign now sweeping the entire U.S.S.R. and the satellites, the blade of hatred and vituperation is directed against particular non-Russian "nationalism". Since last July, at which time "Pravda" registered the new upsurge of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" in the arts and literature, the soviet masters have known no rest in their concern at this "invisible enemy". Ostensibly, the attack is confined to Ukrainian literature, but the Kremlin is really attacking every aspect of Ukrainian life and in unusually menacing terms. Despite the fact that "an eternal friendship between the Russian and Ukrainian people exists, and is 'indestructible'", Soviet propagandists are forced to beat drums of alarm for the enemy who lurks in every collective farm, plant, factory and school. Those im-

placable enemies of "the Ukrainian people" are the "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" who "have degenerated into a pitiful group of spies and disrupters in the service of crusty American war-mongers". "The Ukrainian nationalists today serve the Anglo-American imperialists, who are endeavoring by all means, including ideological diversions, to damage Communist construction. The struggle against nationalist ideology, profoundly inimical to Marxist-Leninist ideology, must go on and 'it must be one of our prime tasks', say Soviet propagandists. Of course, their assertions that the Ukrainian nationalists became 'lackeys' of American imperialism are not only untrue, but blatantly false. The Russian totalitarian masters know that the United States does not want to dismember Russia and that it does not aid the non-Russian peoples in their struggle for liberation. It becomes clear, however, that the Politburo is gravely concerned about the future policy of the United States and fears that the U.S.A. will throw its vast power behind the non-Russian peoples in their struggle against Russian imperialism. To be continued in the next issue

The First Essential

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find expression in an independent state. It is not confined to one "class" only, but is common to all; it is the most elementary phenomenon of social life. It is of no account whether the nation be "big" or "small", whether it count 3 or 150 million souls, the impulse to form an independent state is everywhere the same. This is quite natural. Whether a man be six feet high, or only five, they are still both men with similar characteristics. We consider them both as men, the tall one and the short one.

The Blindness of Western Politicians

Our present generation, especially those of us whose countries are behind the iron curtain, are experiencing a drama which is repeated daily: many Western politicians, especially the leaders, are blind to modern developments; they hide their heads in the sand like ostriches, though the truth is as plain as day. And it is still more astonishing that these should be men - for instance in America and France - whose forefathers experienced that development and won their independence and democratic rights at the cost of great sacrifice and as the result of unceasing energy. The same men (we see it very day), who are justly proud of a past stained with the blood of their fathers, of events and battles which have become their most glorious traditions, refuse to have any sympathy for other peoples who are now in a position similar to theirs almost 200 years ago.

Men still cherish the inhuman aim of sparing and preserving states that were artificially formed, that are nothing but the prisons of nations and the instruments of an obsolete imperialism. (U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia.) So the "state" is upheld, and not the people. The international organi-

zation of the United Nations — *lucus a non lucendo* — is only a union of states or rather of governments, some of them with bloodstained hands. Was this principle not obstinately preserved in I.R.O., right to the very end? Does it not inspire a number of well-known institutions which talk of a "free Europe", though it makes a really free Europe an illusion? It was one of the fundamental principles of a recent conference on the "European Movement" which was held in London. The nations in the U.S.S.R., the greatest dungeon of peoples, were ignored, while the two others "Yugoslavia" and "Czechoslovakia" (note their artificial names!) were also subjected to characteristic treatment. The names, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes are acknowledged, not as nations, but as "nationalities", a procedure that was familiar in the Austrian empire 50 years ago. The enormous revolution that took place, not 50 but 1000 years before 1900, has been completely ignored. Nothing at all has been learnt from history.

A House Built on Sand

Instead of liberating Europe first and then uniting it, they are trying to build the house from the roof down. They have not even agreed on the material the house is to be built of. Of slaves? That is what will happen if the "state" comes first. Almost the whole of Europe, at least the greater part behind the iron curtain is forced to live enslaved in unnatural states, which must disappear before these peoples can be free. This is the material the house must be built of, unless the aim is to build castles in the air. **The right to equality of all the nations in Europe, the realization of their right of self-determination is the first essential condition for their reconstruction and unity.** This will put an end to every kind of communism, whether Tito's or Stalin's, and not only to communism, but also to all imperialism.

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causes new difficulties for exiled Russians, now that their "Council of Liberation" has collapsed. It is a well-known fact that antibolshevik resistance in the Soviet Union is confined to the territory of non-Russian peoples, where it is in the hands of their organizations for liberation; Russians in exile are therefore compelled to invent a Russian movement of resistance in Russia proper. The role of active resistance will probably be assumed by the N.T.S. (Russian Solidarity Exile Party), an organization which has behaved in Western Europe for years as if it were the only Russian resistance movement with an underground in Russia, and which has published articles to that effect in the Western press.

These considerations were probably the reason for the secret conference in Hamburg in the middle of January, which was attended by Kerensky, the unhappy initiator of the Wiesbaden "Council of Liberation", and Baydakov, the president of the N.T.S., and their closest confederates. It is rumored that Kerensky is going to utilize his powerful connections to launch Baydakov in the United States as the "strong man" of the Russian underground. Exiled Russians hope in this way to divert some of the fabulous millions to their pockets.

Flag For Byelorussian S.S.R.

By order of the "Presidency of the Supreme Council of the Byelorussian S.S.R.", the Soviet Republic of Byelorussia received on 25. 12. 1951 the right to hoist a flag of its own instead of the red banner of the Soviet Union, a right that the Ukrainian Republic alone has possessed up till now; the Byelorussian flag is red and green with the national symbol (belt embroidered parallel to the flag-staff) and in the left field, the hammer and sickle under a five-point star.

A leader in the "Svyasda", Minsk, 28. 12. 51, celebrates the order as "clear proof of the victory of Lenin's and Stalin's national policy"; the following is significant:

"For centuries the Byelorussian people has been conducting a courageous fight for social and national liberation. For centuries it has dreamed of sovereignty."

The article goes on to say that the country has received the latter for the first time in its history from the hands of "the Soviet Power". Moscow's gift is quite in keeping with the present policy of Soviet Russia, which, by way of relieving domestic tension, is willing to make formal, national concessions to the non-Russian republics while at the same time increasing oppression of the individual. "Danaos timeo et dona ferentes" . . .

The sentence quoted from the "Svyasda" may interest Russian politicians in exile for whom Byelorussian desires for independence are merely an artificial product.

Dr. Dimitar Balkansky

„Bloody Thursday“

The Anniversary of the National Tragedy of Bulgaria

On February 1, 1945, at an icy midnight hour, representatives of the Third Bulgarian Kingdom were stripped naked and shot in the cemetery in Sofia. When the bells tolled the hour of midnight, the headlights of the trucks that had brought members of the Bulgarian government, condemned by order from Moscow, to their place of execution the same day, threw an eerie light over big, freshly dug graves. They covered the bodies of a Bulgarian prince, two regents, 22 ministers and 65 representatives, flung into their graves before they were cold. Thus the shameful deed, planned by the Third International and prepared for twenty years earlier by the "United Front" of communists and leftist Agrarians in the Cathedral of "Sankta Nedelya" was now carried out by the hand of the "Fatherland Front" which had seized power. In these strange weeks and months these martyrs were joined in death by tens of thousands of known and unknown Bulgarian patriots who had remained faithful to their duty. During all this time, the government of Bulgaria was in the hands of a coalition under the blasphemous name of "People's Government" which was made up of communists and the other leftist groups in the conspiratorial "Fatherland Front" — Left Agrarians, Sevno Adherents, Socialists and Radicals.

Hundreds of thousands of victims were put to death in consequence of Moscow's treacherous slogan of "Down with fascism! Freedom for the people!" This wicked command which rode roughshod over all our laws, human and Divine, was meant to be opium for the people and dust in foreigners' eyes. The world, at that time still struggling in the confusion of the aftermath of war, had no time to be interested in the tragedy of Bulgaria. It woke up to reality when the situation could no longer be saved, when the communists, having swept away the foundation of constitutional government in Bulgaria in that orgy of shooting, found no difficulty in getting rid next of their coalition partners, their unwitting, instruments, and in opening the way for Soviet supremacy in the heart of the Balkans. Shocked by this national disgrace and groaning under the new tyranny, our people buried deep in its soul the memory of their murdered representatives, of the tens of thousands of other victims, and began to whisper in awe of "bloody Thursday". Millions of Bulgarian men and women throughout the country join the countless mourning mothers, families, widows and orphans in remembering the murdered; they condemn the murderers and their lackeys and swear anew to establish justice, freedom and human dignity in our country.

When and where, Bulgarians ask today, was Bulgaria ever guilty of fascism? If "fascism" means lack of freedom and tyranny at home, when was King Boris's regime fascist? When seriously incriminated communists and other conspirators and assassins in the service of Moscow who have been brought to justice were pardoned again and again, or perhaps when the almost public conspiracy of the "Fatherland Front" was indulgently tolerated? Where was there any

lack of freedom? Was liberty less evident in constitutional Bulgaria than in the despotic People's Republic of today? If, moreover "fascism" means chauvinism, aggression and imperialism, when and how was Bulgarian ever guilty of such crimes? Surely not because not a single Bulgarian bullet was fired in the war and because Bulgaria remained neutral, above all towards the Soviet Union, until the end of the war. And surely still less because it ordered its troops to protect its own people in liberated districts that were traditionally Bulgarian? If this was "monarchic fascism" or "Great Bulgarian Chauvinism" then why is the present communist government protesting against Tito's policy of assimilation in Yugoslavian Macedonia where he manifests lively interest for the Bulgarian population in Greek Macedonia, claiming access to the Aegean Sea? Or must all that is allowed Stalin's creatures in Sofia in favour of the

Soviet Union be declared a mortal sin whenever it is claimed for Bulgaria by a Bulgarian government?

There is little left today of the mask of "Death to Facism" which helped to destroy the elite of the Bulgarian nation and demobilize the democratic constitution. It took the execution of a man like Nikola Petkoff as a fascist to bring the world to its senses and realize at long last what had actually happened viz, that the mass murders in Bulgaria, perpetrated at a time of confusion, with the cooperation of so-called "democratic" coalition partners, had nothing to do with an alleged Bulgarian fascism; their sole purpose was to burst the dams protecting the land from bolshevism, so that, in a short time, the short-sighted "democrats" who had lent countenance to the deeds of violence after the revolution of September 9, 1944 by their presence in the government, were themselves drowned in the Red flood.

Let us bend our heads in reverence before the victims of "Bloody Thursday". The ever-green memory of this national crime, of tens of thousands of innocent martyrs and patriots will one day make Bulgaria rise again, stronger and finer than ever.

A.B.N. Conference in Paris

Big Meeting Attended by Delegates to the U.N., Representatives of the Movement for a United Europe and the Organization "Peace and Freedom".

Address by Yaroslav Stetko, President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

A big conference of the Anti-Bolshev Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was held in Paris on February 2, 1952. The Central Committee of the A.B.N. was represented by its president, Yaroslav Stetko, and its secretary-general, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny. Prince Tokarevsky, Chairman of the branch of the A.B.N. in Great Britain, took the chair. After hearing the report of the Statutes Committee, the statutes of the branch of the A.B.N. in France were adopted and the executive committee elected.

A big meeting was held in the hall of the Geographical Society on February 3, 1952. The delegates mentioned above were present, as were also many French and foreign journalists.

In his opening address, Prince Tokarevsky, chairman, expressed the hope that France, in particular, with its glorious traditions of freedom would understand and support the aims of the A.B.N. When counting the nations that fought against the Soviet regime the chairman forgot to mention Albania, whereupon Albanians present protested loudly and demanded that that country should also be included in the list of honour of those fighting for freedom. The following resolution was passed at this meeting:

This meeting is of opinion that it is impossible to secure peace and freedom in the world until Soviet Russia is divided up into national, sovereign states and bolshevist dictatorship destroyed throughout the world. The ideas of the A.B.N. are constantly gaining in importance and must receive the ut-

most support of free nations. The free world must make up its mind to support as their own the liberation movements of all peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

North Caucasian Commemoration

A Demonstration against Genocide

On February 23, 1952, on the day the bolsheviks in Moscow and in the whole world celebrate the Red Army, the emigrants from the Caucasus in Munich commemorate the victims of bolshevist atrocities.

By the decree of February 11, 1945, in which Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich and Mikoyan themselves had a hand, the Checheno-Ingushi autonomous Republic was exterminated on February 23, 1944. Part of the inhabitants were killed on the spot by police and Red Army soldiers while the survivors were banished to Siberia within 24 hours. In this way about 800,000 people were mown down or carried off. The property of these people was confiscated by the Soviets and the land settled with peasants from central Russia. In November and December of the previous year the same fate was meted out to the inhabitants of the districts Karachai and Balkar. The total number of people thus exterminated or banished amounts to over one million.

At the commemoration in Munich representatives of all non-Russian peoples from behind the Iron Curtain and the German and foreign press took part. In the numerous addresses, the close ties between all non-Russian peoples in their fight against Russian imperialism were stressed, making it clear that the only nation in the Soviet Union which enjoys the confidence of the Kremlin is the Russian. The A.B.N. also took part in arranging this commemoration and issued a leaflet upon it.

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

A SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF WAGES

In imitation of the Soviet Russian model, Bulgaria has now, too, introduced a new system of wages, based on the kind of article produced and with penalties for workers who do not reach the target set by the government. The new system relies above all on piece-work, which is common in "capitalist" countries but always disapproved of by trade unions. In Bulgaria, on the other hand it is officially enforced by the trades unions.

Quite irrespective of his own desire, every worker is classified according to a particular grade of production and receives the corresponding wage. Weaving, for instance, is divided into seven classes, with a basic wage of 270 to 375 lewa, a mechanic's work is classified in 8 categories with a basic wage of 300-640 lewa. Each of these classes has its prescribed norm according to a textbook that determines the work for each class. As the basic wage is also calculated on piece-work, it is reduced when the requisite target is not reached. In this way, reduced production, in consequence of bad material and waste, is penalised by deductions from the worker's wage, which entails reduced social contributions from the state. The Bulgarian state hopes thus both to increase quantity and improve quality, to prevent delay and carelessness and at the same time to determine who is responsible for the faulty material, as the worker whose work suffers is supposed to report.

COSSACKIA

"IDEOLOGICAL SHORTCOMINGS"

In consequence of inadequate "political training", weak "ideological work" in Komsomol organizations, the administration of the Party is constantly passing resolutions on the "necessity for improvement and for rectifying mistakes", insisting on "fundamental changes in the work done". In reality, however, if we are to believe the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of 2. 2. 1952, these resolutions are all merely on paper. It seems that the training given by Party organizations has deteriorated in comparison with last year, and the attendance at lectures has decreased.

In the field of economy, particularly in the reconstruction of towns, conditions appear to be chaotic. In Rostov on the Don, ten years after "liberation", many official buildings are still in ruins.

A Cossackian publishing firm published a book to which contributions were made by Cossack poets like V. Bakaldin, V. Petrichenko, I. Varava, V. Goncharov, and others. But the

"Pravda" immediately discovered "ideological shortcomings" in it and criticized the writers severely.

Only three of the ten large towns in the Cossackian area have entrusted their town-planning to architects, while the others are building without any expert advice. That is what soviet planning looks like.

The "Don", a new literary and historical almanach, was criticized by the critic, Olenich-Gnenenko, as "Cossackian, bourgeois and nationalistic".

CROATIA

TITO'S PRISONS OPEN AGAIN

Communist power in Croatia continues its destructive policy. Sabotage has assumed such proportions, as boycotting kolkhozes, failure to fulfil deliveries to the state or to cultivate the fields, that all foreign correspondents comment on it in their reports. It was stated at the last meeting of the communist party centre in Croatia that nothing can prevent the kolkhozes from disappearing except "administrative" measures, i. e. police action.

At the turn of the year Tito's regime, acting probably under pressure from U.S.A., proclaimed an amnesty. The Minister of Police estimated that about 50,000 emigrés returned, who had fled after 1945, and are, indeed, still fleeing. "War criminals", of course, and "traitors" cannot return, i. e. all who have fought against the regime. Communist consulates have been instructed to issue official invitations to emigrés to return, although their right of citizenship was taken away from them two years ago. The consul for Yugoslavia in Munich, too, is trying to persuade emigrés to return as "the life of the working man is far better at home than here". And the answers he receives everywhere? "We have waited so long, we can wait longer", or "Open the frontiers and you will see how the people cling to your paradise". Everybody is assured that his pass is valid for entering and leaving Yugoslavia, but everybody knows how much that is worth once he is in Tito's prison. The communists are meantime endeavouring to strengthen the army, now called the "Yugoslavian People's Army". Many new generals have been appointed, mostly men who saw service in the Spanish Civil War. Many "proletarian" units have been formed and new flags given them.

CZECHIA

THE MONOPOLY OF SOVIET SCIENCE

For some months all the scientific institutes of the C.S.R. have been being coordinated systematically in the

"Czechoslovakian - Soviet Institute". Scientific journals have ceased publication and have been replaced by new Soviet scientific publications of the new institute. The institute is divided into 15 sections: mathematics and physics, chemistry, biology and medicine, philosophy, history, the state and law, education and psychology, philology, political economy, engineering, agriculture, forestry, theatre and music.

BISHOPS CANNOT GO TO CONFESSION

All bishops in the C.S.R. are either imprisoned or so isolated that they cannot have intercourse either with colleagues or their flocks. They are under police supervision day and night. The Bishop of Olomouc, Msgr. Josef Matokha must even put up with having a policeman in his bedroom at nights. Nor are the bishops allowed to receive a confessor, so that they have not been able to confess for some time. The only exception is Msgr. Stephan Trokhta, Bishop of Litomerice, who was allowed to make confession in public and aloud in the presence of a policeman.

EASTERN GERMANY

"PEACE LAWS"

(I.W.E.) During the second half of 1951, about 450 persons were condemned under the Law for the Protection of Peace, actual sentences being kept secret. Except in a few cases, trials were held in camera. The prisoners were accused of instigating boycotts, spreading subversive propaganda, ridiculing the fight for peace, and agitation against institutions of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the People's Republics. In almost all trials the reports of the state security service and its evidence were accepted as "adequate proof". In only a few cases did denouncers give evidence at the trial.

NO COOPERATION

(I.W.E.) As the people refuse to cooperate, burgomeisters are overburdened with political tasks. The first Land secretary of the S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party Germany) declared at a meeting of the communist national front in Weimar (Thuringia) that many burgomeisters in the Land have to discharge ten or more functions in consequence of the indifference of the population.

He mentioned as an example the S.E.D. Burgomeister of the community of Fischbach who, besides being president of the local organization of the S.E.D., is also president of the following organizations: local Peace Committee, local Committee of the National Front, Society for Mutual Aid on Farms, Society for German-Soviet Friendship, M.A.S.-Committee, Correspondent of the S.E.D. paper President of the local F.D.J. group.

HUNGARY

NEW BATTALIONS OF CONVICT LABOURERS

Reports from Hungary state that new battalions of convict labourers have been formed for hard physical work. They are composed in the main of men who are politically unreliable.

There are said to be 15 of these battalions with a total strength of 8,000 to 10,000 men. They are collected in concentration camps under military supervision in the following places: Hódmezővásárhely, Mezőtúr, Kecskemét, Zahony, Abasar, Szolnok and Székesfehérvár.

The inmates of these camps wear old uniforms and the standard of food is not too low; they are not paid wages according to tariff, but receive army pay (19 cents per day), something being deducted for national defence funds. Their families are not allowed either to visit them or to send them parcels. Correspondence is allowed as a favour, to be withdrawn as a punitive measure. They work for 9 hours every weekday, but must "offer" to do unpaid honorary work on Sundays. These battalions also include many members of the communist party who have been "purged", and former political officers in the Hungarian People's army.

LATVIA

RESISTANCE STILL ACTIVE

American papers report an increase of illegal antibolshevist propaganda that is being spread in pamphlet form by the Latvian National Underground. In the Riga Institute for History, for instance, pamphlets were found disclosing communist distortions of Latvian history. The M.V.D. also discovered anti-communist pamphlets in various Riga factories, even in the hands of members of the communist youth organization in schools in Liepaya and Talsi. The pamphlets bore the heading: "Stalin is Hitler's Ally and Heir."

LITHUANIA

NEWS FROM LITHUANIA

Communists are preparing a "Catholic" congress for 1952 in support of the plan to found a national church.

Rector Bucas of Vilna University, a member of the Academy of Science, expressed his satisfaction at the news that Lithuanian scientists are to be given an opportunity to work in Kazakhstan and to improve the Lithuanian language by applying Stalin's methods.

Grand celebrations were arranged in Lithuania as elsewhere to mark the centenary of the birth of Gogol, the Ukrainian poet. The official announcement runs: "Gogol was a Russian, a bolshevist writer and a warm friend of Lithuania."

More and more timber is being taken from Lithuanian forests and sent to Russia.

RUMANIA

"INCREASED STABILITY AND DISCIPLINE ON THE LABOUR MARKET"

The People's Democracies are now, too, gradually encroaching on the liberty of the "free" labourer — in contrast to those confined in labour camps. This process has advanced most rapidly in Rumania where there are no powerful traditions of independent trade unions to overcome.

The new order issued by the Rumanian government to "increase stability and discipline in work and ensure an adequate supply of labour for production" in reality reduces the workers who were still free to the status of convict labourers; it prohibits labourers, employees, engineers and technicians in state or cooperative enterprises from leaving their place of work unless their contract has terminated or unless they produce a medical certificate that their health does not permit them to continue at their job. They cannot leave without the approval of the manager. If a worker goes away without permission, he will not be employed in any other state or cooperative enterprise — and there are no others except in the country.

Identity papers have been introduced to perfect the system of control. Thus no worker may choose his place of work.

According to the same Order, the State has the right to transfer workers by force from one place to another. Infringement of these measures is subject to heavy fines which may be imposed even on doctors who give certificates of illness without "due reason".

SLOVAKIA

CLEMENTIS' SHOW TRIAL

Dr. Rais, Minister of Justice in the Prague Government, declared to a conference of "People's Judges" that the "bourgeois nationalist", Clementis formerly Foreign Minister of the C.S.R. had schemed to separate Slovakia from the C.S. Republic. He had been influenced by conditions at the time when Slovakia was an independent republic; and his "friendly relations with treacherous exiles had forced him to adopt a nationalistic policy".

Clementis surely never dreamt that he would one day be liquidated by the communist regime for having taken certain of their phrases, such as "the right of self-determination" too literally. His awakening has come too late.

INCREASING PROLETARIANISATION

Since 1945 Slovakia has been in the throes of one economic crisis after another, though, in its spell of independence, its citizens were not only free, but enjoyed a standard of living that was high in contrast to the war-conditioned standard of other European peoples. The Red Army forced Slovakia to become part of Czechoslovakia

and to accept a communist regime. Its gold reserves were taken to Prague as the sole basis for the currency of Czechoslovakia. These reserves, valued at three and a half milliard Slovak crowns, were voluntarily formed after the foundation of the independent Republic of Slovakia, having been contributed by the people with enthusiasm. This transfer of gold was the first "act of liberation" in the province of economics after 1945. Since then the country has been plundered in a similar fashion repeatedly, but the communist dictators are not yet satisfied with the forced sovietization of Slovakia; its currency is to be devalued as from April 1, which will deprive the people of their last savings from better times.

RESISTANCE AGAINST COMMUNISM STILL STRONG

The communists have set up a high wooden pole with a red star at Malacky (South-West Slovakia). This, of course, was the occasion of the usual festival. After a few days, however, the soviet star was removed and has not yet been replaced. In spite of their efforts, the police have not been able to discover the miscreants.

SLOVENIA

PRIESTS BURNED AND MURDERED

On January 20, 1952 Dr. Vovk, Bishop of Lyublyana, was attacked at the station of Novo Mesto by a mob under the influence of communist agents. They poured petrol on him and set him on fire. He was severely burnt before being taken to a hospital. He had been condemned previously to a fine of 50,000 dinar for having spread religious literature. About the same time, another priest was murdered and a third maltreated.

Such events prove that the release of Archbishop Stepinac was merely a manoeuvre to trick the West. In reality, communists still persecute the church.

TURKISTAN

OSMAN BATUR'S HEROIC DEATH

According to reports from refugees who had fled to Pakistan and India during recent months, Osman Batur, along with some thousands of his soldiers, was killed fighting against soviet troops for the freedom of Turkistan in the summer of 1951. Since 1939 he, with about 12,000 Turkistani, had been cut off in the south of the province of Sinkiang where he had been putting up heroic resistance to the suppression of national and religious liberty in Turkistan. Fugitives report that only 700-800 members of Batur's forces succeeded in escaping over snow-covered passes on the Pamir plateau of Eastern Afghanistan; they are reorganizing their forces and will continue the struggle.

A report recently published by the "Miliy Turkistan" (National Turkistan), the organ of the National Turkistan Unity Committee, mentions the severe resistance put up by Osman Batur's partisans and the counter-measures taken by Soviet Russian troops:

"There were 120 fights this year, 227 assassinations were carried out — 29 by order of the government, 275 acts of sabotage, such as cutting telephone connections, etc. were committed. During the same time 530 firearms and 84 radio sets were seized by government troops."

The paper says that Osman Batur's death does not mean the end of resistance.

UKRAINE

APPEAL TO THE FREE WORLD

The headquarters of the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) have issued the following declaration:

"The leaders of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement once more point out that the entire Ukrainian people is fighting for the realization of its main aim, viz., the restoration of an independent, sovereign Ukraine; they believe that Ukraine, in its lonely battle will meet with the sympathy and political support of the free Western World. They hope, above all, that this support will be forthcoming for the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.)."

MAJOR POLTAVA'S NEW POST

P. Poltava, Major of the U.P.A. and chief of the education section in the General Staff of the U.P.A., and Chief editor of the "Information Bureau of the U.V.H.R.", its official underground organ, has been appointed second president in the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.V.H.R.).

Well-known as a Ukrainian underground journalist, Major Poltava is the writer of the letter to the State Department about the activity of the "Voice of America" (published in the A.B.N. Correspondence No. 4, 1951) and the author of the important publication "The Conception of an Independent Ukraine and Modern Trends in the World Today".

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An Appeal to Freedom-Loving Americans

Americans!

You are now faced with the greatest and most dangerous task that history has ever set before your people. Having become a leading power in the world, it is now your destiny to be confronted by an opponent who has at his disposal 200 million men and immeasurably wealthy territory extending for 11 million square miles. His man-power is still greater — 700 million men — as it includes the population of the states in his sphere of influence.

How are you going to master this task? We representatives of nations on the other side of the Iron Curtain, inspired by love of our people and friendship for yours, regard it as our solemn duty to proffer you this advice in your decisive hour:

You will be able to maintain your present position in the world only if God helps you to realize that there are hundreds of millions in the enemy camp who might become your most reliable allies.

Of the 700 million men in your enemy's camp, about 500 million belong to so-called satellite nations. They have been forced into the Soviet sphere by violence and deception.

Of the remaining 200 millions living in the Soviet Union itself, erroneously designated "Russians" by you, about 125 millions belong to non-Russian peoples. The Russians proper do not number more than 75 millions.

These 125 millions wish to escape from the enemy camp; they want to leave the Russian Imperium.

Under what conditions can those 625 million men become your friends? From our sincere conviction and knowledge of the situation, these conditions are:

- 1) The government of the American people must give the world a binding declaration that they —
 - a) recognize and aim at the restoration of the independence of all satellite peoples as states, in their ethnographic boundaries;
 - b) promote the restoration of political sovereignty to the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., i. e. to the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, the peoples of the Baltic States and the Caucasians, the Cossackians, Siberians and people of Idel-Ural.

Should your government pursue such a policy, we can assure you that the potential of your enemy will be reduced by hundreds of millions, and yours increased by as many.

There are American politicians who see that it is necessary to gain friends in the camp of the enemy, but they argue from the false assumption that the entire Russian imperium is inhabited by Russians only. They wish to win a following in the U.S.S.R. by abolishing communism while preserving the Russian imperium under democratic leadership. This is in the main the result of ignorance of the real situation in the Soviet Union: such politicians are unaware that they are thereby antagonizing 125 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R.

This policy has unfortunately been gaining ground recently; it is powerfully supported by the formation of a "Fund for the Liberation of the Russian People"

Americans!

Do not let yourselves be led astray! Do not court the favour of Russian imperialist at the cost of non-Russian nations! The Russian people has, of course, the right to be freed from Communism and to its own sovereignty, but only on its ethnic territory. The non-Russian areas of the U.S.S.R. must be restored to their lawful owners.

Americans!

You created the Marshall Plan, you took the initiative in the Four Point Program, you organized the Crusade for Freedom. We appeal to you to accomplish the greatest task of your generation, to win for the American people hundreds of millions of friends in the camp of your present enemy. Stand up for freedom in the satellite states for the sovereignty of all peoples within the U.S.S.R.

Support the Liberation Fund of the A.B.N.

March, 1952.

Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

Donations should be sent to:

Bayerische Creditbank, Account No. 10,707, Munich, Germany.

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Editorial

A Warning to the West

Worse than bolshevism

The fear of bolshevism in the West is worse than the evil itself. Indeed, the fear of bolshevist Russia is the West's most dangerous enemy, paralysing its will, driving it to compromise and preventing it from doing anything positive to put an end to Russian aggression.

"Fear has big eyes" is a Ukrainian proverb. The bolsheviks are only too familiar with the West's paralysing fear of Russia. It is systematically fed by Fifth Columns who spread rumours of the incomparable strength of the Soviet Union, its masses of fanatic soldiers, deadly Russian weapons, the omnipotence of the M.G.B.-M.W.D., etc. By means of such legends the bolsheviks hope to suggest invincible strength and thus paralyse the West's will to fight.

It is, of course, good if the West is mobilized by the danger threatening it. But if fear of this danger calls forth defeatism in the West, then it no longer benefits the West but the enemy. Though the West recognizes the danger of bolshevism, it does not take the necessary steps to meet it. Many Western politicians repudiate the policy of the strong hand because they are afraid of irritating or provoking Moscow. That is hiding one's head in the sand like an ostrich, or something worse; it is the policy of a man hypnotized by a boa-constrictor's venomous eye and unable to avert death.

It is high time that the West realized its chances of victory if it unites with the nations subjugated by Moscow. Such an alliance would make it not only superior to bolshevism, but invincible. Cooperation with the subjugated nations would also give the

West confidence in its strength that the free world needs, and must develop if it is to be victorious.

The real enemy

Just as in World War II the real enemy of the Allies was Germany only, but not the many countries occupied by Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway, Serbia, Greece, Poland, Czechia, etc., the present enemy of the West is Russia alone and not the non-Russian countries occupied by Russia, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Aserbaijan, North Caucasia, the Cossack Republic, Idel-Ural and Siberia, countries that declared their indepen-

dence in 1918/21 and had their own governments.

In the Soviet Union today, the Russians play the part of a **master people**, and it would be a great mistake to put them on the same level as the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and regard them as equally subjugated. It would be just as much a paradox to maintain that, for instance, the Germans under Hitler were just as much "subjugated" as the Poles in the Generalgouvernement during the last war.

No plans for world conquest are cherished either by the Ukrainians, the Bulgarians or any other non-Russian people under the dictatorship of Moscow. But the Russian people, which

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Why has Europe become so small?

By Dr. D. Donzow

Yesterday my friend, just returned from the East asked me:

Why has our free Europe become so small? In the XVIIIth century it extended beyond Ukraine. In the XIXth only to Memel and Pruth. And now Europe has its Eastern frontiers on the Elbe, in Vienna, and North Greece. Why has it become so small?

Because Russia has become so large.

But why is Russia driving the West back so irresistibly?

Do you know, why Islam's attack on the Continent was so irresistible?

No.

Because the Mohammedan had his Holy Book, the Coran and his Prophet Mahomet. And do you know, why the drive of the armies of Napoleon against free Europe was for so long irresistible?

In consequence of the war-genius of the Emperor?

No, because "Robespierre on horseback" was fighting under the sacred banner of the new Prophet, Rousseau and his Coran, the works of the French Encyclopaedists, the ideas of 1789.

I did not think of it like that.

Certainly not. And do you know, why for six years National-socialism in Germany was so irresistible?

Because of the unpreparedness of his enemies?

No. Because Hitler wished to conquer our Continent in the name of a new "Holy Book", "Mein Kampf", of which he was the Prophet.

And Russia?

Russia, too, found its "Holy Book" in the works of Karl Marx and his disciple Ulyanov-Lenin.

But you forget that all these "Prophets" were defeated by the United Nations of Europe!

All?

Certainly all! Napoleon — or if you will — Rousseau, was defeated at Waterloo in 1815 . . .

But in 1850, 1848, 1871 the ideas of 1789 conquered all the countries of the West.

And Hitler too, was crushed on the field of battle!

But the principle of his totalitarianism began to ravage the life of all West European democracies.

Perhaps, the principles of the Coran also?

No, not those. Why? Because at that time Europe also had its Holy Book, that of the Apostles. And in the name of this book, in the name of Christian ideals of society, the knights of Christian Europe crushed the Empire of Attila, and that of the Sarcenes, and later the Empire of the Turkish Sultans. "Hoc signo vincis!" — was not in that time an absurd motto.

And now?

Now a new red Mahomet is knocking at our door. But do you find today many Christians, who possess such vehement love for their faith and such a

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has always proclaimed its messianic mission, is still striving for world hegemony. If the West therefore, seeks to put up a defence against this aggression from Moscow, it must first be quite sure who its real enemy is, where he is, what his plans are, what his strength is, and on whose power he depends.

It would be tragic if the West were to swallow Russian bait and consider all the nations in the East as equally to blame for bolshevism. In reality bolshevism was put into the world by the Russians alone and is merely a continuation of the 500-year old Russian imperialism, as Dean Acheson, Secretary of State in the U.S.A., very rightly confirmed. It is not an "international clique", but solely the Russians that are responsible for bolshevism, a specifically Russian phenomenon, a system of world policy that is not even identical with marxism or communism.

Up till now, the Russian people has made no great attempt to destroy bolshevism. Why is there no resistance movement in Russia proper, no insurgents like the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) created by the Ukrainian people from its own resources? Why is there not a single sign of anti-bolshevist resistance in Russia, such as the U.P.A. in Ukraine, the Basmachi in Turkestan, the White Partisans in Slovakia and other fighting organisations in all the non-Russian countries under Moscow's occupation?

Natural allies

In organizing its fight, the West must be sure with whom and against whom it intends to fight. It must and can fight only in cooperation with the peoples subjugated by Russia, and against Russia. Another question to consider is what propaganda is called for if, in addition, diversion is to be created in the Russian people itself, i. e. in the enemy's ranks; and still another is to decide if the real enemy may be regarded as a potential friend and if the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union should be lumped together with the Russian people on the false assumption that they have a common fate.

A clear distinction must be made between oppressors and oppressed. This alone will permit a clear strategy of

battle and reveal where the real enemy is. The decisive blow against the heart of the enemy's power is always the most important part of wise strategy. The proper knowledge and use of allies widens the front of attack and opens new possibilities. Unwise strategy may lose the support of potential natural allies and drive them into the arms of the enemy, as Hitler did in his Eastern campaign.

The enemy in the East is, and will always be, Russia alone, in its ethnic frontiers, a fact Western strategy must always remember. In World War II, for instance, it never occurred to any of the Western Allies to fight against France, Belgium or Poland merely because these countries were occupied by Germany and might possibly be transformed into friends of that country. On the contrary, every normal person was certain that opposition to Germany in those countries had grown as a result of occupation. And the Allies quite properly did not fight against peoples under the power of Germany; they supported the resistance of De Gaulle in France, of Bor Komorowski in Poland, of General Mykhailovich in Serbia, etc. Similarly, the West today ought to support the organizations of resistance among peoples oppressed by Russia, if it wants to ensure victory over Russian world imperialism.

An absurd attitude

The attitude of present day Western politicians towards the peoples subjugated by Moscow is absurd. The Western Allies considered it quite natural for France or Holland in the years 1940-44 to desire liberation from the yoke of Germany and independence, and all their plans were based on this natural assumption. Why, then, do they not consider it equally natural that, for instance, Georgia or Ukraine or Turkestan should desire liberation from the Russian yoke and independence today?

Western politicians are putting up gigantic plans for Western defence and strategy. Anyone with the slightest idea of the national liberation movements among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and their potential is horrified at the thought of the methods employed by Western politicians against Russia.

And the solution is as simple as child's play. Treat our peoples as you did those of the countries occupied by Germany in the last war and you will not go wrong. That is all we ask of the West.

Untenable arguments

The answer will perhaps be: You want us to fight, not only against Russian imperialism, not only against bolshevism, but also against the Russian people as the instruments of bolshevism. And we maintain that you must have courage to look at the truth. The aim of the conflict must be victory

Against whom did the Allies fight in World War II? Only against national

socialism, or against Germany? And against whom in the first World War? Against the Kaiser, or against Germany? If the fight was against national socialism only, why the dismantling of industrial plants, why the demand for ethnographic German territory in the East and why the complete demilitarisation of Germany? Why has a central state been replaced by a federation? In putting those questions we do not wish to pronounce any judgement on the policy of the Allies towards Germany. We wish only to state facts and draw conclusions at a time when the world is threatened by a far greater enemy than Germany, namely Moscow. If such preventive measures seem called for against Germany, are they not far more justified against imperialist Russia?

The every existence of bolshevism which always was a more dangerous enemy than national socialism, and always lay on the watch, ought to have been sufficient reason for the Allies to treat Germany differently during and after the war. At any rate, no one can deny that in the Second World War, the Western Allies fought not only against national socialism but against Germany as a whole, just as Germany fought against France, and not merely against the Second or the Third Republic, and against Great Britain and not against the British monarchy.

An inexorable historical fact

In expressing these indisputable facts we do not want to advocate the extirpation of the Russian people or even their annihilation by atomic bombs in a future war. We merely wanted to show who is on the side of the West and who is not, in this historical conflict and to draw therefrom conclusions as to strategy. We wish to state unequivocally that a Third World War must attack not only bolshevism, but Russia, whereby we do not mean the entire territory of the Soviet Union, still less its sphere of influence and its satellites, but only the territory occupied by the Russian people.

But we should like to point out to Western politicians that the situation in Russia is quite different from that in all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R. which fact should greatly influence the strategy of the West.

As in World War II the propaganda meant for the German people was different from that for the French, Belgian, Dutch, or other people under Germany, the propaganda of the West today must vary according as it is directed to the peoples of non-Russian countries or only to the Russian people itself.

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

Why has Europe become so small?

Continued from Page 1

passionate hatred of Evil, as, for instance — in the "dark Middle ages"? Do you find to-day a sufficient number of Christians, who are as devoted to their Holy Book and its philosophy of life, as the Moslems to theirs or the Bolsheviks to the teaching of Marx? What banner could reassemble European Knighthood against a new Mahomet, so many of whose knights are not believers in Christ, but...

If that is so, all is lost?

No! But Europe needs new leaders! New Charles Martels, new Ducs de Bouillon and Richards, the saints and heroes. Only they will save Europe.

The Second Front

(Preparations, Consequences and Importance)

The West can gain a permanent victory over the U.S.S.R. only if a second front of the subjugated peoples can be erected behind the Iron Curtain throughout the entire country. If it does not coordinate and synchronize its actions with those of such a second front, the West will scarcely win any war against the bolsheviks.

Conditions for Formation of a Second Front

The first condition for this coordination is that the West should recognize without reserve the conception and the ideas of the subjugated peoples, i. e. the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. and the reconstruction of its various independent states, and that it should help the satellite states to recover their sovereignty; further, that the West should refrain from interfering directly in our internal affairs, but help us to build up our sovereign democratic national states.

To realize these aims it is essential:

a) to contact representatives of the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain, who have formed the A.B.N., to recognize them as entitled to speak for our subjugated peoples and to launch a great political and publicity campaign behind the Iron Curtain. In other words, the centre of coordination in the free nations would have to co-operate closely with the centre of coordination for the subjugated peoples, in order to organize campaigns and draw up plans of strategy, etc.

b) for the West to contact the coordination centre of military operations for the subjugated peoples, in order to draw up plans for common military and political campaigns.

Military and Political Strategy

The following points are important for military and political strategy:

a) In order to meet the bolshevist tactics of war on two fronts — aggression abroad and civil war at home — and bolshevist methods of involving the West in peripheral wars (Korea, China, etc.), the following strategy is indicated: first, the second front of all subjugated peoples should be consolidated by a proclamation by the West in support of their aims; secondly, an attack must be launched on Moscow, the bastion of bolshevism, and on the Russian ethnographic territory, in order to liquidate the hinterland of bolshevism.

Whenever the West attacks bolshevism in its stronghold, the subjugated peoples will be able to cope with the Russian occupation troops, provided they receive support from the West. If the strategy of the Allies is coordinated and synchronized with that of the subjugated peoples, it will be able to cut off Russian troops in central and western Europe from their bases by the formation of a front in their rear, i. e. in the Baltic states, Byelorussia,

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Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

*Yes, Russia is a Sphinx. Exulting, grieving
And sweating blood, she cannot sate
Her eyes that gaze and gaze and gaze
At you with stone-lipped love for you
and hate.*

Aleksander Blok (1880—1921)

I.

There is a general belief in the West that Russian bolshevism alone has been the originator of all the evil which now endangers the world. This is an erroneous belief. Russian bolshevism has not been a producer of anything new but a mere copyist of things existing in Russia long before it. It has been the outgrowth of Russian spirit and Russian history in much the same way as German nazism was the outgrowth of German spirit and German history. It is a difficult task to separate Russian bolshevism from traditional Russian imperialism, as it was impossible to separate German nazism from traditional Prussian militarism and German imperialism.

Bolshevism, the Outcome of Russian History

There is no doubt that Russian bolshevism has emanated from traditional Russian imperialism. Indeed, Secretary Adeson's recent statement that Stalin's imperialism is only a continuance of the 500 year old Muscovite imperialism is irrefutable. The roots of many Soviet actions and institutions can be sought and found in the events and developments of Russian history. There is a close affinity between the policies of Russian tsars in the White Kremlin and the policies of Russian commissars in the Red Kremlin, and their political methods are inseparably connected. In other words, today's Stalin's machinations are only the machinations of old "Mother Russia", disguised in Soviet proletarian garb and both constitute a very "holy" and "eternal", "one" and "indivisible" Russia.

Terrorism, a Traditional Policy

Accordingly, terror is nothing new in Russia; it is another Russian tradition of long standing. Four hundred years before Lenin and Stalin, the Russian tsar Ivan the Terrible had all his opponents rounded up by his famous Oprichnina — a model for the Soviet N.K.V.D. and banned them to northern tundras where "they had to repent their sins while the bitter cold froze the marrow of their bones". The earliest mention of torture in an official document is in his "Sudebnik" (1497) — the first code of Russian law ("Ruska Pravda" or the Rus law code, attributed to Grand-Prince Yaroslav the Sage of Kyiv (1019—1054) was the law code of the Ukrainians) and in his ordinance of 1556 there are elaborate regulations about torture which was used even as a means of enforcing payment of debts. Two hundred years later the Russian tsar Peter I. (for the

Russian imperialists he is "Great") executed his opponents publicly with his own hands and condemned many of them to exile on the shores of the Arctic Ocean; a fate which also befell his personal favorite and prime minister "Count" Menshikov, when the latter incurred the tsar's displeasure. Both these forerunners of Lenin and Stalin became famous by murdering their own sons. Ivan slew his son with his own hands while Peter signed the death warrant of his only son after having him forcibly "repatriated" from Italy. Do you wonder, dear reader, that both these forerunners of Stalin are the most beloved heroes of the Russian history as taught by all Russian imperialists, irrespective of color — red or white

"Secret Prikaz" — the successor of the Oprichnina in the 18th century and "okhranka" in the 19th century were one proof more that the most perfect of all systems of political police has been the Russian. The Russians would find it hard, if not impossible, to conceive of a society without secret police and so it has survived even the Russian Revolution as its terrorist methods have been legally sanctioned under the Soviets.

Lenin and Terrorism

It is true that the whole history of bolshevik domination of Russia is one of bloodshed. Since the very beginning of bolshevism in Russia, terror has been ruthlessly employed in order to annihilate all foes of the regime and to suppress all its adversaries so as to prevent the formation of any opposition. Many innocent people had to be destroyed for the Soviet regime to live. Lenin himself constantly demanded more blood. According to the teachings of this Father of Russian bolshevism as expressed by Lenin in his pamphlet "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" the "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" is "the power conquered by the proletariat and maintained by violence over the bourgeoisie" and is "the power unbound by laws". Revolution without terror was to Lenin not revolution at all. "The great bourgeois revolutionists of France of 125 years ago made their revolution great by the use of terror" wrote Lenin in September 1917 in the pamphlet "The threatening catastrophe and how to overcome it" and five months after he had secured power, he insisted upon the most resolute terrorist measures of the most brutal character. Consequently, Soviet terror became an essential feature of a regime and the All-Russian CHE-KA carried out Lenin's terrorist design on a scale unprecedented in history, and soon became a byword for terrorism throughout the civilized world.

But one method of terror was not enough for Lenin; he sought out severer methods of terrorization, methods which combined with terror would

transcend anything the world had previously known. "The guillotine only terrorized, it only broke down active resistance. But this is not enough for us. It is not enough to 'cow' the capitalists, in the sense that they should feel the might of the proletarian state and should forget about showing active resistance. We have to break down passive resistance which doubtlessly is the most hateful and dangerous one" insisted Lenin in his pamphlet "Peasants and Workers". And he found these methods not only in the degradation and cheapening of human personality and in the absolute disregard for human life, but also in the moral disintegration of his horde of followers, and the corrosion of the basic moral principles, without which men sink to a state below that of a brute, and which he attained by setting up brutalities, unprecedented sadism and old Russian torture-chambers. Having been guided in his moral actions by the principle of "the aim justifies the means" Lenin never showed himself over-scrupulous in choosing most foul methods of violence and terror.

In 1918, the All-Russian CHE-KA began to publish its organ "The Weekly of the CHE-KA". And it is in this "Communist organ" No. 3 of Oct. 6, 1918, that we find a document, immortal in its own right. The document is a "Letter to the Editor" sent by the bolsheviks of Nalinsk, the letter which was entitled "Why do you sentimentalize?" The letter read:

"Tell us why you did not subject this same Lockhart (British representative in Russia — O.M.) to the most refined torture in order to extort from him information and addresses which that fool certainly had in his possession? Tell us, how is it that instead of putting him to torture, the very description of which would strike terror into the heart of every counter-revolutionist, you permitted him to leave the CHE-KA greatly embarrassed? Let every British worker know that the official representative of his country is engaged in such dealings that he has to be put to torture to account for them..."

And below we find the Editor's remark: "We agree in principle". Thus, torture-chambers became an intrinsic part of the Russian terror system.

On Febr. 10, 1922, the All-Russian CHE-KA was abolished, having been reorganized into the G.P.U. (State Political Administration). But though the initials were changed, the methods remained unchanged; the G.P.U. continued the work of the CHE-KA as if nothing had really changed. The G.P.U. merely improved on CHE-KA methods and carried on where the CHE-KA had left off.

Names Change, Methods Remain

Lenin's death (1924) did not lead to any change in the policy of terror. The terror instruments were only perfected — the system of forced labor was introduced and it not only inspired fear but also gave economic

profits. Once again the name was changed, this time to N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for the Interior). Its chief, Beria expanded the N.K.V.D. beyond anything that had ever been known before. He organized special N.K.V.D. troops, with their own arms, artillery, and air force in order to quell any possible disorders in the interior. Just before Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R., the N.K.V.D. was divided into two separate commissariats — N.K.G.B. (People's Commissariat for State Security) and N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for the Interior). After World War II, they became "ministries" and now we have M.G.B. (Ministry for State Security) and M.V.D. (Ministry for the Interior), but all these changes of name brought about little change in the essence and practice of those institutions. The objective remained the same: ruthless suppression of everything opposed to the Russian bolshevik state.

Stalin's Terrorism

What distinguishes Stalin's terrorist policies from those of Lenin is the fact that he started, after some hesitation, to apply inside the party the terror policies which Lenin applied mercilessly against everyone outside the party. The first outbursts of Red terror struck counter-revolutionists, the participants in the national-liberation movements (Ukraine, Georgia, Cossackia, etc.), peasants who protested against the collection of grain, workers who took part in strikes, etc. Many were shot on charges of agitating against the confiscation of church property. The second wave of Red terror struck at the "wreckers" of industry and "sabotagists", at the time of N.E.P. (New Economic Policy). During the collectivization of agriculture, from 1929—34, some of the hardest blows of the Red terror were struck at the peasantry, much the largest class in the population. The artificial Soviet-made famine of 1932—1933, aiming simultaneously at destroying Ukrainian national consciousness and at the annihilation of the democratic small farmers, obliterated millions. President Kalinin, in a speech in 1933, referred to this wretched episode as follows: "The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some, this school was quite ruthless."

Then came the epoch of the annihilation of Old Bolsheviks. The victims assumed full guilt for every frame-up crime imputed to them. In accordance with the demands of the dictator, they heaped false accusations on one another. They publicly indulged in moral self-flagellation, glorifying the wisdom of the great genius of their hangman.

When Lady Astor, in company with Bernard Shaw and Lord Lothian, met Stalin in the summer of 1931, she blurted out the unconventional question: "How long are you going to continue killing people?" Stalin, possibly taken a little off his guard, shot back the retort: "As long as it is necessary." "One may wonder, how long it would be necessary to kill people. Stalin himself gave the answer to this

question at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1937. His statement was: "One must remember, and never forget, that so long as capitalist encirclement exists, there will be wreckers, diversionists, spies, and terrorists, scattered throughout the Soviet Union by the espionage services of foreign states; one must remember this and fight those comrades who undervalue the force and meaning of wrecking activities". And he demanded "revolutionary vigilance" and "ruthless suppression" of "the people's enemies" — a new term Stalin himself invented in his "constitution" of 1936.

It would be interesting to know who these "wreckers", "diversionists", "spies" and "terrorists" are at present — after some thirty years of "happy life" in the Soviet "paradise of the working classes". The "counter-revolutionists" of the "transition period of socialism" are no more; they been annihilated by the terror of the twenties. The "white guardists" of the civil war are no more; those who survived became Stalin's most humble servants as they were Russian imperialists too, and they preferred Stalin's Russian Empire to a dismembered Russia. The old bolsheviks with their ideal of a stateless, moneyless, truly egalitarian Utopia, animated by a kind of Christian ethic, prescribed and enforced by men who rejected the Christian faith, are no more. They have been annihilated by the new generation of Russian fascists who comprehended that old, eternal Russia could not be trimmed and snipped to fit the communist coat, but the communist coat had to be cut to the Russian measure. In the meantime, the Russian people have wholeheartedly embraced bolshevism. This is not at all surprising and, indeed, it would have been surprising had they not. The Russian people has been working up to it through centuries. It is something that the Russian understands, something that appeals to him. The top-ranking leaders in the Kremlin, the real rulers of today's Russia are the Russians; they are of the Russian people. And because they are of the people, they are the best men to rule the Russian people, as far as it is concerned.

Non-Russian Peoples are now the victims

Who then are the "people's enemies" at present? The only opponents to "Russian communism" at present are the oppressed non-Russian peoples who cannot compromise with Russian fascism striving at their total annihilation. We must not forget that the number of the oppressed peoples increased considerably in consequence of World War II. The old civilized nations of Central Europe have been included within the Soviet sphere since VE Day, thus becoming victims of ruthless Soviet imperialism. The frantic efforts of the Soviet government to bring its oppressed nationalities into complete subservience by means of purges and russification, its vast liquidations and persecutions now in full swing in Ukraine and other non-Rus-

Communism and the National Fight for Freedom

By N. Oleshko

We must not be surprised that the world should pay great attention to the 45-page pamphlet issued by the Chinese Communist Party on its thirteenth anniversary. We have already become accustomed to the desire of the West to see Titoism recurring everywhere, a desire so strong that it regards that system merely as a force antagonistic to Moscow, practically ignoring its communist contents.

Two Different Views

Everyone remembers that there was a time when this view played an important part in a policy of enthusiasm for the Chinese Communists. The advocates of this policy naturally are anxious to find their hopes confirmed in the pamphlet we have mentioned. They note, for instance, that Stalin's name no longer occurs in China in the list of leading communists, which we readily admit might be a significant symptom. More interesting, however, is the fact that both sides set their hopes on the development of nationalism.

For Moscow, nationalism is the foundation of its plans for seizing power and spreading bolshevism throughout the world. The West, on the other hand, regards it as a power that will eventually split the communist camp. In an article entitled: "Crisis in the Colonial System Comes to a Head" (Academy of Science, U.S.S.R., 1939) E. Zhukov writes as follows: "The main task of colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for liberty is concerned (1) with their liberation from imperialist tyranny, and (2) with carrying out agrarian reform. These aims are common to all colonial countries and their national struggle for liberty."

If we ponder the matter, we come to the conclusion that both sides are right.

The national consciousness which is awakening among colonial peoples gives Bolsheviks an opportunity of combining the national fight for liberty to be waged by colonial peoples with the struggle to reform social conditions, above all with the struggle to destroy the last remnants of feudalism in agriculture.

Thus the national fight for liberty contains another movement, an internal movement making for civil war, and the fight for power which is the communists' main aim.

Vital Differences

The difference between these two views is not so much that the one is aggressive and the other rather defensive. Much more vital is the fact that the West regards national movements for freedom from the point of view of present-day policy, while Moscow plans for the future. We may maintain that it is one of the fundamental principles of communism to foster national movements in colonial countries in the manner we have indicated above.

Capitalism will not collapse, as communists first thought, as a result of proletarian revolutions or of wars between capitalist powers, but in consequence of being cut off from colonies and of the rise of communism in those colonies. *Astafiev* ("From Colony to People's Democracy", Moscow, 1949) writes: "The struggle for liberty among subjugated peoples, which is undermining the strength of international imperialism, is a stage in the general struggle of democracy under

the leadership of a great socialist state with whose help alone it can be successfully concluded."

Nationalism, a Stage on the Way to Bolshevism

Zhdanov ("On the International Situation", "Pravda", 22. 1. 1947) also designates national movements as a stage in the general struggle between communism and capitalism: "Increasing threats to colonial systems as a result of the Second World War became apparent as national movements for freedom grew in colonies and dependent states. This section of the capitalist system was thus endangered." National movements for liberation are therefore regarded by bolsheviks as the first stage in the communist revolution.

We are compelled to inquire further into the rôle of nationalist movements in the structure of Communism, seeing that they aim at securing the support of the entire people, while the Communist revolution always emphasizes social differences and the supremacy of one class. Communist logic is able to unite such contrasting principles as the unity aimed at by national movements and the hegemony that obtains in a Communist state, for it argues that "the national bourgeois class is revolutionary at a certain stage" (*Astafiev*) and "the national factor in the struggle for liberation is a factor of revolution" (*Stalin*).

From the National to the Soviet State

For Stalin, the stages in national revolution are: "First stage: bourgeoisie fights on a united front against imperialism — second

Continued on Page 6

sian countries of Soviet empire, — all point to a feverish concern of Moscow over its empire. The blade of Russian terror is directed now against the non-Russian peoples of the empire.

Today, there is no doubt that Stalin is waging a genocide of great dimensions against the oppressed non-Russian peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and Northern and Central Asia in the name of the superior Russian master-race. Today, genocide, the calculated race-murder of entire nations, ranks first among the methods of Russian terror. Millions of Balts, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Tatars, etc. are being murdered simply because they are Balts, etc. In many ways these genocidal practices of Russian imperialists surpass all the indignities forced upon subjugated peoples in the darkest corners of the world.

Genocide in Russian History

Genocide is an old Russian specialty which had often been practised by Russian rulers — tsars and commissars alike. Here are some facts. In 1169, Prince Andrey Bogolubsky of Suzdal (then capital of Muscovy-Russia) sacked

the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv. His soldiers ruined Kyiv, murdering its population including women and children, taking everything of value and deporting many to Suzdal. Tsar Ivan the Terrible upon taking the city of Polotzk in 1563, gave the local Jews a choice between submitting to baptism or being drowned. The chronicles talk of some 20,000 Jews being put to death. The same tsar, in spite of the unconditional surrender of the "Great Lord Novgorod" in 1570, ordered the population to be murdered, drowned or deported. In the 17th century, the Russian tsar used genocidal practices as a means of subordinating the Old Believers ("raskolniki") the most important sectarians in the Russian Orthodox Church. Many of them were burnt alive. In the 18th century, Tsar Peter I. ordered the murder of the whole population, including women and children, of Baturyn, the capital of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1708) — ally of Charles XII of Sweden. Catherine II. ordered ten thousands of Crimean Tatars to be expelled and drowned in the Black Sea (1783). Marshal Suvorov, exterminated the population of the Warsaw suburb Praga in

1796, suppressing the desperate efforts of Polish patriots under Kosciuszko to recover national independence. The methods of Tsar Nicholas I in exterminating the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Catholics (Uniates), or suppressing Shamil's Caucasian insurgents in the 19th century, as well as notorious Jewish pogroms (1871, 1881, 1891, 1906, 1912, etc.) followed the traditional Russian patterns of racial murder.

Stalin's wholesale murder of Volga-Germans in 1941, of Chechenes, Ingushes, Karachays, Balkars, Crimean Tatars and Kalmyks in 1944—1946, show that the list of these genocidal practices is endless, as endless as the tragedy of the people doomed to live in the Russian empire. It shows us that Russia of yesterday and today is a sick nation, like a psychopath who must kill someone for the sake of killing. Russia to-day is a 300 million conglomerate of many nationalities, fused together into one empire by aggressive Russian imperialism. But these nationalities are in open antagonism to the Russian master-race and, therefore, these nationalities are the chief victims of the Russian genocide of our days.

To be continued in the next issue

stage: internal dissension — third stage: sovietization."

In order to secure the transition from the first stage to the second, i. e. to internal dissension, it is essential that the leadership of national movements should be in the hands of communists. Why? Because internal dissension must be inseparably connected with the transference of power to the working-classes and the Communist party as the leading power in the national struggle for liberation. For "the national struggle for liberation in colonial and dependent states where the working classes (i. e. the communists) direct the struggle will become a struggle for a people's democracy". (E. Zhukov.)

"The system of a people's democracy is not constant, not lasting. As such a system exercises the functions of proletarian dictatorship, it greatly furthers socialist elements, not it is true, all at once, but gradually and by a cruel class-war." (Astafiev.) This, then, is the latest bolshevist view of a communist world revolution developed from national struggles for liberation, as may be proved from their recent publications.

The Danger Point

This view contains one critical moment, namely the "transition to internal dissension" and the "transference of the struggle from the national sphere to that of a world revolution" — in accordance with Moscow's plans. That is why it is easy to understand the argument of Western politicians that the first stage is followed by a collapse or some form of "Titoism".

Bolshevism in Europe and the Far East

But there is an error in this reasoning which confounds all Western hopes. For bolshevism in Europe and bolshevism in the Far East are different. Bolsheviks themselves declare that people's democracies in the East differ from those in the West (European satellite states) because the former countries are more primitive. So they do not pursue their policy of establishing a complete hegemony there; on the contrary, they intend to retain some of the old social classes, in order to secure for themselves the sympathy of tradesmen, small shopkeepers and businessmen, and above all of the peasant population.

"Neither the existence nor the development of small and medium capitalist elements is a danger. Nor are the independent peasants who remain after agrarian reform and who can scarcely be eliminated." (Mao Tse Tung: "The present situation and our tasks", 1948.) Mao emphasizes that it is possible to carry out agrarian reform only "with the peasants, condemns as reactionary a policy of equalization, and regards it as essential to support peasants after the land has been divided up." He also stresses "the necessity for small private trade enterprises, businesses and concerns with moderate private capital to the structure of society" (Lecture, 25. 12, 1947). It is obvious, therefore, that the social structure aimed at by the Bolsheviks after seizing power in the countries of the Far East is similar to that in the U.S.S.R. under the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.).

It is not for nothing that a dictum of Stalin's from one of his early writings on the subject of national revolutions and the social program is often quoted again: "In

A "Soldiers' Lot" in a People's Democracy

Authentic Report

... Two soldiers from a People's Democracy were among recent arrivals at the Salzburg refugee camp, one of Europe's most "popular hotels". They escaped through the iron curtain from Hungary and are still wearing their uniform, though without insignia. The cloth is green, the cut Russian.

"Our escape", one of them said, "was not particularly exciting. Some time ago we were detailed for service on the Western frontier. As I worked in the office, I knew how the roads were patrolled in the night. We simply walked over."

Their account of life in the army is the first factual report we have received about the People's Democracy in the throes of armament.

Preparations for war are proceeding in Hungary at lightning speed. In addition to the men whose turn it is to be called up, there are masses of new recruits. There are also many volunteers who are accepted, no matter what their age is. In Raab (Gyor), for instance, an infantry soldier recently celebrated his fifteenth birthday.

Women in the Ranks

The number of female recruits is steadily increasing. They are mostly girls up to the age of 35 who are recruited from various factories by the communist party. Those who have illegitimate children must hand them over to special children's homes, for which they are paid 1000—5000 gulden, the minimum sum for a sickly girl and the maximum for a healthy boy. They must, however, renounce all their maternal rights. Women soldiers receive the same training as men. When on duty, they wear trousers, and otherwise a soldier's coat over a skirt.

Political Training

Communist theory is one of the main subjects of the soldier's training. Every

any case, capitalist countries must not sever their connection or their trade contracts with countries where the new economic policy has been introduced under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In contrast with circumstances in European countries under bolshevism, the danger point when national struggle develops into internal dissension is prepared for by a N.E.P. period when the national revolution is artificially prolonged. That is why "Titoism" is impossible in the Far East, at least there is little hope of any such movement with a common front against Moscow. It is true that the N.E.P. system conceals another threat to communism that must not be overlooked. But this must not blind us to the fact that communists know where they are with national revolutions, and have incorporated them in their idea of world revolution. The West, on the other hand, has not adjusted its policy to these national movements. It is ignorant of their revolutionary tendency and does not understand them when they take place within an Empire.

unit, from a platoon of 10—12 soldiers up to a division, has its own political officer. He has no active duties, but is responsible for the theoretical training and also plays an important part in planning the military training of his unit. A commander's orders for the day, for instance, are not valid unless they have been approved and signed by the political officer of the battalion.

Political instruction is given from 8—10 every morning. All must appear: men on the sick list are not allowed to go to the doctor till after 10. The teaching itself is quite mechanical. The political officer takes groups in turn and starts off with a lecture. One speaks about the plague of imperialism, another of "ten blows by Stalin", by which he "has won peace for all peoples". Other subjects are: Tito's fascism, the disgrace of the Kulak, marxist theory, the church's treason, etc. Then questions are put on the previous day's lectures and the soldiers' notes are inspected. Too many notes indicates bluff, and too few, laziness, both of which are severely punished. Then the group proceeds to the next officer, and the machine continues.

The Aim of the People's Army

The aim of the People's Army is explained thus: it must become increasingly strong in the service of peace. Its most important task is to protect the country from attack by imperialists. It may happen that it is necessary to carry this out in foreign countries, "should the defence of peace and the liberation of peace-loving neighbours so require". Peace must be saved at all costs; this is the supreme law of the People's army.

The Common Round

The day is devoted to military training. It is very severe, being based on imitation of the Soviet army — "You must copy the Soviet soldier, the best in the world. Like him, you must overcome every physical obstacle". No corporal punishment is meted out during drill (e. g. for lying down during forced quick marches, etc., which is strictly forbidden for officers).

In the afternoon, the orders of the day are read out and political training continued, either in the circle of "Friends of the Szabad Nep" (the official daily paper), or in the "Society of Democratic Youth", of which every soldier must be a member, though it is a civilian organization.

In the first case, an article is read aloud and discussed. The meetings usually last 2 hours and severe penalties are inflicted on anyone who does not take part. The smallest and most frequent penalty is for falling asleep during the meeting and it consists of standing on one leg for the rest of the time. The day ends with supper and a tattoo.

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They shall not Pass . . .

By Edith Hyder

Editorial Note: Mrs. Edith Hyder, well known in Canada as a writer and broadcaster, became a warm champion of the peoples subjugated by Moscow after she had studied their past history and their present struggles. Recently she has broadcast a political commentary from the Canadian W.H.L.D. Station, Niagara Falls, as part of the weekly program edited by the "League for the Liberation of Ukraine". We reproduce her broadcast with a few insignificant cuts.

For as Somerset Maugham the fine English author wrote — "if a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is, that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too". Somehow I believe the wisdom in both these utterances fits into this solemn hour (like the missing parts of a jigsaw puzzle) and if we place those thoughts right, the picture of today lies clearly revealed and what we must do to perfect it. As we remember so many things today which have gone before, there are other human forces we must never forget. First, the countless thousands from the new red-subjugated countries, who have either lost their lives, murdered by red robots acting for Stalin, or who are in terrible, deadly slavery, separated from their country, homes, loved ones and any kind of human comfort or need. Working as I have been (my life closely bound up with folk called displaced people) I know too well the actual hell of enforced red slavery and what it has done to many fine peoples and countries alike. I know the story of complete Baltic purgatory, all accomplished by a red technicality! I know the agony of crucified Poland, of the silent Czechs and Slovaks, of Hungarians, Serbians and Croats and many others. And I know (full well) the story of the unconquerable

Ukraine! Of beautiful, fruitful, colourful Ukraine, which for centuries, as well as today has resisted the cruel impositions of would-be dictator-conquerors shedding its red blood in rivers; trying to remain free and a nation!

So then as we in this free hemisphere (from Canada, Lady of the Snows in the Northland to the great United States of America, Atlantic- and Pacific-bound to the Gulf of Mexico) let us also not forget to remember those, who by their acts in travail-torn Europe have said: "They shall not pass! By their sacrifice (some even daily) they have made it possible for us to live — just so much longer in what we like to call Peace".

. . . America has never tolerated slavery! America has meant freedom at its best! America has given promises! I know while slavery of the Iron Curtain-type exists in this world, "they will not sleep in Flanders Fields" — nor will we here at home! Canadians, too, are awakening to the knowledge that while half the world is enslaved, in fear, afraid to worship God, the world we know cannot long remain untouched, unscarred! And they too now gear to do their part, whenever the hour strikes. While we think of all these things, let us remember yet another great force, perhaps the world's last hope as it could be called, — that force composed of the people, who yet

resist behind the Iron Curtains of Europe, especially. They are there — great groups of them, waiting, praying, watching for the first, great chance to strike back! Stalin knows how Ukrainians feel about this, but perhaps he does not quite know the size of a world force which is steadily being organized against his regime and world-plan for domination. This force is known as the Antiboldshevik Bloc (A.B.N.). In it are representatives of twenty-four nations, formerly independent (some charter members of the old League of Nations) and their set objective (even if it takes a hundred years) is — **freedom for nations, freedom for individuals!** This is not a dream, an idea, a small nucleus group, but is a growing reality. And hourly the A.B.N. members become Legion. In Ukraine tens of thousands of Ukrainian partisans fought for freedom against Hitler (who wanted the wealth of Ukraine and the thrift and cleverness of the Ukrainians to add to his Nazi-State) and then they fought Stalin's.

We must remember that Soviet, Marxist Communism is not the belief of the major number of the people in Russia nor in red-subjugated countries. Out of 193,000,000 some 3 1/2% of these are Soviet bureaucrats (the privileged) and the remaining number 96 1/2% are really state slaves or serfs. Some of them know nothing of our kind of world, many do and someday will come the full awakening! When this happens (and we must bring it to pass) Red Oppressors will know the meaning of a liquidation!

As this is a day of remembrance, let us remember (as well as our gallant dead) that there are people within the orbit of Soviet influence, who will help us bring a real and lasting peace to this wartorn old universe, if we awaken to this fact and do something about it. The voice of the people can be heard (in a democracy) and their diplomats act accordingly. We must

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Food is very good. Breakfast: half a liter of coffee with milk, bread with cheese or sausage. Midday meal: soup followed by meat and vegetables. Supper: a savoury. Equipment is also excellent. A recruit receives two winter and two summer uniforms, two pairs of boots and underwear and soap, everything brand-new. Weapons, on the other hand, from pistols to big guns, are all of Russian origin and date from the last war. It was only recently that the People's Army got its first unused machine-guns, which were delivered with Russian inscriptions.

Demands on the Purse

The army has to pay the same dues as the civilian population. Methods of systematically relieving people of their wages in People's Democracies are well-known (from loans to "relief for Greek children", from "Korean funds to forced savings). For a few days before each appeal, the food is better, afterwards quality sinks again.

Leading from Behind

In tactics, the Soviet example is followed, according to which the officers of all units and the political officer pushes on the unit from behind. The theory behind this procedure is: "If any operation demands the sacrifice either of one officer or fifteen men, what should be done? The fifteen men must be sacrificed, as the officer is of more value."

And this theory goes still further. One of the refugees mentioned above related that he had been on duty for a whole night along with a comrade and a military bloodhound; at midday they were ordered to do the same service, and naturally wanted to take the bloodhound with them. Their sergeant, however, remarked: "The dog stays here. He worked all night . . ."

Class Distinctions

Officers are now drawn from the lowest classes of labourers and peasants. No ex-regular officers are employed, even if they are enthusiastic members of the Party. Promotion depends altogether on the Party, or on the

political opinion of the officer whose concern it is. There is, for instance a captain of 19!

Old class distinctions have been reversed. Members of the middle classes may in rare cases become non-commissioned officers, but never anything higher (Our two refugees had to wash out the dormitory and the classroom because they alone had graduated from a secondary school).

Military Music

All old soldiers' songs are forbidden and new ones have been introduced. The melodies are mostly Russian, but one was very popular in Austria after Hitler took over the government.

And the words? A typical chorus begins: "Imperialists would like to destroy us. But Truman, Bevin and Tito will be hanged by us."

. . . These refugees from the Hungarian People's Army are glad to be free men again, and to have work. They are very thankful that the latest order whereby a deserter's family is put into a concentration camp, is not retrospective . . .

The Political Situation in Slovakia

By our own Correspondent

In judging of the political situation in Slovakia, we must bear that small country's geopolitical position in mind. It is wedged between countries that are either soviet territory (Soviet Union) or soviet satellites (Poland, Hungary, Czechia), or under the control of the soviets (Russian zone in Austria), and completely isolated from the West. This explains why so few Slovaks succeed in escaping west.

It is all the more remarkable that the people of Slovakia, after six years, should still persist in rejecting both the communist system and the structure of the Czechoslovak government.

Outwardly Communist

Communist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia has now reached a stage similar to that in other satellite states. Its outward signs are propaganda, political terrorism, collective farming, soviet Russian standards in work and Stakhanow methods in industry, shortage of consumer-goods, forced labour camps, and all the other features of life behind the Iron Curtain.

The Internal Situation

But what distinguishes the internal situation in Slovakia from that in other satellite states is the complicated problem of the independence which the Slovak people claims for its own country. Of the people, 90% are opposed not only to communism in theory and practice, but also to the artificial structure of what is known as Czechoslovakia. The Slovaks desire both a change of regime and liberty and independence for their own state.

After both World Wars the Slovaks were compelled to live in Czechoslovakia, and in both periods Slovakia's economy was exploited and its culture oppressed. We can understand their desire for liberty and independence when we compare the bitter facts of their "cooperation" with the Czechs with their prosperity, their social and cultural progress during the six years of the Slovak Republic. This desire is strengthened by the love of liberty and independence.

The Church in Slovakia

The strong religious sentiments of the Slovak people is decisive for its rejection of communism. The Catholic Church in Slovakia has put many obstacles in the way of the communist conquest of the people's spirit. The mass of the people reveres the priests who are loyal to the Vatican. The communist party and the state, therefore, make great efforts to degrade the priest's profession, and to bribe its unworthy members to serve the state and, by distributing favours, to set them up against priests who are loyal to Rome. But the people themselves have no respect for priests who have been ex-communicated and taken under the protection of the communist regime. Conservative country people, up-to-date town dwellers and workmen disappointed in communism, all show a positive attitude to Christianity.

Activities of Slovaks in Exile

With the exception of a small communist minority, the Slovak people supports the program and the activities of the Slovak Liberation Committee in exile. It expects that the efforts of the Committee under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Durcansky, formerly Foreign

know that the U.S.S.R. (now so-called World Enemy No. 1) is (in reality) a conglomeration of many subjugated nationalities, held together by a red police force. These people live in the hope that this totalitarian hegemony will be overthrown, the terms of the Atlantic Charter be put into force and so their rightful independence regained. Here in this knowledge we have the assurance of a great potential army of human beings, which if helped will tear to shreds the Muscovite Empire in a day not too far away.

And so, we as people must watch carefully all that transpires at the meeting of the General Assembly of United Nations in Paris and also the outcome results. Too much belief in any move by the Soviet (now for peace), may sign the world's death warrant, this at a deferred date.

The first step we can take (as we pick up the torch flung to us by our dead) is the one to help form all freedom-loving people (everywhere) into a common Anti-Bolshevik Bloc. Our duty can be to disseminate all correct information concerning the acts of communism, its results, and especially its failings. Too many believe

on this continent in the Export Brand of Soviet Socialistic Communism. Export it is, for in Red Russia, what is good for the people is the last consideration.

We have had too little to say about this way of life which has brought us so much. We have lacked courage to talk about the good a decently run democracy can bring to individuals. We do not lack the power to wage war but we have lacked the energy, understanding and wisdom to wage counter-propaganda warfare. And thus it is so many people of the world know little of our truths, and all the untruths about us thro' insidious, overrolling Soviet "anti-democracy" propaganda.

The sword of liberty can be two-edged. One side, to draw blood, the other, to cut thro' red propaganda webs.

If we leave the latter long in its sheath, the cutting edge will have to be used! We need the sympathies, the understanding of enslaved people and to step-up world-wide propaganda, so to get in behind the iron curtains, to inspire and keep the spirit of counter-revolution alive in subjugated nations, that is our job, today!

Minister of Slovakia will save the country and free it from Moscow and Prague.

Underground Movement

The people shows its resistance mainly by sabotaging projects, distributing illegal literature, publishing posters with messages of resistance, helping political persecutees and supporting their families. In addition, the group known as **Slovak White Partisans** has been conducting guerilla warfare in various mountainous and forest areas.

The Slovak Partisan movement has the same political ideas as the Slovak Liberation Committee and fights constantly for a democratic, free Slovak republic. It receives neither material nor moral support from the West and depends entirely on the resources of the Slovak people. Its strength varies, amounting at present to 15,000. It is active chiefly in Central Slovakia.

There are many people who are forced to flee into the forests, form small groups there and fight desperately against bolsheviks. There are, for instance, those who have escaped from communist prison and concentration camps, or who are threatened because of their convictions by death, imprisonment, deportation or forced labour.

Indifference of the West

The Slovak people is bitterly disappointed at the indifference of the Western democratic world to its struggle for liberation. They are depressed above all by the broadcasts from the "Free Europa" station; they are in Slovakian and cling to the structure of Czechoslovakia, completely ignoring the Slovak people's right to self-determination. The anti-communist population finds it hard to understand why America pays politicians to broadcast, who collaborated with Benes and his clique and thus helped communism to victory in Slovakia.

The desire for a state of its own is so deeply rooted in Slovakia that it is manifest even among the communist minority, though there different from the aim of the anti-communist populace. Independence was on the official program of Slovak communists at first, but, as Moscow has decided for union with the Czechs, it is now rigorously suppressed as "national communism". The purge, which is still being conducted in the communist party, intended to get rid of "bourgeois nationalists", such as Clementis, Husaks, Novomesky etc. who themselves destroyed hundreds of Slovak anti-communists.

Apology

In the No. 12, 1951, of "A.B.N.-Correspondence", one error unfortunately crept into the text of the article "Alliances Between Russian and the West" which distorted the sense. We apologise to the author and our readers.

Page 9, col. 5, line 16 should read "The age of chivalry is gone", not "The age of children" etc. The Editors.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

"INDUSTRIALIZATION"

According to communications in the Soviet press, a number of industrial concerns have started work in Albania in recent times — a textile combine, called "Stalin", a hydro-electric plant called "Lenin", a sugar combine called "Malik" and others. Soviet machinery is installed in Albanian factories. Moscow is speeding up the process of incorporating the satellite states in the Soviet Union.

BULGARIA

NEW HYDRO-ELECTRIC WORKS

The bolsheviks must industrialize the countries subjugated by them quickly in the interest of their war machine, if they want to carry out their plans of world conquest. In order to increase their economic or war potential, they are industrializing all their satellite states, using the familiar methods of forced labour, concentration camps, etc. New water-power plants are being built in Bulgaria to supply power for plants in that country that are to work for the Soviet Army. Thus, a gigantic dam is being built on the River Isker with a capacity of 670 million cubic meters. The water is to drive the turbines of three hydro-electric works plants that are now being built and produce 56,000 kilowatts. New power plants have already been built in the Danube valley, the Rila Mountains and a new thermal electric plant in Dimitrograd.

In 1944 the total electricity produced in the country amounted to 507 million kilowatts, the plant, "Republika", now

in process of construction, will alone produce 450 million kilowatts a year. The "Lenin" Square in Sofia is being widened in order to make room for a statue to Lenin.

BYELORUSSIA

MOSCOW'S PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The "Pravda" of December 20, 1951 contained a long article dealing with the achievements of the communist party in Byelorussia in the province of propaganda. We reproduce a few extracts:

"The Historical Institute of the party affiliated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Byelorussia and the State Publishing Concern in the Republic have published along with Lenin's work, thirteen volumes by Stalin in Byelorussian." "During the year party organisations have devoted particular attention to raising the niveau of political training in all party agencies . . ."

"An army of agitators, consisting of more than 180,000 people, members and non-members of the party, have accomplished much by way of enlightening the masses and making them familiar with the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin."

"The Institute of Philology is at present finishing preparations for publishing a Russian-Byelorussian and Byelorussian-Russian dictionary with 80-85 thousand words. The Institute of Philology in the Academy of Science of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic organized an extensive discussion of the project of reforming Byelorussian spelling.

There is still much to be desired in the work done by the Academy of Science, the secondary schools and scientific in-

stitutes. The party organizations at the colleges, scientific institutes have not succeeded in bringing subjects forward for systematic discussion at meetings of the party offices and of the communist party dealing with things like the quality of teaching political science, plans for scientific research, etc. In a number of colleges and scientific institutes there is little frank criticism and self-criticism, which is an obstacle to the progress of scientific research and teaching in general. The central committee of the communist party in Byelorussia has disclosed such shortcomings in the work done by the Institute of Philosophy and Law in the Academy of Science of the Byelorussian Republic. In discussing scientific works, there was very little fundamental criticism or constructive discussion and the staff of the Institute praised each other, which resulted in the recommendation of poor works for publication."

"It is essential in the interests of a progressive Byelorussian art that the committee for art questions in the Cabinet should devote more attention to the difficulties of the Republic." (This committee is in Moscow and the "Pravda" here demands that the Russians should interfere more in questions dealing with art in Byelorussia. — Ed.)

In accordance with the historical ordinances of the central committee of the communist party in the Soviet Union and with Comrade Stalin's instructions in the field of propaganda, party organisations are stepping up their program among the working classes of Byelorussia and attacking capitalism as an idea and the revival of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism."

COSSACKIA

FAILURE TO REACH TARGETS

In its leading article on December 25, 1951, the "Izvestiya" complains that for years the plans to train drivers of tractors and other agricultural machinery in the districts round Rostov and Stalingrad have not been fulfilled. Owing to a shortage of trained technicians, machinery centres in these areas have been left standing full, even at seed-time and harvest. As a result, the targets set by the State, have not been reached. Even now, in spite of frequent appeals to the people to support the courses of training drivers of agricultural machines, only 1327 men have reported, although 7605 trainees are required.

Three days previously (December 22) the "Pravda" criticized conditions in machinery centres. It seems that machines are so stupidly set up that they have to be sent back to the centre as soon as they arrive at their destination.

Signals of alarm have already been given in the soviet press lest targets during the seed-time of 1952 should not be reached in consequence of shortcomings in machinery centres.

The Second Front

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Ukraine, Turkestan, Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, etc. the Allied fleets giving support from the Black Sea.

b) Logical conclusions must be drawn from the fact that the Soviet army is composed of soldiers of different nationalities. Bolshevik armies in the Far East, for instance, are largely composed of members of subjugated nations. We should even now launch an ideological attack by broadcasting, and it should be possible for us to spread messages throughout the Soviet Union and its satellite states by means of pamphlets, thus closing the grip of psychological warfare round the U.S.S.R. In bolshevik divisions, not far from the Korean theatre of war, there are freedom-loving Turkestanians, Byelo-

rusians, Tartars, Georgians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, men from Idel-Ural, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and other anti-bolsheviks. Secret stations in Japan, Australia, Western Germany, Turkey and elsewhere ought to speak to the subjugated nations in our name. But the speakers must not be "stickit" exiled politicians of the past, who are regarded by our peoples with irony and contempt, but uncompromising anti-bolshevik champions of freedom, who appeal to our peoples in the name of their organizations and movements and from the stronghold of the A.B.N.

Coordination Essential

To sum up, victory over bolshevik world aggression and imperialist Moscow will be assured only if the plans of the free world of the West can be coordinated with the will and political aims of our peoples.

"A HAPPY LIFE"

The "Pravda" of December 13, 1951 contains an article by I. Boyzov, the secretary of the district committee of the communist party. He tries to prove that the life of workers on colchoses is steadily improving, but his examples must convince readers of the contrary. Boyzov tells about the colchoso called Stalin, in the district of Nowo-Alexandrovsk, one of the largest in the country, with 1,540 families and a total of 9,950 persons. According to him, the workers on this kolkhose received unprecedently high wages in 1951 — 4 kilograms of grain and 3 roubles 25 copecks for every working day. (In the Soviet Union 1 kilo of white bread costs 4 roubles, 25 copecks and the kolkhose workers get 27 copecks from the state for the 4 kilograms of grain the produce.)

Boyzov gives the following statistics which he presents as proof of great success: at the end of 1951, the kolkhose in question had 1,950 cows and ozen (1 for every 4 persons), 6,510 sheep (about half a sheep per person) and 2,198 pigs (1 for every four persons).

When we bear in mind that Soviet statistics are very often cooked and that the Stalin kolkhose is a model collective farm, we can imagine what actual life in the other kolkhoses is like.

CROATIA

PLAYING ON A VULCANO

Dr. A. Stepinac, Primate of Croatia and Archbishop of Zagreb is doubtless a very hard nut for the Yugoslav Tito regime and has already damaged its teeth. In company with their flock, the bishops of Croatia have suffered much from the communist regime. Two bishops were murdered, others had to flee for their lives (e. g. D. Ivan Saric, Archbishop of Sarayev, and Pater Garic, Bishop of Basya, who has since died in exile), while Dr. Cule, Bishop of Mostar, is still languishing in prison. Dr. Yanko Shimrak, the only Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop in Croatia, and Dr. Stepinac's intimate fellow-worker, was poisoned in prison. The Belgrade regime, which is constantly begging the Western Powers for more and more millions, had in the end to release Dr. Stepinac from prison. The Croatian Primate was interned in Krasic, his native place. The authorities are uncertain whether he is more dangerous for their alien, communist system outside of prison or in it. Trouble is so near the surface that it breaks out on the smallest provocation. A Dalmatian football team, for instance, was spat on and assaulted by the public in Belgrade. All kinds of epithets were showered on them, such as "murderers", "nazis", etc. The revenge came when the final was played in Zagreb between the Belgrade team, "Red Star" and the Zagreb "Dynamo" club. The latter won and it was the signal for a spontaneous national demonstration against hated foreign oppressors. The game was followed by an

improvised procession of 50,000 demonstrators who gathered on the playing field and marched through the main streets of the town to the cheering of the public. Communist papers, here at least fulfilling their purpose, served as torches and were thrown in bundles to the demonstrators by the inhabitants from their windows. "Down with the Serbian Communist occupier! Down with communism! Long live independent Croatia!" shouted tens of thousands, in streets and houses. The communist Militia was taken by surprise and powerless to quell this spontaneous demonstration. A few hundreds were indeed arrested, but the crowd did not disperse till late at night when the demonstration ceased of itself.

This small outbreak of the "Yugoslavian" vulcano is characteristic of conditions in the state that was artificially formed at St. Germain. It can only last till pressure comes from outside, when it will be blown away like a soap bubble and with it the "national communism" so highly esteemed by some childish minds.

CZECHIA

STOLEN CHURCH PROPERTY PROVIDES PARTY FUNDS

We learn from a reliable source that Czech communists do not hesitate to finance their propaganda from the proceeds of stolen church property. Many precious things were stolen by communists from requisitioned convents; objects such as communion cups, monstrances, reliquaries, etc., recorded on extra lists, were collected at special points. These collecting points were specially arranged in some of the requisitioned monasteries, as for example those in Telch and Rayhrad near Brunn in Moravia. The so-called "loyal" priests were appointed heads of these collecting points.

Reliable reports confirm that the most valuable ecclesiastical objects are exported to Switzerland and sold for foreign currency to Western Europe, South America and the U.S.A. The proceeds fill the coffers of the Czechoslovak communist party.

RUMANIA

MORE OIL FOR THE WAR MACHINE

According to reports in the Soviet press, oil production in Rumania has increased 22.9% last year and wells have been widened by 31% in comparison with 1950. All work in connection with increasing the production of oil has been stepped up and much machinery and technical equipment has been imported to Rumania from the Soviet Union. Soviet methods of work have also been introduced in Rumanian oil-fields.

Obviously Rumanian oil production is being harnessed to the Soviet war-machine.

SLOVAKIA

HEADQUARTERS OF COMINFORM ARMIES

On November 16, 1951, the headquarters of the cominform armies was transferred from Karlsbad to Trencin (Waag valley), as Karlsbad was near the western frontier, and the mountainous district of Slovakia seemed a better locality. The High Command has also resolved that, in the event of war, Slovak soldiers will not be used in the first line of defence, because they are likely to desert; they will be used in the third line of defence. Some units of M.V.D. secret police have also arrived in Trencin.

SLOVAK WAGGONS FOR U.S.S.R.

In factories for railway waggons, in Trencin and Vrutky (Northwest Slovakia) special steel waggons for 25 t are now being produced. They are constructed so that they can run both on Russian and European tracks and are specially made for the transportation of heavy arms. The Russians will probably use them to transport their "peace-doves".

PAMPHLETS FOR THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Refugees report that underground organizations in Slovakia are distributing pamphlets announcing the determination of the Slovaks to renew the Slovak Republic and support for Prof. Durcansky's activity abroad. These pamphlets also warn the population not to listen in to the "Free Europe" broadcasts till they make propaganda for a united Czecho-Slovakia. The people want the separation of Slovakia from Czechia. People are also urged to resist communism with the caution that is necessary to prevent victimization.

TURKESTAN

MOSCOW FINDS FAULT NATIONALISM AGAIN...

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Union of Young Communists of Kazakhstan in the second half of November 1951 and the fifth congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party both discussed the increasing movement among the people of Kazakhstan for liberation from foreign Russian tyranny. (We remind our readers that this country, situated north-east of the Caspian Sea, is inhabited by the Kasakhi, a tribe of the Turkestanian people). We reproduce two extracts from a lengthy article published in the "Pravda" of 21. 12. 51:

"More attention has recently been devoted to propaganda. Ideological problems have been more frequently and thoroughly discussed in the meetings of the Central Committee, the various district committees, town and country, of the party, and at meetings of local organizations and intellectual circles. Measures have been taken to

eliminate serious errors and distortions in the presentation of Kazakhstan history, literature, and art, and mistakes in schoolbooks."

"Comrade Moysseyev, secretary in the Communist Party of Kazakhstan pointed out mistakes that had been made in selecting personnel for educational institutions throughout the country. He said that his colleagues in the central committee, Comrade Schayakhmetov and Comrade Kruglov had not always paid sufficient or timely attention to signals directing activity in this important section.

Errors of major importance were revealed a year ago in the publicity services of the Republic. It was disclosed that **bourgeois nationalists** had long been active in the domain of history, art and literature. Recently the central committee of the communist party of Kazakhstan took several steps to strengthen the party agencies responsible for propaganda and to rectify the errors that had been made here.

Comrade Khrankov, chief of the department for propaganda and publicity in the central committee of the communist part of Kazakhstan, admitted that his department had made many mistakes and that it had not properly supervised the work of publicity institutions, for instance the work of lecturers in social economy in the universities, or the work of the union of writers, or of the Kazakhstan Academy of Science which, up to quite recently, was under Satpayev, who became the leader of the nationalists. When the party press disclosed these errors, some of the members of the office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan did not pursue a positive and consistent policy in the campaign to rectify them. The speaker thought that these erring members included Comrade Kruglov, secretary of the central committee and Comrad Kanapin, an official in the committee. "The office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan", Comrade Pasikov, secretary of the party organization for the eastern districts of Kazakhstan, declared, "has not taken the steps necessary to promote criticism and self-criticism among workers on the ideological front. Omarov, formerly secretary of the central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, hindered the disclosure of bourgeois nationalism."

UKRAINE

RUSSIFICATION AND EXPLOIDATION

The end of 1951 saw Ukraine living and slaving under the increasing pressure of Russian imperialism. We do not need to seek proof of this in reports from underground channels; it is obvious from authentic and official soviet publications.

In No. 330 of the "Pravda", for instance, (Nov. 26, 1951) there is an interesting account of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine. The

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Opposes Russian Imperialism

A.B.N. Demonstration in Wolverhampton

Editorial Note: On December 29, 1951 a General Meeting of a Section of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was held at Wolverhampton (Great Britain), and passed a number of resolutions protesting against the Russian and Bolshevik totalitarian regime and tyranny. We print below the summary of these resolutions. Their full text has been sent to the President of U.S.A., Harry S. Truman; General of the U.S. Army Dwight D. Eisenhower; Shape Hq., Monsieur R. Pleven, Minister President of France; Mr. John F. Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom; the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Yaroslav Stetzko.

Resolutions

of the mass meeting of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians and other nationalities assembled at Wolverhampton on 29th December, 1951, to protest against Russian imperialist policy.

We, the inhabitants of the City of Wolverhampton, originating from the countries now occupied by Russia i. e. Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine etc. submit the following resolutions to the public opinion of the free world.

Our aim is a free and independent Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine living in peace and on terms of equality and goodwill with all other nations.

The present world crisis is a consequence of the expansion of historical and traditional Russian imperialism which in bolshevism has reached its most perfect an effective form of totalitarian aggression.

The direct aims of the imperialism of Moscow today — and it has not altered in its 500 years history — is to destroy the national substance of the oppressed nations and to undermine the rest of the world.

At the same time, Moscow's Fifth Columns recruited from the ranks of duped or bribed adherents are working fast in all countries of the world to make them ripe for Russian conquest.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples in the U.S.S.R. is not carried on solely with a view to changing the Government. It is not only directed against communism. It is sustained to destroy Russian imperialism as such, to break the shackles of Russian domination under any regime and in any form, to ensure freedom for the peoples which Russia has subjugated.

The Russian people are the principal basis and human material of Russo-bolshevik Imperialism and are the only ruling nation in the U.S.S.R.

The oppressed peoples of the Imperialist Soviet Russian colossus by no means deny the right of the Russians to have their own sovereign state

within their ethnographic boundaries, but definitely oppose any desires and reject any proposals put forward by Russian emigrants to preserve the integrity of the Russian imperium under any alternative form of government with the inclusion of any other nationality than the Russian themselves.

We Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and all other nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations advocate the liberation of all subject peoples of the tsarist Imperium and of the U.S.S.R., enabling them to form independent national states in accordance with their national aspirations.

We condemn and protest against the continuation of the Russian Imperialist policy in Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine and other subjugated nations with its persecutions, artificially created hunger, mass deportations, concentration camps and slave labour.

We ask the United Nations to inquire into these crimes deliberately committed by the Soviet Russian government in our and other countries and to exclude Russia from the United Nations as guilty of aggression against countries.

We in exile are determined to subordinate our activities and interests to the interests and needs of our peoples fighting at home for their national rights and for the ultimate liberation of our countries from the Russians, regardless whether Red or White.

We have been shown much generous hospitality in these British Isles and we express our deep gratitude to his Majesty's Government and the British People.

We take this opportunity to send our warm and heartfelt good wishes to our long-suffering people and all the steadfast and heroic fighters in our Homelands and scattered throughout the whole world.

Liberty for all peoples —
Freedom for the Individual!

In Defence of the Subjugated Nations

Memoranda submitted by the A.B.N. and the Scottish League for European Freedom to the Plenary Session of the United Nations

To the United Nations

The Central Committee of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) sent a memorandum to the VI. Plenary Session of the United Nations demanding the immediate formation of a common front of freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The aim of such a front was stated to be the defence of the national independence of peoples subjugated and threatened by Russian bolshevism and the protection of religion and culture from bolshevist aggression. The attention of Western Powers was drawn to the necessity of supporting the national movements of liberation among non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states. The Memorandum stresses that permanent peace in the world will not be achieved till the Soviet Union is disintegrated into independent states of all the nations at present subjugated by Moscow.

To Member-states of U.N.

In the memorandum sent to the representatives of 50 memberstates of the United Nations, the Scottish League for European Freedom directed attention to the occupation by Moscow of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, all formerly full members of the League of Nations. The Memorandum pointed out how Moscow is destroying all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, among them Byelorussians and Ukrainians who are members of the United Nations.

It goes on to point out that Russian imperialism is the only threat to world peace and that its destruction is essential for the freedom, prosperity and peace of humanity.

agenda contained only two points, viz. 1. The unsatisfactory condition of party propaganda in Ukraine, and measures for its improvement, and 2. The preparation of the kolkhose, the M.T.S. and the sovkhose in Ukraine in order to achieve maximum production in all branches of agriculture in 1952.

To put it shortly, the communist party in Ukraine was concerned mainly with the fact 1) that Ukraine is not sufficiently Russian and bolshevist, and 2) that it should produce more deliveries for Moscow.

The whip of Moscow's criticism, terrorism and dissatisfaction was in the hands of the secretary of the Central Committee, L. O. Melnikov, a Russian, who has been the representative of the regime in Ukraine for the last 3 years. His severe, sometimes devastating, criticism revealed all the problems, difficulties and the more or less open resistance which Moscow had to meet in Ukraine even in 1951.

Now, as before, Enemy Nr. 1 was "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". The following central organizations of cultural life in Soviet Ukraine were sub-

jected in turn to such censure: 1. The Union of Soviet writers in Ukraine; 2. The Union of Soviet composers in Ukraine; 3. The Union of Soviet artists in Ukraine; 4. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Science; 5. The Committee for art in the cabinet of Ukraine and, in addition, a number of leading Soviet Ukrainian newspapers.

Moscow's representative in Ukraine was particularly incensed by the tardy progress in the integration of the language of Soviet Ukraine with Russian. The following is an extract:

"Even today words are still being deliberately used in papers, magazines and conversation which Ukrainian nationalists have introduced because they do not resemble the corresponding Russian expressions; nationalists wish to keep the two languages separate. The Ukrainian Academy of Science, the literary institutes and some writers are not sufficiently energetic in freeing the Ukrainian language from the rubbish introduced by bourgeois nationalists."

When Melnikov finished, reports were given by practically all the im-

portant functionaries of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine; there was an orgy of self-criticism and all promised to mend their ways. It was once more decided to fight "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" to the death. All, one after another, promised to "consolidate the unbreakable bonds between the Ukrainian people and its elder brother, the Russian people". All resolved to draw more freely on "the inexhaustible stores of Russian culture and make them more accessible to Ukraine."

Criticism and resolutions of the central committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine in connection with Ukraine's position as regards Soviet imperialism, ran along the same lines. Here, too, faults and sins of omission were confessed and improvement was repentantly promised. Here, too, promises were made of more work, greater pains, bigger harvests, and still greater exploitation of the country in order to "provide the soviet fatherland, the beloved soviet state, with the necessary produce it demanded".

The meeting of the communist Central Committee is a kind of preview of the soviet programme for Ukraine in 1952. This programme contains only 2 points for the subjugated territory, namely, russification and exploitation.

Meeting of Cossackian Parliament

We have received the following communiqué from the Cossackian Information Office:

The Supreme Cossackian Council (Cossackian Parliament in Exile) met in Munich from December 25-27.

The Supreme Cossackian Council consists of 57 delegates who were elected last autumn in general and secret elections by all Cossacks living in the free countries of the world. These delegates came to Munich from different countries, such as Austria, Italy, France, England, Belgium, Germany and those who are at present living overseas sent powers of attorney to various members of the meeting.

By secret vote, the Council elected General Serge Makeev to be supreme Ataman (president) and re-elected the well-known Cossackian politician and champion of the liberation movement, Ing. Vasil Glaskov, to be president of the supreme Cossack representation (Cossack government in exile), and Ivan Bezuglov, editor of the "Kasakia" review, and Col. Michael Kolessov, president of the union of Cossackian veterans to be vice-presidents.

Vote of Thanks

We gladly inform our Readers that this issue of "A.B.N.-Correspondence" has been financed by Mr. Vassyl Ko, of New York, U.S.A., who gave \$ 150 for this purpose.

Mr. Vassyl Ko is a Ukrainian worker who recently resettled in U.S.A. as a D.P. Mr. Vassyl Ko is known among the Ukrainian exiles in Europe as a very generous contributor to the Ukrainian liberation cause. He spends almost all of his earnings on the support of Ukrainian political and cultural institutions, newspapers and on fugitives from behind the Iron Curtain. By his unprecedented generosity he gives an example of a model social behaviour for all his Ukrainian countrymen.

We feel obliged to express publicly to Mr. Vassyl Ko our most deeply felt gratitude. We are sure that his contribution will greatly help materially and still more morally the cause of our liberation.

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What the Kremlin Fears Most

By Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

We are printing an extract from the great article of General J. F. C. Fuller in the "Saturday Evening Post" for October 27, 1951. We are glad of the opportunity to make our readers familiar with the views of this eminent British military strategist, all the more, as we are gradually noticing the spread of truth about bolshevism and Russia throughout the Western World. By his courageous campaign for truth and liberty, General J. F. C. Fuller has stormed the hearts of numberless members of the nations subjugated by Russia.

All subtitles are ours. — Ed.

... In the World War II no sooner did the German armies enter the Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine than they were acclaimed as liberators and vast numbers of Russian soldiers deserted to them. At that time, so encouraging was the German reception that Count Schulenburg, former German ambassador in Moscow, proposed that the invasion should be turned into a civil war in which the Russians themselves would help in overthrowing the bolsheviks. He suggested that Germany should announce that she had no territorial claims; that she would agree to each conquered territory setting up its own local government, and that she would recognize these government as her allies.

Hitler's Policy in Ukraine Fatal For Germany

But Hitler's suicidal policy of "the complete extermination of the Ukrainian and other East European peoples" prevailed. Instead of liberation, the destruction of the Ukrainian and other underground movements was ordered. The result was that for their self-

preservation the subjugated peoples turned against the Germans.

This was the beginning of the collapse of the Third Reich, which was hastened by Stalin's astuteness in adopting non-Bolshevik tactics, though, like Lenin, his intention was to discard them once the war was won. Had Hitler but offered the subjugated peoples freedom and self-determination, the high probability is that the U.S.S.R. would have collapsed before the end of 1941..

Reasons for the Cold War, and its Aims

Besides not being able in wartime to rely on the loyalty of its subjugated peoples, the Kremlin is fearful of invading Western countries, because, should it do so, its soldiers will discover that the U.S.S.R., instead of being, as they have been brought up to believe, the most advanced country in the world, is one of its most backward, and that they are the victims of a gigantic lie. For this reason alone — though there are others — Stalin has been compelled to substitute what is called "cold" war for "hot". Its aims are: (1) To confuse the thought of Russia's adversaries by turning every argument upside down and reaping a propaganda value out of the confusion. (2) To rot her opponents internally by means of fifth columns, and discredit their democratic principles should they resort to repressive measures. (3) To compel them, by constant military threat, to expend such large sums on armaments that they will cripple their finances and undermine their economies. (4) To distract their military forces by drawing them into distant regions, such as Malaya, Indo-China and Korea, in which only satellite troops are engaged.

For the Kremlin, cold war is the only type of aggressive warfare which fits Russian psychology. Its strategy is that of dissolution and not of destruction, — the attack on the mind of the enemy in order to gain control over his body,

and not on his body in order to influence his mind. It is not as with the Western powers, when they talk of psychological or political warfare, as an auxiliary of actual war, but instead the real war — the decisive conflict.

Cold War as an Instrument of Policy

In its outlook upon war the Kremlin is far more up to date than its antagonists. It realizes that in modern industrial and scientific conditions, physical warfare is increasingly becoming mutually too destructive to be a profitable instrument of policy. As the last two World Wars have clearly shown, the victor comes off almost as bad as the vanquished, and this, politically, does not make sense.

We simply cannot ignore the fact that today cold war is increasingly ousting hot war as an instrument of policy, and that unless we learn to wage it in all its forms — political, ideological, economic and military — so that in wartime we win over the allegiance of the enemy's masses instead of destroying them, the very means of destruction we employ will end in defeating us.

The Best Tactics For The West

Now that we have inspected the contents of the bolshevik shop, the question, "What is the problem?" becomes clearer. It is to frustrate the Kremlin's two-front strategy by adopting a two-front strategy of our own: (1) To be strong enough physically either to prevent the outbreak of war or, should war come, to be in a position to contain Russian military operations. And (2) under the cover of our physical forces, to be astute enough to wage a war of disintegration within the U.S.S.R. and its satellite countries, not only after the outbreak of war but from this very moment. Should this aim — successful counterrevolution within the U.S.S.R. — be attained without actual war, so much the better, but war or no war, it will remain unattainable unless the war of disintegration is ultraoffensive.

Our existing solution of the problem — if "solution it can be called — is ultradefensive because it is based on the conception of containing communism, (1) by military action on firebrigade lines wherever an aggression may take place, (2) by economic betterment in the Western countries in order to prevent communism from spreading, and (3) by building up what is called

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the Atlantic Alliance as the progenitor of a defensive Atlantic or European army.

The Weakness of our Present Policy of Defense

Because it is a purely defensive policy, it leaves the initiative in the hands of the Kremlin. Worse still, it does not face up to realities. What is the use of a fire-brigade system as long as the fire-raiser is left at large? Further, this dispersion of force emasculates the building up of an Atlantic Alliance, which is equally unrealistic, for it is based on regional planning involving over fifty committees, and includes France and Italy, countries with large communist elements. As regards prevention of the spread of communism by economic improvement of the Western countries, it is excellent so far as it goes; yet it is frequently overlooked that economic betterment in itself can no more remove an ideology than filling an empty stomach can cure a deranged brain.

This confusion of defensive measures has fortified the policy of the knockout school — that the simplest way out of the tangle is to cut the Gordian knot. In other words, to rely on physical force alone. After all, have we not got the atomic bomb, and should the worst come to the worst, cannot we blow Russia to hell?

This, however, is a somewhat crude solution, for instead of curing the patient — the world crisis — it knocks him on the head.

The importance of the Moral State of the Russian Peoples

Though a sufficiency of force is the first half of the solution, the amount needed will depend as much on the moral state of the Russian peoples as on the strength of the Russian army. The lower the first is, the weaker will the second be, and the weaker it is, the less will be the physical force required to vanquish it.

The second half of the solution centers in the unbearable Bolshevik rule, which has established a ready-made second front in every country behind the Iron Curtain. Wherever bolshevism is sown, anti-bolshevism can be reaped. For, though by terror a people can be compelled to obey their masters, they cannot be compelled to cease hating them.

The Kremlin Dreads Psychological Weapons

Hatred is the Uranium 235 of the second half, and without it, its physical prototype remains purely a weapon of material destruction. And of all explosives, psychological fission is the one the Kremlin dreads most, because it blows the bottom out of its ideology. Therefore to turn the U.S.S.R. into a gigantic psychological bomb is the second half of the solution.

Thus far, this half has been almost entirely neglected by the Western powers, yet it is by far the easier to arrive at, because the U.S.S.R., being ethnographically divided into Russians and non-Russians, is in consequence packed with psychological uranium.

The History of the A.B.N.

In 1943 the representatives of the resistance movements then springing up among the conquered and subjugated peoples banded themselves together into an Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). Today it includes the following twenty-five countries — fourteen in the U.S.S.R. and eleven in Europe.

In the U.S.S.R.: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Idel-Ural — between the Volga and the Urals —, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Siberia (East and West), Tataria, Turkestan and Ukraine.

In Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Its Aim

The aim of the A.B.N. is the complete dissolution of the Soviet Empire and the establishment of each part as a sovereign nation. The A.B.N. is, therefore, opposed to any form of Russian imperialism, whether czarist, socialist, democratic, republican or communist. Nor will it tolerate any form of Russian federation, because it fears that whatever form it may take, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of a Russian hegemony.

Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the A.B.N. — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategic instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

From the value of the A.B.N. as a disruptive instrument, I will next turn to its ability economically and strategically to strangle the U.S.S.R. in another war.

Economic and Strategic Value of Ukraine

Ukraine, with a population stated to be 42,000,000, is the economic hub of the Soviet Union — this is why Hitler's aim was to wrench it from Russia. It supplies over 50 per cent of the whole of Russian production and there is no possibility of destroying the Bolshevik empire without severing Ukraine from it. Still today a Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as the U.P.A., is engaged in guerilla war against the Kremlin.

The following percentages show the importance of Ukraine and other subjugated countries to the over-all Soviet economy. Coal, 60 per cent from Ukraine and 9 per cent from Turkestan; iron ore, 60 per cent from Ukraine and 30 per cent from Idel-Ural; manganese, 100 per cent from Georgia and Ukraine; copper, 40 per cent from Turkestan and Caucasia; lead, 80 per cent from Turkestan; zinc, 80 per cent from Caucasia and Ukraine; mercury, 100

per cent from Turkestan and Ukraine; and sulphur, 80 per cent from Ukraine, Caucasia and Turkestan.

Almost the entire production of oil in the U.S.S.R. comes from non-Russian soil. Finally, as regards agricultural products, 55 per cent of Russian wheat comes from Ukraine and North Caucasia, 70 per cent of the sugar is produced in Ukraine, and 100 per cent of the cotton is grown in Turkestan and Caucasia.

Therefore the conclusion is, should in wartime organized guerilla war be fostered in the subjugated countries and adequately supplied by the Western powers, the high probability is that the whole economy of the U.S.S.R. would collapse.

Russia's Strength and Weakness

Historically Russia's strength has been based on two factors: the vast extent of her territory and her vast man power. This held good as long as weapon power remained simple and movements were governed by horse traction. But this is no longer the case, for weapon power has been industrialized and air power has reduced her expanse.

Communications in Russia have always been indifferent because expanse and movement are incompatible. Even today there are no more than 57,487 miles of railroad in the U.S.S.R., whereas in Great Britain there are 19,863, and in the United States 227,000. Further, many of the Russian railroads are still single track, and because those linking the Baltic to the frontiers of Poland and Rumania pass through the subjugated Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine, they are open to sabotage both in peace and wartime.

The Dangers of Dispersion

In order to secure her industries — her arsenals — against air attack, Russia has adopted a policy of dispersion, but, seemingly has overlooked that the remoteness of many of them from the more probable theaters of war permits present day aircraft to cut them off from the latter by destroying the interlinking communications. Actually there would be no need to destroy the industrial centers themselves, for if the few main rail junctions in the U.S.S.R. are put out of action, the fewness of the railroads in most cases will render the deflection of traffic impossible.

Further still, the greater the dispersion, the more difficult does it become for the Russian air force to prevent the systematic destruction of either the industrial centers or the railroads leading to and from them. Relative to this, it should not be overlooked that, on account of climatic conditions as well as the great distance to be traveled, the replacement of railroad traction by motor transport will generally be out of the question. Also that, unlike the United States, the U.S.S.R. possesses no extensive system of pipe lines for the distribution of oil and petrol.

The conclusions to be drawn from this strategical survey are: (1) that the

In Defense of Churches in U.S.S.R.

By John F. Stewart, Chairman of Scottish League for European Freedom

We publish an open letter from the Scottish League for European Freedom which was sent to all bishops in the British Commonwealth. — Ed.

My Lord Bishop.

We ask you to take up strongly and publicly the cause of the peoples of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, who are literally being deliberately exterminated by Russia. The Russians, characteristically and hypocritically agreed to the prohibition of genocide at the very time they were engaged in further extermination — loading the people into cattle trucks for the slave camps in Siberia and Arctic Russia. The evacuation of their countries and the restoration to their homelands of all who can be traced and are still alive must be enforced by the Powers of the civilised world, otherwise they are as guilty as the Russians of hypocrisy and genocide.

From the political point of view it is easy to prove that the occupation of the Baltic States by Russia is a pistol pointed at the heart of this country, and that as long as they are immensely strong fortified positions held by Russia, the security of Britain is not worth an hour's purchase. But politics can be left out. The Churches' action can surely be dictated by motives of Christianity and humanity — are we not our brothers' keeper? Surely.

The People of the Baltic States

The writer knew these countries between the two wars better than any-

one else in Britain, as his business lay with them and he made more or less prolonged visits each year. In all the world there were no more admirable or prosperous peoples; religious, educated, cultured, thrifty, hard-working and patriotic, happy and peaceful, threatening none, and devoting men and material to their own and world betterment; there were no peoples more worthy of emulation by others, and none who more should have been left in peace. What has happened?

How They Were Treated

The Russian violently seized their countries without even an attempt at excuse, by arrangement with Hitler, massacred their leaders and their peoples by thousands and deported to the slave camps hundreds of thousands — men, young women and old women, pregnant women and mothers with babies at the breast, and children, in cattle trucks under inhuman conditions in which possibly the greater part died. Parents were separated from their children and from each other, and these children remaining alive are bought up in complete atheism, hatred of God and Christ, and worship of Stalin.

In cases where wives were left on the farms, and the Soviet Government have sent in semi-savages from the Far East, these cultured women have been forced to submit to these savages and to bear children to add to the manpower of Moscow in its centuries-old attempt at world conquest and the extension of Russian Imperialism.

We have confined ourselves mostly to the Baltic States, as their peoples

were, during their independence, from the first, close and intimate members of the Western family, and were well known in Britain. But the same conditions apply to all the non-Russian States in the U.S.S.R., and in some on a stupendous scale. In Ukraine alone, with a population of over 40 millions, devotedly Christian, the Russians have "liquidated" not less than 10 to 12 millions by massacre, deportation to the slave camps, planned starvation (the deliberately planned famine of 1943 killed at least 6 millions), or the introduction of filthy epidemic diseases and the prevention of medical aid.

The Failure of the Churches

With all respect it must be said that the Churches could have ascertained all this if they had wished, and they have failed in their duty to God and man in closing their eyes to this terrible tragedy, and we urge with all the emphasis at our command that they now take the load in a campaign to bring pressure on Moscow to restore complete independence and freedom to those non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. We can give assurance that none of these peoples has the slightest desire to interfere with Russia, they wish Russians and all other peoples to be confined to their own ethnic territories, and the peoples to be permitted to live their own lives in peace and security. We have no faith in politicians of any party; they must or should know the truth, but have shut their eyes to it and prevented the common people from knowing it. There must be some means of bringing pressure on the Russians to do justice to these peoples, and till they do, surely they should not be admitted to the group of civilised nations. We cannot believe

Continued on Page 9

technical equipment of Russia's fighting forces will be at its best at the opening of the war, and should her railroads be paralyzed, it will rapidly deteriorate. And (2) because of this, it may be expected that, as in the past, Russia will rely on mass manpower in order to make good her technical deficiencies.

The Role of the Subjugated Peoples

Clearly then, adding to the demands on the Russian army within the U.S.S.R. will lead to its numerical reduction in the areas of operations, and this can be effected by the assistance of the subjugated peoples. For them, the expanse of the U.S.S.R., when coupled with outside air supply and assistance, facilitates revolt which simultaneously will be difficult to suppress should rail communication be paralyzed. Also it should not be overlooked that a vast belt of labor and concentration camps, in which millions of slave workers are imprisoned, stretches across Northern Siberia and Manchuria. The first of these areas is within transpolar air range of the United States, and the second at no great distance from Korea and Japan. All these camps are potential centers of revolt. Therefore, the more the Kremlin can be compelled

to garrison them the less numerous will be its troops in the areas of military operations.

When all these factors are considered, it will be seen that Russia's fighting man power, great though it is, can as a whole no more be concentrated than can that of her opponents. Though the latter are an association of autonomous nations tending to diverge rather than to unite, the U.S.S.R. is a despotism of subjugated nations, forcibly united by terror, and inhibited by disruption. That, in fact, Russia is a giant with feet of clay, and that the more her fighting forces are dissipated on internal security, the more formidable do those of her opponents become.

Faith More Necessary Than The Atom Bomb

I hope I have made it clear that, in order to overthrow the fireraising colossus, the technical superiority of the Western nations is not in itself enough. What they are lacking is not power to wage war, for though power may still be insufficient, there is no insuperable difficulty in rendering it sufficient. Instead, it is lack of faith in their way of life, and lack of courage in proclaiming it.

They must understand that the sword of liberty is but dead metal as long as it is sheathed. It is because they fear to unsheathe it that they lack a positive policy concerning the nations forcibly and fraudulently incorporated into the Soviet Union. Yet without a positive policy they can never hope to exploit the seething discontent behind the Iron Curtain. Be it remembered that, without counting the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R., ten dependent states of Old Europe, inhabited by about 80,000,000 people are now under Soviet domination. Of these millions and the millions more in the U.S.S.R., the vast majority are potential allies. Until the Western nations openly proclaim them to be such, the sword of liberty will remain sheathed.

If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic, and though the atomic bomb has its uses, they must be weighed against the psychological effects they are likely to produce. To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder. The way in which it is used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples in Europe and the U.S.S.R. are to be the

Regrettable Distortions

By Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the A. B. N.

In its edition of 10. 9. 1951, the American periodical, *The New Leader*, publishes a number of falsehoods concerning the A.B.N. and some of its representatives. The tone of this regrettable article would ordinarily merit silence on our part; if we take notice of its polemics, it is only because we would prevent these distortions from influencing the readers of a paper that is widely circulated.

Fred Forrest, the writer of the article in question, who introduces himself as a former U.S. Intelligence agent and veteran student of Soviet affairs, maintains that the A.B.N. was founded in 1946 as a collection of remnants of various "national committees" that had operated under Alfred Rosenberg, the notorious Reich Minister for occupied areas in the East. In reality, the A.B.N. was formed in 1945 in an area of the so-called "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" that was at that time controlled by the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and that suffered particularly from the brutal measures employed by the occupying army to crush the Ukrainian people. It is not possible that there could have been movements of the peoples incorporated any understanding between liberation in the A.B.N. and the Nazi government.

Invention of Ukrainian Atrocities

Another gross falsehood on the author's part is his assertion that when Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., was Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Re-

public in 1941, he caused a great many Poles, Jews, Russians and Ukrainian opponents to be murdered. The Ukrainian government referred to was permitted to exist for exactly ten days — in an area occupied by German troops — and had neither the possibility of carrying out such actions, nor any intention of doing so. Almost all the important members of the 1944 Ukrainian government were arrested by the Germans and put in concentration camps a few days after the independence of Ukraine had been proclaimed.

What German Support Looked Like

According to Mr. Forrest, the men who represent the A.B.N. today were supported and financed by the German government during the war. If we understand by this the free board and lodging and clothing enjoyed, for instance, for almost three years and a half in the German concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, by Yaroslav Stetzko, the president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. and by Alfred Berzins, former Prime Minister of Latvia, now president of the Peoples' Council in the A.B.N., then it is true. The accusations brought against Veli Kajum-Chan, president of the Political Commission in the A.B.N. and other representatives of the Organization are on the same level. It is not worth refuting them here.

The A.B.N. Does Not Hate Peoples

To represent the existence of a Cossackian people striving for independ-

ence as an "invention", as Mr. Forrest does, proves that he lacks a knowledge of history and that he discriminates invidiously between nations. It is a well-known fact that the Cossacks proclaimed their independence in 1918, and lost it only after bloody battles, and that they have not yet ceased to struggle for it. The same applied to the peoples of North Caucasia and the area between the Volga and the Urals.

It is a calumny to assert that the A.B.N. hates the Russian people and would welcome its destruction. Russian imperialism is for the A.B.N. the inveterate enemy of the liberty of nations. We wish the Russian people no less, but no more, than all the other peoples in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states, namely, the right to lead a free life in its own independent, national state within its ethnic frontiers. The A.B.N. has never refused to cooperate with the Russians, provided that they recognize the rights of all peoples subjugated by Moscow, i. e. their independent national states within their ethnic frontiers.

Towards the Poles, the A.B.N. takes up the same position, and here a co-operation has already begun. As far as the Jews are concerned, it is a base lie to maintain that the A.B.N. is anti-semitic. Mr. Forrest has not even taken the trouble to provide his readers with any proof whatever, not even with an invented one. Facts give him the lie. It is well-known, for instance, that during the war, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) protected the Jewish population, and that many Jews owe their lives to it alone. For the A.B.N. there is no discrimination of religion, race, or nationality; it fights for the freedom of all peoples and the freedom of the individual without any exception whatever.

Ignorance or Prejudice?

It says little for Mr. Forrest's knowledge of history and his political insight that he holds the clear division between Slovaks and Czechs to be political propaganda on the part of the A.B.N. That Slovaks and Czechs are two distinct peoples is a fact both of general knowledge and history. Mr. Forrest must be aware that even the State Department recognized the right of the Slovak people to unlimited independence as a state.

The A.B.N. has never spoken of an alien Russian supremacy over the peoples of Yugoslavia. If the A.B.N. pleads for self-determination for these peoples, i. e. for the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, it is because Tito's dictatorship over these three peoples is a faithful copy of Stalin's. To refuse these peoples the right of self-determination is to refuse a natural law.

As regards the question of federation and confederation, the A.B.N. supports the democratic principle that the peo-

allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow. What they seek is liberation and not obliteration — let the Western nations remember this.

A Concrete Proposal

Lastly, I will end with a concrete proposal. Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change in regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western powers should coincide with the aim of the A.B.N. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish — that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step toward achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common anti-bolshevik front. The second is the creation of a psychological — warfare general staff which will give teeth to this union. It should comprise three main branches — operations, intelligence and supply.

The duties of the first should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which

the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

The duties of the second should be to collect and coordinate information gathered by the underground movements; train intelligence agents for work not only behind the Iron Curtain but also in all countries which in wartime may be overrun by the Russians, so that guerilla war may be organized in their rear, and by intensive propaganda keep the spirit of counterrevolution alive.

The duties of the supply branch should be to make ready on a vast scale all the requirements of guerilla warfare: the provision of arms, ammunitions, explosives, medical stores, rations, radios and so on, as well as earmark the aircraft needed to carry them and also personnel to prearranged dropping points, so that when the flag falls, the psychological bomb may be detonated from the Arctic shores to the Mediterranean and from the Baltic to the Elbe.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in bolshevizing the world.

National Independence Comes First

By Blaq Bashi / Turkestan

It has become the fashion in recent years to form unions of states or nations by voluntary treaty and conditions that are equal for all participating states.

The Union of Europe, a project that has been discussed for decades, is now on the point of realization as the United Democratic States of Europe. Indonesia, comprising more than 3000 islands with a population of 70 millions, for 150 years a Dutch colony, has become an independent, national state, known as the Indonesian Union, both partners having equal rights. Similarly, Indo-China, formerly a French colony, has become independent and is about to form a French-Indo-Chinese Union. India and Burma and Pakistan with its 70 million Mohammedan inhabitants, all for centuries colonies of Great Britain, have attained independence and have become independent members of the British Commonwealth with the same rights as the Motherland. Thus an end was put to the oppression and degradation of colonial peoples and to the constant and bitter strife between colonial powers and their dependencies. Independence and freedom have set these colonial peoples on the way to progress. The Jews, who lost their national state centuries ago, have now established Israel as a free state and are advancing to a life of liberty and progress.

According to the bolsheviks it is impossible for nations not included in the communist system to achieve independence and to form free unions; they also aver that if nations are to live in peace and unity, they must belong to that regime.

Democracies Grant Colonies Independence

Now, the colonial system is crumbling away in the world outside of the encircling Soviet wall. Conquest and mutual strife is being replaced by international understanding and mutual respect. There are many indications in the world today that the imperialist system is rotting away.

The democratic states, designated imperialist by the bolshevik, have, not only by words, but also by deeds, given the lie to the bolshevik contention. As already mentioned, and in spite of destructive Soviet influences, a great number of states not included in the communist system have achieved independence — Israel, Burma, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Indochina, and other small nations. These states are now living as free nations on terms of equality with the other free nations in the world. Disputes which might have occasioned wars, were settled by these states within their own union or by the U.N. by peaceful negotiation. The various unions that have been formed be-

tween democratic states are based on principles of equality, and national independence has been achieved in the form of complete and unlimited sovereignty. That is why wars cannot arise between powers and their former colonies and why there can be no hegemony of any one nation.

The Soviet Union is quite another kind of formation; from its birth, it has worn the disguise of a "voluntary" union of very different nations compelled by force to be members of a "Union of Republics". In addition, just before and after World War II the Soviet Union annexed by force a number of nationally independent states or compelled them to be satellites. By thus suppressing the independence of these states, Soviet Russia has greatly extended the frontiers of its "Union". Thus there are two totally different trends towards union which have split the world into opposite camps.

In the democratic part of the world, new national states have arisen which have formed voluntary unions on the basis of equal rights. Here real liberty and peace have been secured.

In the part of the world comprised in the Soviet socialist republics, national rights, history, traditions, languages and cultures in consequence of a vicious doctrine has strengthened the hegemony of one nation. This is why the nations fettered by Soviet Russia's chain of unions and deprived of their liberty are fighting unceasingly to recover their freedom and independence. There can, therefore, never be peace in this part of the world.

ples themselves must decide the matter. But a free decision presupposes the sovereignty of the states concerned. In the opinion of the A.B.N. no people has authorized any politician in exile to abandon any of its national sovereignty. Those who think and act as if they had this power, are contravening the democratic principle of the self-determination of peoples and thus display considerable prejudice.

What about "Russian Resistance"?

Mr. Forrest protests that the A.B.N. never mentions Russian resistance and its heroes in any of their publications. Here we must reply that Russian movements of resistance in the Soviet Union have up till now been no more than wishful thinking. Mr. Forrest must have noticed that the Western press constantly reports resistance in Turkestan, Caucasia, Ukraine, the Baltic states, Croatia, Bulgaria or Slovakia. From the territories of Russia proper, on the other hand, we hear no such reports, obviously because no anticommunist movement exists there. This fact is greatly regretted by the A.B.N., as it implies a gap in the front of the peoples who are fighting against Bolshevism.

Voluntary Common Front of Peoples

The A.B.N. is not controlled by the representatives of one people or party only. On the contrary, all its national delegations have equal rights and an

equal vote, no matter the size of the people they represent; the same rights and duties are recognized for all. The A.B.N. is no mere instrument of the "Bandera Movement" or of the national cause of Ukraine or any other single national organization. It is the voluntary union of subjugated nations, whose resistance movements are recognized as equal.

But Mr. Forrest goes further in his suspicions. He writes, believes, it or not, of communist infiltration of the A.B.N.! But he gives no proof of his absurd contention. He would indeed find it difficult to produce any, for the A.B.N. is the strongest political bulwark against Bolshevism. It is to the interest of exiled Russian imperialists and the Bolsheviks themselves to spread such suspicion in the West. Mr. Forrest also deems it necessary to censure organization or personalities in the West, who sympathize or cooperate with the A.B.N., among them Mr. John F. Stewart, the chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom. It remains to be seen whether the author will have the honesty to withdraw his malicious distortions after Mr. Stewart's recent statement.

That is the truth about the A.B.N. Whoever is against the A.B.N., is voluntarily or involuntarily a supporter of bolshevism and Russian imperialism. **Whoever is against the right of peoples to self determination is against democracy.**

Non-Russian Peoples Oppose Russian Imperialism

The constant fight for liberation and independence, waged by Turkestan, Ukraine, Caucasia and other non-Russian nations, aims at destroying not only the communist system but also the fetters of Russian imperialism. The present fight of Turkestanians for their national independence is not new; in 1898 there was a rising under Duktschi Eschan, in 1916, mass risings, and between 1917 and 1923 there were many bloody battles, all against Russian imperialism, with the aim of throwing off its fetters and regaining national liberty. The present struggle is only more intense than those of the past, but its aim is the same. Everyone has now grasped that the Soviet Union is not a voluntary union of nations or national states. It is, indeed, absurd to maintain that nations which have been deprived of every trace of liberty and sovereignty are voluntary members of a Union that is merely an association of communist party leaders working for Russian hegemony.

Twofold Aim of the Struggle for Liberation

It is clear, therefore, that non-Russian movements in the Soviet Unions pursue two aims. The first of these is the destruction of the bolshevik system of totalitarianism, and the second, the more important, the liquidation of Rus-

sian imperialism of every colour, and the establishment of national and independent states which will lead a free and peaceful life in the community of free nations. The liberation struggle of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union is based on these two fundamental and inseparable aims.

Sometimes the erroneous view is expressed that the sovereignty of nations violates world unity in the provinces of economics and politics, or that it is a danger to world peace. Equally wrong and unjust are assertions that the principles of the U.N. or the Atlantic Charter do not apply equally to all nations. While such opinions are unlikely to have much influence on real life today, there is always a danger that they may be utilized by bolshevist propaganda.

Bolshevist Imperialism in Disguise

Bolshevist imperialism is but a continuation of the notorious colonial policy of the Czars; it brutally suppresses small and weak nations and insolently utilizes the desire of small nations for independence in its propaganda against democratic states. To the world, Soviet Russia poses as the champion of the liberties of nations and, at the same time, endeavours to extend its authority over many nations, particularly in the Far East. The masses, dazzled by Soviet propaganda, are ready to allow themselves to be organized as a weapon of communist destruction.

Independence For Export Only

Soviet Russia demands from the non-Russian peoples it subjugates that they destroy all national feeling but it apparently furthers national independence beyond its frontiers. It is common knowledge that Soviet Russia does its best to destroy the United Nations from within and to form a "Union of Nations" under the supremacy of the Kremlin, Soviet Russia and every form of imperialism that is based on the destruction of national independence are dangerous enemies of international understanding, world peace and the union of nations and national freedoms. **There will never be freedom in the real sense of the word as long as the conditions that guarantee it are absent. There can be no freedom without national independence.**

It goes without saying that a nation that is not free and independent cannot be a member of a national union with equality of rights. Otherwise, such a union would, as in Soviet Russia, mean the hegemony of one nation and the destruction of the national sovereignty of others. This would lead to fresh unrest and wars.

There can be no just and free union of nations unless the independence of its member states is guaranteed. Democracy demands that there be no difference before the law between small and great nations, for the inhabitants of the former have the same status as those of larger nations. They, too, have a right to liberty and happiness. The recognition of the equal rights of all is

The Fiasco of Wiesbaden

About 30 men met early in November in a hotel in Wiesbaden, Germany — 20 Russians, 3 Aserbaijanians, 3 Armenians, 2 Georgians, 2 Turkestanians, 1 Byelorussian and 1 American. They wished to found a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", on which, for the first time, Russian politicians were to cooperate with representatives of non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R.

This step was prepared some eighteen months ago by Russian exiles in the United States. The notorious Kerensky, who played into the hands of the bolsheviks when he was the weak head of the state in 1917, was behind the plan. In spite of the great efforts made by his preliminary committee, things did not get moving until some rich Americans decided to join and help to realize the plan. What is now known as the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Russian People" was founded for this purpose.

Mr. Don Levine and Mr. Williams, members of the committee, came to Germany some months ago in order to conduct negotiations in what is the centre of Russian emigrés, and were often in New York, Paris, Frankfurt and Munich in pursuance of their object. They met with considerable difficulty. First, there was the question of selecting the most representative of the thirty odd Russian political organizations abroad, so as to draw up a common plan of action. Monarchist and totalitarian organizations were to be excluded, and this made things casier. After lengthy negotiation, the following five Russian parties were selected: League for the People's Freedom (L.B.N.S.), National Work Union (N.T.S.), Russian People's Movement (R.N.D.), Union of Fighters for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (S.B.O.N.R.), and the Fighters for the Freedom of Russia (S.B.S.R.).

There is a certain irony in the fact that these parties comprised some

a foundation-stone in the edifice of international democracy.

Discrimination of race, destruction of this or that nation are characteristic of soviet Russian imperialism and medieval barbarism; they are utterly out of place in the democratic, civilized world of today.

In spite of terrorism, violence and persecution, the idea of national liberty and independence has gained much ground. It is as impossible to prevent the sun from rising as it is to suppress by force the idea of liberty. The enemies of independence would be wise to realize this fact.

There is only one condition that will ensure the destruction of totalitarianism and expansionist imperialism and the formation of a union of free nations with equal rights, and that is — **national independence.**

decided ex-fascists, and nazi supporters. The programme of the N.T.S. before 1945 for instance, contains the following: "Russia has no need of the comedy of parliamentary elections, but rather the choice of strong personalities. Foreigners may not belong to the Russian nation even if they have lived in Russia for years. The same applies to Jews who have the right to leave Russia if they leave their property behind. The government is not responsible to a parliament. The Prime Minister is appointed by the head of the state, to whom alone he is responsible." The same party (N.T.S.) also includes members of the Russian Kaminski SS-Division which had a share in quelling the Warsaw rising. The Union of Fighters for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia and the other organizations selected are composed mostly of followers of General Vlassov whose anti-semitic and antidemocratic views and hostility to the Allies have been historically proved.

For weeks these five chosen parties quarrelled about who was to lead them. One of the main arguments of the N.T.S. against the claims of the other parties to leadership was the undeniably true fact that not one of them had more than a dozen members. The S.B.O.N.R. in reply reproached the N.T.S. with being a fascist organization and therefore excluded from leadership. But differences in the question of nationalities were more serious than those internal disputes. The least progressive party was the N.T.S. with its programme of a centralised Russia, in which non-Russian peoples should have autonomy only in cultural affairs. To this the S.B.O.N.R. which is composed mainly of more recent exiles, replied that such a centralised programme of autonomy has been exceeded by the present Soviet government. 'Stalin,' they pointed out, had been obliged to acknowledge the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. officially, even if he granted them nothing more than the form of independence as Soviet Republics. The N.T.S., whose members are mostly old emigrés, refused to accept such reasoning, and so the first meeting of the prospective Council, held in Füssen on Juli 20, 1951 dissolved without coming to any result. Thereupon the American sponsors became active and tried to compel obedience by stopping the money. They insisted on federalism as a basic principle in building up the new Russian imperium. This was the atmosphere of the second meeting of the parties concerned at Stuttgart on August 20, 1951. It "solved" the difficult question of nationalities by resolving that the future Russian imperium should be constructed on a basis of federalism. All agreed that the non-Russian peoples should not receive an independent status.

Meanwhile Mr. Don Levine had put out feelers to representatives of the non-Russian peoples, in order to win them for a federal Russian imperium. The results of these attempts were

Gaps in the Democratic Youth Front

By Yaroslav Z. Pelensky

In the summer of 1951 mass youth rallies were held on both sides of the iron curtain. A comparison of these simultaneous demonstrations discloses reasons for weaknesses in the youth policy pursued by the West.

The Berlin Youth Festival, an Event in the Cold War

The managers of the communist "Festival of Youth" in Berlin had two main reasons for focussing attention on this event: first, in order to weld communist youth closer and second, to win thereby a battle in the cold war. An enormous apparatus of organization was set in motion for the purpose of showing the West how strong, well-disciplined and idealistic youth in the East is. More than a million young people were brought to Berlin and marched through its streets in endless columns, thus demonstrating their readiness to fight for Stalin and communism.

This is not affected by the fact that individual members fled to the West, and that the Western press was forced to take notice of the demonstration; they actually published more commentaries than necessary and unconsciously gave good publicity to bolshevism.

"Free Europe Committee"

The counter-demonstration, organized by the Committee for Free Europe was inadequate both in conception and execution.

The combative spirit was absent; instead of attacking communism, and revealing the nature of the dictatorship of the Russian people in the Soviet Union, and supporting the other nations

in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states, its message was federation, although organizers must have known how welcome such an idea is to Russia. This is where the interests of delegates from non-Russian peoples in the East should have been stressed, and, as this was not done, the whole affair became a fiasco.

The problem of youth became important for the West about the same time and the

"European Youth Meeting at the Lorelei Rock"

was organized. It was to be a proof to the East of Europe's vitality. The aim was to prove the solidarity of European youth and, if need be, its readiness to resist communism. The present writer who attended the meeting as a member of Ukrainian delegation, experienced there one of the worst disappointments of his life. The Youth Meeting at the Lorelei Rock developed into a veritable scandal.

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of 26. 9. 1951 stated with considerable satisfaction in its article on the "Lorelei Rock of Opposition" that the "Camp", the bulletin issued at the Meeting, bore the dove of peace on its frontispiece. The same article continued: "The camp was decorated with such bills as: 'Americans, get out! We don't want to be soldiers for the Yankees!' That such things could happen at all was not only the work of the many French communists there, it also proved the incapacity of the managers of the camp and the organizers of the Meeting. They failed to notice communist infiltration, and refused to allow delegates from Eastern Europe to cooperate. Their

standpoint was: "We don't want any American, anti-Soviet propaganda", and every guest from the East was unwelcome. "Camp", the official bulletin issued by the management, openly published anti-American propaganda, and that with American money and American support. The third event which merits attention is

The First General Meeting of the World Assembly of Youth

in Ithaca, U.S.A. Here a club of elderly gentlemen (50-60 years old) discussed "youth problems" for 11 days. Apparently youth is not fit to discuss its own problems. Here again statements were made such as: "We want an understanding with the East! We are opposed to political activity! The U.S.S.R. must not be irritated and peace must be made!" We cannot understand how the West can desire to have any kind of peace with Stalin.

Lack of ideas was characteristic of this meeting. Although the World Assembly of Youth is based on the Charter of Human Rights, it hesitates to apply them wherever the Soviet Union is concerned. If the peoples of the U.S.S.R. were mentioned at all, it was only as "the dear, great Russian people".

When we review these meetings, we must ask what the West has done for the

Formation of the Democratic Youth Front?

We must try first to discover the reasons for the apathy of Western youth.

The first is lack of ideas. The youth of the Western World wants above all to be let alone, no matter at what cost. It flirts with the amenities of prosperity, for which it is willing to sacrifice almost everything, including patriotism

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deplorable. First there was the Ukrainian refusal: representatives of all seven Ukrainian parties active abroad gave Mr. Levine an unambiguous negative. All Ukrainians demanded complete independence from Russia and an independent Ukrainian state. And those of the peoples of Turkestan, Georgia, North Caucasia, Aserbaijan, Cossackia and Idel-Ural made it clear that they will certainly not subordinate themselves to Russians.

It is worth noting that this refusal of non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. to form a federation with the Russians was energetically supported by representatives of the soviet satellite nations: Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs and Hungarians. They, as "burnt children" evidently dread the fire of federalism with Moscow.

There was, therefore, only one way left for the Russians and their American managers, viz., they would have to do without genuine representatives of the non-Russian nations and try to find substitutes. This they had no scruples in doing; within two weeks no fewer than five "Ukrainian parties" were hunted up and marshalled into action. These "parties" have a total member-

ship of less than thirty, who are mostly politically indifferent or men with a doubtful past. The expenses of this puppet show were borne by the American circles already referred to. The "artistes" thus hired for public performances received new coats, shoes, hats, etc.

Now the curtain could go up on the meeting planned for Wiesbaden early in November with the cooperation of "Aserbaijanians", "Turkestanians", "Armenians", "North Caucasians", "Georgians" and "Byelorussians". The non-Russian peoples, however, were "represented" by private persons whom nobody had authorized to do so. Details about these "representatives" and the manoeuvres at the Wiesbaden meeting will be made public shortly in a declaration by the lawful representatives of the nations concerned. Mr. Akber, for instance, who was in Wiesbaden as a representative of Aserbaijan, declared that the Russians there played a trick on him by putting his name to the declaration and communiqué issued by the Wiesbaden meeting although they had no authority to do so.

We understand that the following demands were put to the Russians at

the Wiesbaden meeting by non-Russians: 1) The automatic reconstruction of independence for all peoples who proclaimed their sovereignty as states between 1917 and 1920; 2) No Russian leadership in the proposed committee, Russia to have the same position as the other members. Needless to say, those conditions were not accepted by the Russians, so the meeting was not able to arrive at a satisfactory result after five days of difficult negotiation. In order to prevent the public from getting to know the real nature of the fiasco, the Russians persuaded the non-Russian "delegates" to sign a common bulletin which does indeed mention the right of peoples to "self-determination" but carefully avoids any definition of this term and any indication of how this theoretical right is to be put into practice. We do not need to say that for the Russians it means only the federal construction of their imperium, while all non-Russian peoples long for complete separation from Moscow and continue to insist on their own national states. The Wiesbaden declaration, therefore, throws a very thin veil over a sharp division without contributing at all to bridging it.

A Statement by "National Bulgaria"

For the Information of the West

We reproduce here an article that appeared in "National Bulgaria" the official organ of the National Bulgarian Front, as it is of importance for the satellite states in general. It deals with the controversy between national politicians who have fought against bolshevism for years and are still its determined enemies, and Left radical politicians who helped communists to force their people under Moscow's yoke and then, when their hopes were disappointed, emigrated to the West, where strangely enough, they alone receive support and recognition as democratic champions in the fight against bolshevism. — Ed.

The article deals with two remarkable events in recent Bulgarian history — the mysterious death of King Boris on August 28, 1943 and the communist revolution of September 9, 1944, and draws certain conclusions from a comparison of conditions in the constitutional monarchy and those under the regime of the "Fatherland Front", an organization that was inspired by communism.

The king opposed Bulgaria's entry into the war and tried to lead his country unscathed out of the general catastrophe. One story is that his death was arranged by Himmler because King Boris had refused to obey Hitler's orders to take active part in the war. The other version is that the King was poisoned by order of Stalin because he was preparing to make terms with Washington and London to end the formal state of war in Bulgaria, which would have deprived Moscow from later extending its sphere of influence by invading Bulgaria with the Red Army. The people mourned for their king as for a martyr whose death presaged evil to come.

The article continues:

"Then came the coup of September 9. It turned out to be worse than the people's darkest forebodings. A company of irresponsible adventurers, paradoxically called the "Fatherland Front", usurped supreme power and began to "liberate the people's state". A handful of bandits, calling themselves the "partisans" of an alleged resistance movement, crept out of their hiding-places, got arms from the govern-

ment and, under the protection of the Red Army, the "two-fold liberator", transformed our happy country into a slaughter-house. Laws were no longer valid, conscience was stifled and the sense of right trampled under foot. Order was replaced by a regime of caprice whose supreme law was: "Down with fascism! Freedom for the people!" In the eyes of this government of bandits, everyone was a fascist who did not belong to the conspiracy of the "Fatherland Front", and who had remained loyal to the constitution and national interests. These, it may be said, were the intellectual, political and military elite of the country.

After a few months the "Fatherland Front" triumphed completely. Patriotism was declared to be treason, national duty high treason, while treason became the citizen's first duty. Courts pronounced sentences by order, the "enlighteners of the people" spread darkness, the army lost its leaders and its soldiers took an oath of loyalty to Moscow. Servants of law and justice filled the prisons, thieves were given state posts, and murderers became ministers.

And yet there are Bulgarians in exile today who dare to speak of a "people's rising on September 9"! The world, thank God, knows better and history will not be led astray by participants in the bloodshed of those days. In 1945 the "Reader's Digest", the well-known American periodical, published in its October number a striking report entitled "I saw the Russians take possession of Bulgaria". The American jour-

alist ends his report with these significant words: "Every honest observer who saw the Fatherland Front in action can swear that it was not a democratic body representative of the broad mass of the people."

It certainly was not the Bulgarian people! The great majority of the people knew the fate that threatened it from the Soviet Union and the lot prepared for it by a communist government. That is why the people did not make common cause with the "Fatherland Front" and why it wept so bitterly when its king died. The only eyes that were dry then were those of supporters of the mob that rejoiced at the coup of September 9. For it was nothing but a mob of criminals, of undisciplined rowdies, of fools poisoned by propaganda. They alone could rejoice so irresponsibly on September 6 and welcome our oppressors.

Some of their leaders are once more in the capitals of Western democracies. Their comrades and functionaries during the days following September 9 are in various emigré camps throughout Western Europe, where they are once more using their fists and their knives in the best traditions of their party to terrorize rightful exiles from Bulgaria. Nor is this all.

They are considered worthy of serving as "the democratic vanguard in the crusade for freedom" which the American committee for Free Europe intends to launch in Bulgaria as well as in other countries. Poor crusade! Poor Bulgaria!

The author goes on to point out that the question at issue is not one between the monarchist and republican form of government. He expresses the alternative facing Bulgarian exiles and Western statesmen as follows:

"The question is really which ideal our Bulgarian exiles are prepared to stand for. Are they, in harmony with the longings of our oppressed people, for the restoration of its lost rights and its national dignity, which would guarantee a really "Free and independent Bulgaria"? Or do they use this phrase as a meaningless label for a new conspiracy formed in exile among those responsible for September 9, who intend to usurp supreme power in Bulgaria anew, to stifle democracy there again, sow discord among our people and cast over the future the gloomy shadow of death and dungeon?.. This is a question which must be faced by all responsible statesmen and institutions of Western powers, and above all in the United States, when they consider whom they are to trust and support, — those who keep step with the historical march of our small, but hardy and proud Bulgarian nation and who fight for the restoration of a genuine democracy in Bulgaria, followed by the great majority of the people; or will the Western democracies continue to support those who organized the fatal bomb of September 9, from the consequences of which the people is still suffering."

Continued from Page 7

and national traditions. The polished pacifism of the Twenties with all its weakness, is typical for these young people.

What could the West offer youth?

It could inspire it with the ideal of democracy, but it would also have to give it the chance to stand up for that ideal. It would have to defend not only its own freedom but that of nations deprived for it. There will be no united front of democratic youth as long as there are no bridges to the youth of peoples in the East and as long as they are not given wholehearted support in their fight for freedom.

What should be done?

The answer to this is short: As the ideas of the Western World are superior to those of bolshevism, this superior-

ity ought to be utilized. This means that an attempt should be made to realize those ideas everywhere in the world, but not that the idea of freedom should be a monopoly. We are thinking here in the first place of the young people of the nations represented in the A.B.N. who have been fighting for years for the realization of the ideal of freedom in their home countries.

Further, a scheme should be launched to form a united, anti-communist youth front in which Byelorussians, Hungarians, Baltic peoples, Ukrainians, etc. should be represented.

To discuss plans for federation and to ignore soviet manoeuvres at russification is to weaken the democratic ideal of peace in the West. There will be no democratic youth front until it includes the idea of freedom held by the youth of the peoples of the East.

A Bad Bargain:

Alliances Between Russia and the West

By Dr. D. Donzov

Peter I was the founder of Russia's European policy. Even then Russia found allies among the states of Western Europe (Denmark and Poland). Thanks to their help, she gained access to the Baltic Sea, an advance that was to cause these allies considerable trouble. The West requested and received help from Russia in its war against Frederick the Great. Russia took part in the "Three Ladies' War" (Maria Theresa of Austria, Elizabeth of Russia and the Marquise de Pompadour) against Prussia and was for the first time present as an arbiter in the settlement of disputes in Western Europe.

Russia and the French Revolution

As a result of the appeal for help sent by Western monarchies to Russia, Russian armies penetrated as far as Italy and Switzerland, and her annexation of Poland with its capital, Warsaw, gave Russia an excellent strategic position in the heart of Central Europe.

Soon the price for help against Napoleon seemed to the West too high, and England planned an Alliance of Western Europe against Russia. But it was too late.

Russia's Part in the World War

Russia paid for the help it received from its Western Allies in the war of 1914-18 by a treacherous separate peace that greatly imperilled the situation of the Allies. The West, however, was not slow to recognize these traitors as the lawful government of Russia who were immediately welcomed as members of the League of Nations. Russia's next step was to found the Third International in order to stir up domestic trouble for its generous patrons.

In World War II the West hastened once more to form an alliance with the Kremlin gangsters. And the balance for Russia? — The half of Western Europe, the half of Asia and a seat in the United Nations. And what did the

West get out of its alliances with Russia? The Fifth Column, civil war in Europe, cold and hot war in Asia and the danger of falling itself under the yoke of Russia.

Pro-Russian Influences in the West

To weight the balance even more, obscure but influential circles in the West are aiming at removing all kinds of anti-Russian states and nations out of the way of the Russian imperium, such, for instance as National China,

Japan and Germany. The negative attitude to Spain, Ukraine and the Arab World is part of this policy. Is there no end to this suicidal policy on the part of the West? Will England in particular not revert to its policy in the 17th and 18th centuries, when its statesmen and representatives in Italy, Constantinople and Stockholm gave support to all European powers, including Ukraine, against Russian expansion.

Edmund Burke, England's leading politician and orator at the time of the French Revolution wrote with sorrow:

"The age of children is gone. That of sophists, economists and calculators has succeeded and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever." ... Let us hope that such is not the case.

Azerbaijan Opposes Russian Imperialism

We publish parts of the "Declaration" of "MUSAVAT", the National Popular Party of Azerbaijan concerning the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". The "Declaration" has been issued by the Foreign Bureau of "MUSAVAT". — Ed.

1) The concept of "Nations of Russia" dates back to the Russian empire and is therefore an anachronism today. This terminology, which clings to the nominal frontiers of the late Russian empire, is essentially anti-democratic. The very concept of "Nations of Russia" lost all meaning with the collapse of the Russian Empire. In the Soviet Union, the successor of the Empire of the Tsars, there are no "Nations of Russia", but only a "Russian Nation" on the one hand, and "Non-Russian Nations" on the other. The nation of Azerbaijan is entirely different from the Russian nation.

2) Just as it is inadmissible today to talk of the "Nations of Russia", it is also absurd to talk of the "The National Minorities" in the Soviet Union". This term should be applied only to

ethnic elements deprived of a national territory and living scattered in the midst of a large mass. But the nations in question are ethnic entities living grouped on territories of their own, possessing formally the same rights as the Russians.

3) Upon the collapse of the Russian Empire, the people of Azerbaijan proclaimed its independence on May 28, 1918 and established a modern republic which was recognized by the Great Powers.

4) The present Soviet regime in Azerbaijan was created by military forces who invaded the country. The people of Azerbaijan put up a desperate resistance to this Russian invasion and lost tens of thousands of men. No member of this nation, whose sovereignty was generally acknowledged, will consent to having this sovereignty blurred and degraded; the nation of Azerbaijan made a final decision on this point when it proclaimed its independence in 1918, sealing it with its blood.

5) If all free nations are to be united against the danger of Bolshevik imperialism now threatening civilization, democracy and the rights of man, the principle of a "Federation of the Nations of Russia" which is but a disguise for "Russia one and indivisible", the slogan of Tsarist and bolshevik imperialism, must be discarded.

6) If the Russian parties are genuinely democratic, they should refrain from extending the concept of "Russia" to the territories of the so-called "minorities", whose population amounts to half of that of the entire Soviet Union, and should restrict this concept to the ethnological frontiers of Russia proper. In our opinion, only those Russians can be considered democrats who really respect the principles of national independence and democracy in other nations, and confine themselves to their own ethnic territory.

In Defense of Churches...

Continued from Page 3

that the statesmanship of the despised Victorians would not have been able to rescue the world from the ruin inflicted on it by Russian Imperialism.

The Church Should Lead

If politicians and the Press will not lead the way to justice, we pray that the Churches will, and that it will mean not more talking and registering platitudinous protests, but a campaign such as has been fought in the past for, possibly, less worthy causes.

We would repeat, no one wishes to interfere with the Russians, but all these non-Russian peoples demand the right to rule themselves, to worship

their God in their own way, to freedom of thought, speech and assembly, and to live in peace with all the world. The beginning must be the depriving of Russia for good of all its power for evil. All the 125 millions of non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. are prepared to help to this end. But they need a lead and they do not wish that lead to come either from politics or finance.

Again we urge that it is the Churches' duty to give that lead, and in no uncertain way, and to repudiate any idea of friendship with a nation which has been responsible for more torture, murder, misery and destruction than have ever existed in the world, until there has been the fullest expiation. For the Russian people must bear their share of responsibility.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ARMENIA

POLITICAL TRAINING IS WEAK

The "Pravda" of November 20 published the following report from its own correspondent in Erevan:

"At a general meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia a lecture was discussed which had been given by Comrade Martirosyan, the chief of the committee's section for problems connected with the party, trade unions, organizations of communist youth when he talked about improving conditions of entrance into the party and of training young communists.

Several party organizations in Erevan, and in the districts of Kirovakan, Srtik, Alavard and Bassargechar do not apply the principle of strict selection; they take members into the party without first examining them carefully.

In the course of the discussion, it was pointed out that in many party groups, the training of young communists and particularly of party candidates was badly organized. Candidates for membership are not sufficiently employed in party life, and too little attention is paid to the systematic improvement of their political level.

It is worth noting that, when articles in the Moscow press deal with inadequate political training, they are always devoted to non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. Is there any better proof that the Russian people is not interested in the anti-bolshevist fight for freedom in the Soviet Union?

ASERBAIJAN

"NOT SOCIALISTIC"

The Soviet press continues to publish severe attacks on the writers of Azerbaijan. M. Dilbasi, S. Chalil, I. Ibragimov and A. Dzhamil, Azerbaijanian poets, are censured for "lauding, not socialist Azerbaijan, but Azerbaijan in general". Y. Shirvan, G. Akhundla, M. Mushfaga, S. Rustama, Azerbaijanian writers, are accused of having "distorted truth in their books". A number of Azerbaijanian writers and scientists are reproached with "entertaining anti-marxist, nationalistic views".

COSSACKIA

FRESH PURGE

Purging works by Cossackian poets and writers of what is called "bourgeois nationalism" and "terrible nationalism" in Cossackia continues. Men who not long ago received Stalin prizes for their books are also among the

"accused", for instance, V. Zakrutkin, the author of the novel "Swimming Stanitz", A. Koshevnikov, the author of "Living Water", Vasilenko, Petrov (Biriuk) and many more.

A long leading article in the recently published "Don", an almanach that appeared in Rostov on the Don, talks of the political importance of works by Cossackian writers and poets.

The "Pravda" and the "Izvestiya" contain severe criticism on the collected works of Cossackian poets that have been published recently. They censure particularly the works of I. Frolov and A. Gadatatl, as "greatly damaging political thinking". (The same applies to the work of the young Cossackian poet, Vl. Kostin. He is accused of giving too much thought to Cossackian patriotism and too little to "Soviet patriotism".

CZECHIA

STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

In consequence of directives issued by the Prague government, the study of Russian in Czechoslovakia is increasing. New courses continue to be opened in many towns and villages and are much more numerous and better attended than last year. According to official statistics, there are 5200 courses in Russian in Czechoslovakia at present and the number of those attending them is 107,138.

HUNGARY

FORCED LABOUR

On November 18, 1951 the "Izvestiya" published the following report by its own correspondent in Budapest:

"Profiting from the rich experience of the Soviet Union, the young councils of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic try to keep in close touch with the electors. Thus, meetings are arranged at which representatives in the councils tell their electors about their work. Recently 226 members of district councils have given reports to a total of 15,000 electors.

At many meetings electors have decided to organize unpaid work to improve the town. Thus, for instance, the employees in the central office for statistics have undertaken to do part of the digging in certain building schemes. The workmen in the 16th District have promised to help with laying water-pipes in Aran Janosh Street."

This article shows that the Soviet Union is indeed experienced in making working people report voluntarily for forced labour. In every other country such work is paid.

LITHUANIA

THE FATE OF LITHUANIAN BISHOPS

No one knows what has become of the bishops in Lithuania, nor does anyone speak of their fate. The only one left is Bishop Paltaroska. Many parishes have no priest and even if they have one, the church is often closed because of high taxes.

Last year the Bishop sent a representative to Memel, where he preached and dispensed the Sacraments. When he was in the train on his return journey, he was arrested at Telsiai. Most churches and convents are closed. Where they are still open, the populace makes every sacrifice to keep them going, sharing their last penny with their priest. Terrorism has not been able to stamp religious life out, and the churches are overcrowded on Feast Days. The bolsheviks are trying to hammer into the people that the priests and the Catholic Church are parasites and rogues, but the people know themselves how much of that is true. Show trials of churchmen are rare, as the power of faith in the country is still too strong. This explains why priests simply disappear when they are arrested by M.G.B. agents during the night.

PARTISANS ACTIVE

Everybody in the country knows about the partisans, though nobody talks of them. They operate in small groups against ruthless opposition. Many a peasant has been sentenced to many years imprisonment merely because a "partisan" has passed through his farm. And every stranger may be reckoned as a partisan. Many so-called "stribai" have been sentenced to 25 years' forced labour because they have allegedly been in communication with partisans. The bodies of partisans who have been killed are no longer left lying in public squares or in front of the Militia's quarters, but are buried on the quiet.

"Stribai" is what the people call the Russian "Istryebiteli", M.V.D. troops. They, too, are well-known throughout the country. The members of such troops must sign a declaration, saying that they are the most loyal of the loyal disciples of Lenin and Stalin, that they obey their superiors blindly, ready, if need be, to arrest and destroy their own parents. Cases are known when these "stribai" have actually taken their parents to the trucks standing ready to transport them to exile in Siberia.

They are recruited from adventurers who have managed to avoid military service and who hope to make money. In the past, it is true, they did make a lot by robbing their victims. But now that everybody is poor, and they have no longer this source of aggrandisement, they must depend on their monthly wage of 400 roubles. They are despised by all; they are poorly equipped and have to do hard work. Now they try to desert though imprisonment is the penalty.

The district towns are full of these "stribai", and of the M.G.B.-M.V.D. and Militia. The latter are hated by Russians as bitterly as the "stribai" by Lithuanians, because they also punish Russians who, as is well-known, expect to "have a good time" in foreign countries. There are also decent men in the Militia who really try to protect their countrymen from robbery and maltreatment.

POLAND

EXPLOITATION

The Soviet press reports that Poland is being industrialized at a great rate. The number of workers employed in industry is twice as high as before the war. In the last two years alone, the number employed otherwise than in agriculture has increased to 1,200,000.

The "Nowa Huta", the largest metallurgic plant in the country, now being erected, will produce as much as the whole country did in pre-war days. It is obvious that the Kremlin has already engaged the potential of Poland in its war machine.

RUSSIAN TEACHERS

Many Russians came to Poland for the "Month of Polish-Soviet Friendship" in order to give the Poles the benefit of Soviet experience. Russian directors of factories and Stakhanov workers are teaching Poles how to work. The introduction of Soviet methods of working in Polish industry and business is another step towards the russification of Poland and the transformation of the country into a Russian province.

PRIESTS ARRESTED

Many Roman Catholic priests have been arrested in recent weeks. Most of them were released after a few days. These measures are obviously intended to frighten churchmen. Some of the priests were kept in prison, for instance, Pater W. Sygmunt, Leszno, Pater Dominic, Jelenia Gora and Pater Milewski, Sprottau.

RUMANIA

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

The region round the Horezu monastery, in the district known formerly as Balcea, is one of the centers of active armed resistance in the mountainous regions (Carpathians) of Wallachia and Oltenia. In spite of all the extraordinary security measures taken by the militia formation stationed in Ramnicul-Valcu, Targu-Juc, and Craiova, the group operating in the mountain fastnesses round Horezu has not yet been liquidated.

Special security troops have been stationed in the neighbouring villages, notably at Barbatesti and Novaci, and the local peasantry has come to take rounds of pitched battles as a matter of course. Rifle and machine gun fire, the explosion of hand grenades and

mortar shells punctuate uneasy nights. In spite of recurrent house-to-house searches, sudden forays, and arrests, the villagers continue to sympathize with the outlaw groups, and give them what assistance they can.

SOVIET TRAIN DERAILED

A Soviet military train was derailed last July, near Fetesti, where the Bukarest-Constanza and Galizi-Constanza lines meet. About 180 people were killed, most of them Soviet army personnel and Rumanian railroad workers. The investigations pointed to sabotage, and numerous arrests were made.

SABOTAGE

We have heard that the huge furnace recently completed at the Medgidia (Dobrudja) cement works, built at the cost of some four million lei and stated to have been the most modern in existence, went up in flames a few hours after being put in operation. In spite of the presence of foreign specialists, Rumanian workmen had succeeded in sabotaging the construction. The new furnace is a total loss.

At the "Fenix" vegetable oil plant in Bukarest, two cisterns, holding some 5,000 liters of oil, were recently found completely empty. The bottoms had been punctured, and the oil had drained out overnight, as the investigation revealed. A number of workers were arrested immediately.

TURKESTAN

NATIONALISM AGAIN

The "Literaturnaya Gazeta", a Moscow paper, published in its number for October 27, 1951 a long article entitled "Korkut Ata, an epic alien to the Turkmenian people. The writer deals with expressions of "bourgeois nationalism" in the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan, east of the Caspian Sea, a section of Turkestan. We reproduce extracts from the article:

"At its Tenth Congress, the Communist party of Turkmenistan appealed to party organizations in the Republic and workers on the ideological front to increase their opposition to all expressions of other ideologies and to barrenness and indifference in the province of politics."

"Some experts in the field of literature and philology are idealizing deleterious foreign books which tend to infect our people with the poison of bourgeois nationalism."

In recent years, experts in Turkmenian literature have been extolling the book, "Korkut Ata" as the heroic epic of the Turkmenian people.

What is heroic about this book?

Nothing whatever. It makes no mention of the heroic past of the Turkmenian people, of its brave deeds in its fight against oppressors. It contains nothing about the noble and lasting qualities of the Turkmenian people, of its love for its native land, its hatred of oppressors, its readiness to make sacrifices, its courage and generosity

and its desire to live at peace with other peoples.

There are twelve songs in the book which are ascribed to Korkut Ata. This is not the name of a popular minstrel but of the bard of the Ogusian feudal lords of the 11th century, and a representative of nationalist ideology.

"Korkut Ata" has nothing in common with the Turkmenian people and is quite unknown to them; it is alien to the spirit and character of the people and to its endeavours, traditions and customs.

"A summary of the contents of "Korkut Ata" was published for the first time in 1945 and 1946 in the review, "Sowjet Edebijaty" (the organ of the Union of Soviet writers of Turkmenistan).

Mr. Kossayev, formerly the editor of that paper, gave space in its pages for a eulogy of this epic which he printed under the title of "Extracts from Old Literary Monuments of the Turkmenian People". In his article Mr. Kossayev wrote: "Korkut Ata" had a great influence on Turkmenian poets and writers; it was a source of heroism to which we owe a number of fine novels dealing with the defence and love of our country. It played a great part in the production of patriots." "O. Abdalov, editor-in-chief of the state publishing concern is also to blame for the publicity that has been given to "Korkut Ata". In the textbook on contemporary Turkmenian literature, published under the supervision of Abdalov for use in the ten grades of secondary schools, it is maintained that the rich literary heritage of the Turkmenian people contains masterpieces like "Korkut Ata", one of the treasure of world literature.

Literature experts and philosophers in the Republic have supported these views and made zealous propaganda for the work. Fragments were published in literary reviews and almanachs, while extracts were included in most anthologies and textbooks."

UKRAINE

CRITICISM OF ARTISTS

Moscow's attack on the national culture of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union continues. At the moment, it is the turn of Ukrainian painters to be criticized.

Towards the end of September a general meeting of the officebearers in the Union of Soviet Painters in Ukraine was summoned for the purpose of considering the implications for their field of art of the article in the "Pravda" on ideological distortions in Ukrainian literature and of registering admissions of shortcomings. On 2. 10. 1951, a special correspondent published the following report in the "Pravda" dealing with Ukrainian Painters: "The life and work of the heroic working-classes in towns and on collective farms is poorly represented. The reason for this deficiency is that political work in the Union of Soviet Artists in

Byelorussian National Council

Against Russian Imperialism

At its plenary meeting on October 28, 1951, in New York, the Byelorussian National Council (B.N.R.) unanimously rejected the programme of the five Russian exile parties as represented by the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (S.O.N.R.)", regarding it as a great danger for the common fight against bolshevism.

The Right of the Czech und Slovak Peoples to Self-determination

The following is an extract from a Resolution submitted to the House of Representatives by Mr. Kersten of Winsconsin on July 4, 1951.

To direct our representatives in the United Nations — "... To demand that free elections be held for the Czech and Slovak peoples under police supervision of the United Nations in order that they may freely decide without outside their own government founded on such principles as to them shall seem most pressure, whether to establish a common or separate states, and to organize likely to effect their safety and happiness and to secure to themselves the blessings of liberty,

Foolish Imperialist Dreams

We regret that various imperialist tendencies have recently appeared in certain publications of Hungarian exiles. There have been foolish suggestions from time to time that Croatia, Slovakia or Carpatho-Ukraine are parts of Hungary, suggestions that are too absurd to call for comment. We should only like to state that responsible Hungarians in exile repudiate such illusions. In accordance with the principles of the A.B.N., all national delegations of the A.B.N., including the Hungarian, support the independence of Croatia and Slovakia and regard Carpatho-Ukraine as an integral part of the State of Ukraine.

C. P.

Poles Members of the A.B.N.

The Polish National Committee in Venezuela has applied for membership

Ukraine is insufficiently organized... The organizational work accomplished by the leaders of this Union is not equal to the creative tasks set before it."

ADMISSIONS BY FUNCTIONARIES

At the meeting of party functionaries in Kyiv on September 17, it was stated that the fight against bureaucracy and slack discipline towards the state was not yet being waged with sufficient energy. Criticism and self-criticism, it seems, are weak, and political work among the masses badly organized.

These facts are taken from the "Pravda" of 18. 9. 51. As the minutes of meetings of party functionaries are written in the central office of the communist party in Moscow, the "Pravda" report may be regarded as confirming the disapproval which the central office entertains for the work of the communist party in Ukraine.

of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

A Polish priest, the chairman of this Committee, declared that he could not support the politics of the Polish Exile Government in London while he fully approved of the program of the A.B.N., especially the points dealing with the claims of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians to their territories, formerly occupied by Poland.

By joining the anti-Imperialist A.B.N., the Polish Committee in Venezuela condemns all imperialist greed for foreign territory and supports the re-construction of political relations in countries behind the Iron Curtain on the principles of liberty and equality for all nations.

A.B.N. Stamps



November 1, 1951, First Edition, issued by the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) Symbolic figures, letter press, on paper with honeycomb watermark, 10 perforations,

1. 15 dark red
2. 15 dark blue-green
3. 35 purple
4. 35 blue

Issue: 12 276 complete sets, of which 1080 sets are unperforated.

Supplied by: A.B.N. Correspondence, P. O. Box 70, Munich 33, Germany.

The Slovak Republic Insists on Independence

The Slovak Liberation Committee sent a note to the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris begging it to settle the present problem of Slovakia which is still at war with the U.S.S.R. We quote:

"The Slovak Republic was proclaimed and Slovakia became independent on March 14, 1939 by the unanimous vote of the Slovak Diet elected on December 18, 1939 by universal, secret and equal suffrage.

"This decision fulfilled the centuries old efforts of the Slovak nation and the will of the Slovak people. By this act Slovakia realized her right to self-determination arising from the principles of democracy.

"The Slovak Republic was created in a time of peace and in accordance with the principles of international law and without violating international peace.

"Therefore, in a short time, the Slovak Republic was recognized de jure or de facto by many States, and became a member of the international community of free nations. Of the States which recognized the Slovak Republic, several are members of the United Nations: Poland (March 16, 1939), Great Britain (May 4, 1939), Liberia (May 12, 1939), Ecuador (May 17, 1939), Costa Rica (May 24, 1939), Yugoslavia (June 8, 1939), France (July 14, 1939), Belgium (July 14, 1939), Sweden (July 26, 1939), Soviet Union (September 16, 1939), The Netherlands (April 15, 1940).

"During the Second World War, Slovakia was at war only with the Soviet Union."

The letter then states that although peace treaties were signed and decisions made in regard to Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and even Japan, no peace treaty has been signed with the Slovak Republic, nor have the United Nations taken any decision about her fate. In 1945 Slovakia was occupied by the Red Army and incorporated into Czechoslovakia by a unilateral act. This happened in contradiction to the established practice of democracy, according to which one does not proceed to the destruction of the adversary even in the case of a lost war, but only imposes certain conditions.

"As the aim of the United Nations is the respect of the self-determination of nations and the establishment of friendly relations among nations, the respect of human rights, the fundamental liberties and progress of humanity, the maintenance of international peace and the solution of situations which might endanger it", the Slovak Liberation Committee, acting on behalf of the Slovak Republic in accordance with Article 37, para 2 of her Constitution, asks the General Assembly of the U.N. to convoke an international conference for the purpose of putting an end to the state of war between the Slovak Republic and the Soviet Union and deciding about the fate of Slovakia in the spirit of law, justice and democracy."

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"Intolerance Incorporated!"

By John F. Stewart, Chairman, Scottish League for European Freedom

In the *New Leader* of September 10th, there is an article with the above heading (without the exclamation mark, which is mine). The writer, Fred Forrest, is described as a former U.S. intelligence agent and veteran student of Soviet affairs. I think I may, without undue egotism, claim to be an even "veteraner" student of Soviet affairs, and, certainly, with much better opportunities of acquiring knowledge, not only in the Soviet Union, but in all the Border States during the whole period between the two wars.

In any case, I cannot remember reading any article displaying more ignorance of the subject on which Mr. Forrest presumes to write and more complete distortion of historical facts. If this is a sample of United States "intelligence" it's little wonder that the United States has made such a ghastly mess of everything connected with Eastern and Central Europe and Russia since they entered the late war. I am sorry that the *New Leader*, which I have so long respected for a well informed journal, has given currency to such nonsense. However, there is abundant evidence that American public opinion, in Senate and House of Representatives and outside, is increasingly coming to realise the correctness of our estimate of the policy necessary to be adopted towards Moscow, including the closest cooperation with the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Personalities of the Scottish League

May I first briefly refer to the Scottish League for European Freedom and its "eighty-year-old Chairmann (my humble self)", scoffingly alluded to by your contributor.

The Council, dealt with in the same spirit, is composed of a prominent Scottish peer, bearing a great name and inheritor of a great tradition of public service, a recognised authority on foreign affairs; the senior partner of one of the leading firms of mining engineers in the world; the Professor of Law at one of the great Universities; an ex-Australian Governor; two distinguished Members of Parliament, widely respected; a former Unionist Minister; a (now retired) very great Editor of an equally great national newspaper, with a quite unique knowledge of Russian, and Eastern European affairs; the head of one of the oldest

legal firms in Scotland; myself. I cannot help being 80 years old, but I have not yet reached the stage of the Bath chair and the armchair by the fireside. There is little change in the last forty years, and I am still the active director of the Scottish League and do a long day's work for it seven days a week. And, after all, 80 years of age does argue, unless one is a fool, knowledge of the world. It may interest some of your readers that, among other matters, I get correspondence and printed matter from many parts of the world, in seven languages that I understand, English, French, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, in others such as Hungarian, of which I do not know a word, and in still others such as Ukrainian and Byelorussian of which I do not know even the letters. So it would appear that, from very tiny beginnings, the League's work has expanded and cannot be so lightly dismissed.

History of the League

The League was only formally established in 1944, but its work was continuously carried on from August 1939, when one or two of us correctly interpreted the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of that time and Russia's intentions. Our own great national newspaper's columns have been open to us ever since, have been freely used, and in no single case has one of our forecasts or statements ever been incorrect in the slightest degree, or has been seriously challenged.

My own claim to some little authority is based on the fact that, for over sixty years I have worked in many parts of the world, including United States, Canada, Newfoundland, South, West and North Africa, Spain, Portugal, Soviet Russia and the Border States, and the Balkan and other European countries. I have been on intimate terms with all classes of their peoples from Prime Ministers to dustmen, and have lived for months at a time in the Russian peasants' homes as one of them, over some thousands of miles of Russia.

And now to deal with Mr. Forrest.

Is Nationalism a Crime?

The Schuman Plan, Council of Europe, United Nations, Atlantic Pact and so on have shown and will continue to show the disagreements that

exist between different peoples; they provide good pulpits. Except communists and their fellow-travellers it is safe to say that every decent person in the world loves and is loyal to his own land first of all — that is nationalism, and it will be a sad thing for the world if it is ever eradicated.

I have the honour of the personal friendship of all the leaders of A.B.N., both outside and inside the iron curtain, and have members of them at my home when I can get them, as well as actual fighting soldiers of the Underground armies (U.P.A.). These armies and the Underground Resistance Movements could not have lived so long under the merciless attacks of Russia if they had not the support of the entire peoples. I know all the details of the formation of A.B.N.; that its paternity is "shadily Nazi" is completely without justification.

Every Nation's Right to its own Way of Life

The aim of A.B.N. is the wholly admirable one of each separate nation having sovereign independence and freedom to live its own life within its own ethnic frontiers, and this includes Russia. Has the U.S.A., Great Britain, or any one of the organisations mentioned above any right to force on non-Russia peoples (or any other) a Government and a way of living unalterably opposed to their own, all the more when it is accompanied by Russian-imposed slavery, torture, massacre and deportation? Surely not.

Resistance on Both Sides of the Iron Curtain

The Delegates of the Resistance Movements who are outside the iron curtain do represent these Movements and therefore their nations. They are certainly not self-appointed, but even if they were, it would be nothing new — many great movements in the world for good have originated with individual men (or women, look at Joan of Arc). I shall show their authority later. So far from the Ukrainian Resistance Movement having been formed under the patronage of Rosenberg or any German, its organised army (U.P.A.) was formed and fought the Germans, not when their power was waning, but at its height. Like all the peoples on Russia's western front, from

Estonia to Ukraine, when the Germans entered to attack the Russians they were welcomed as Liberators; as soon as it was recognised that they came as conquerors all these peoples organised to fight them.

The term "Banderites" was coined by both Russians and Germans in the hope of dividing the country and presenting a false picture to the West. Bandera, who is my friend, is the deeply respected leader and organiser of the present Resistance, but the Movement is **Ukrainian**, not personal.

The Ukrainians and the other 21 members of A.B.N. are anti-Russian, as your contributor says, but quite definitely **not** anti-Semitic.

Opposition to Russian Imperialism

I fully support the aims of A.B.N. in opposing, not just communism, a name only adopted by Stalin to delude the West, not Stalinism, but the centuries-old world enemy, Russian Imperialism, and it makes no difference if this is run by Tsar, Bolshevik, Communist, Kerenskyist or any other. It is Russian Imperialism from which these nations have suffered for centuries, and the Russian people, like all other people, must bear the responsibility for their rulers' actions. They are different from the Russians, none has ever accepted Russian domination, they were brought into the Russian Empire by force and fraud, and to term them "Separatists" is only silly and ignorant. They are nations.

The Formation of the A.B.N.

A.B.N. was formed, not in 1946 but in 1943 by representatives of 12 nations; it now consists of representatives of the following: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Caucasus, Croatia, Cossackia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Turkestan, Ukraine, Slovakia, Slovenia, Serbia, Siberia.

The strongest of these nations is Ukraine, with a population of 45 millions and the richest natural resources of any country in the world for its size. In all, A.B.N. represents 180 million people, bitterly hating all Russia stands for, and has always stood for. Massacre, torture and deportation are not new or peculiar to bolshevism. Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Catherine, Suvorov were Russians, not bolsheviks.

Russian Terrorism in the Past

Ivan the Terrible drowned 60,000 inoffensive men, women and children when he seized the peaceful little republic of Novgorod; when Peter, in his march of aggression, attacked Finland, he established the seven years period of massacre still referred to as the "Great Wrath — 1714 to 1721. At the same time he attacked little Estonia, which suffered equally during the same period, and Peter's general, Cheremetiev, was able to tell his master that "not a cock crowed or a dog barked between Lake Paipus and the Baltic," he had devastated the whole country. During that time the

Russian Chancellor gave orders that any Estonians who were captured were to have their noses and ears cut off. Catherine drowned 30,000 Cossacks in the Black Sea; Suvorov, sent to conquer Poland, among other atrocious deeds and massacres, destroyed the entire Praga district of Warsaw and its people, and sent the gratifying message to the Tsaritsa, Catherine II, "Peace reigns in Warsaw". Russian "peace" has always meant the peace of death. A list of similar atrocities could be extended indefinitely, and they are **Russian** atrocities.

The Germans as Conquerors

When the Germans attacked Russia in 1941, the promised to liberate all the enslaved countries, and in all they were welcomed as Liberators; when the Germans proved to be coming as conquerors, all the countries at once organised Underground Resistance Movements which continue in one form or another to the present day; at first against Russians, then against Germans and now again against Russians. Taking Ukraine alone, which seems to be the principal target for Mr. Forrest's animadversions, the Germans first began to remove all stocks of food. In one of his instructions to the Gauleiters under him, Koch states, on August 25th, 1943, "If there will be a shortage of foods in Europe, and if war conditions will require that someone has to suffer from hunger, it will certainly not be the German people. Confronted by a choice of whether it will be our countrymen in Germany who will have nothing to eat, or the Ukrainians, we will know whom to kill. There is no need to give the land to the population in Ukraine, it must be reserved for the Germans..."

When the Germans destroyed the small village of Lidice in Czechia, to avenge some comparatively trifling offence, and killed all its inhabitants, the world rang with horror. There were countless German "Lidices" in Ukraine and nobody cared. Here is one of them.

On July 14, 1944, in the village of Malyn, the people were driven by force into the local wooden church and burnt alive. Those who could find no room in the church were driven into the former village hall and into barns and burnt there too. All this was done by Germans, assisted by Poles, and in all 850 were burnt alive. The shrieks of the unfortunate people were heard about three miles away. After innumerable incidents of this kind, does Mr. Forrest still wish his readers to believe that the Ukrainians were pro-Nazi?

Ukraine's Resistance To Germany

It should again be emphasised that the Ukrainians did not wait for the tide to turn against Germany, but began to organise vigorous armed resistance immediately after their Declaration of Independence on June 30, 1941. The Germans arrested the leaders, shot many and sent the rest to concentra-

tion camps in Germany, among the latter being Stetzko and Bandera, who were sent to the notorious Sachsenhausen, where they remained four years and have the marks of suffering yet. Scores of thousands of men and boys, women and girls, were sent to slave labour in Germany. In short, Germany was attacked at the peak of her power.

Until a Constituent Assembly could be convoked, a National Assembly had been called, when Stetzko was appointed Premier, under the Presidency of the venerable Dr. D. Levitsky, who had been Premier in Western Ukraine in 1918.

Calumny refuted

"While one of A.B.N.'s major aims is the carving of a Ukrainian State out of Soviet territory, **Soviet Ukrainians play almost no part in this whole Movement**, preferring to join more democratic groups (separatists or federalist)." There are no "groups" except the Ukrainian Nationalist, and the term "separatist" is one of those used to discredit it. There is no such thing as "an impressive record of Stetzko's wholesale massacre of Poles, Russians and anti-Banderist Ukrainians. The Underground Army has fought Moscow-directed Poles, Russians, Czechs, Rumanians and Hungarians, and no war was ever conducted without killing on both sides.

Alfred Berzins, whom Forrest attempts to blacken along with his President, Ulmanis, was not only a Cabinet Minister in free Latvia, but is one of Europe's most brilliant economists. No doubt he did his best to confine renegade Latvian communists conspiring against the State — had he not done so he would have betrayed his country. Veli Kajum Khan is a very able Turk-estanian leader, I know him very well, and he has often been my guest at my home. Many brilliant men of many nationalities have been educated in Germany, but Kajum Khan was no more a Nazi favourite than I was.

"When A.B.N. members converse with each other they do so in German, (thanks to their wartime service)." In what other common language would Forrest suggest they should converse? I do not suppose one of them ever heard of Esperanto! My own business connection with the countries of Northern, Eastern and Central Europe goes back over more than 50 years — probably before your contributor was born. I found that, in every single country German was the "**common language**", both with business men and all educated people. That was many years before Nazism was ever thought of or your contributor's "war service" even imagined.

There would be no "carving out" new States by any member of A.B.N.; all of them have traditions of free self-government going back many centuries.

Certainly, the whole course of Russian history, at least from the time of Prince Andrey Boholubsky in the twelfth century has been one of ag-

gression and the annexation of smaller neighbouring States by violence or fraud or both. In one period of 128 years Russia fought 97 aggressive wars.

Personnel of Russian High Command

As for the Russian High Command, including non-Russians, it is composed of the Politburo, the innermost circle of the inner circle of the Kremlin. The members are — Stalin, Malenkov, Bulhanin, Molotov, Mikoyan, Voroshilov, Beria, Kaganowich, Khrushchov, Shwer-nik, Andreyev, and Kosygin; later have been added — Ponomarenko, Premier of Byelorussian S.S.R.; Popow, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moscow Communist Party; Pospelow, Chief Editor of *Pravda*; Suslow, Chief of Communist Propaganda; Shkiryatow, whose job I don't know. These are 17 in all — 12 Russians (70%), 2 Georgians (Stalin and Beria the dreaded Chief of the Secret Police — 12%), 1 Armenian (6%), 1 Jew (6%), 1 Byelorussian (6%). Ukrainians, in number over 45 millions, 20% of the whole population, are not represented, neither are the Estonians, Latvians, Turkestanians and others.

That the Ukrainians and Byelorussians are distinct nations and not Russians has been recognised by no less than U.N., of which they are members, introduced by whom? Stalin, no less.

Why Deportations and Murder?

If there was any reason to believe that the entire peoples are not behind these Movements, why has Stalin thought it necessary, in order to bring them to heel, to massacre or deport at least ten million Ukrainians, a million and a quarter from the Baltic States, and so on. In Ukraine, the planned 1933 famine alone starved six millions to death, and millions more have been killed by the introduction of filthy diseases and the refusal to permit medical treatment. There is no kind of doubt of this.

Britain's Failure in Eastern Europe

It is, unfortunately, not the case that "influential British circles are behind A.B.N. in their ideas, as they fit in with British economic and power interests". Britain has had no Central and Eastern European policy at all for generations. A bitter comment by a distinguished Central European statesman recently to myself is that Britain has been represented by diplomatists who take no trouble to mix with the people, have not troubled to learn their language or political problems and the aspirations of the masses; but they can play golf and tennis, can dance and hand round teas and speak charmingly to the ladies. The ignorance and bias of our Foreign Office and bias of the B.B.C. are almost beyond belief.

American Policy

On the other hand, America is at least groping for a policy after a period of complete ignorance, and it is American public opinion and its in-

Karl Marx on Russian Imperialism

The Ukrainian paper, "Ukrainski Visti" (Ukrainian News) No. 78 (545) quoted an article by Karl Marx which his daughter, Eleonor Marx-Eweling published in the "New York Staats Zeitung und Herold". Although it is a hundred years since it was written, it has sufficient bearing on affairs today to deserve further publicity.

"If Russia had succeeded in getting control of the Dardanelles, it would have been the first step to world imperialism. By annexing Turkey and Greece, the Russians would have acquired possession of first-class ports and excellent seamen. Constantinople would have given the Tsar access to the Mediterranean, and Durazzo would have opened the Adriatic to him... Conquest after conquest, annexation after annexation would have followed. The conquest of Turkey by the Russians would have been the prologue to the annexation of Hungary, Prussia and Galicia and of the foundation of the Slav empire of which fanatic philosophers dream.

"Russian diplomacy gains from the fact that Western statesmen fear it. The Russian bear can do whatever he likes if he knows that the other animals are afraid of him. Since Peter the Great opened his famous "window to the West", Russia's frontiers have come 700 miles nearer Berlin, Dresden and Vienna, 500 miles nearer Stockholm and 1000 miles nearer Teheran. The territory Russia took from Sweden is larger than what it had left. She cut almost as much off Poland as off Austria. In 60 years the Russians have conquered territory as large as what they had owned before in Europe.

"As far as Russian diplomacy is concerned, England is its worst victim. It is true that the French have allowed the Russians to make fun of them, but not to such an extent as the English have done. Both countries allow themselves to be intimidated, and do not take measures which might preserve peace, but which would not have permitted their influence to be encroached on. To the boldness of the Russian despot they replied with anxious cun-

ing. If they had dared from the beginning to use the bold language suited to their position in the world and the claims they are justified in making, if they had showed that they would not let themselves be bluffed, the despots would probably not have advanced to attack and would never have dared to treat England and France without respect.

"The only possibility of preserving peace would have been for both countries to declare clearly and unmistakably that they were ready to send their armies and their fleets to help Turkey.

Russian foreign policy is determined by geographical conditions, by the desire to own warm sea harbours and be able to play a leading part in Europe. As long as the pursuit of this policy meets with a weak policy on the part of Western states, stereotype Russian moves will always be repeated. Russian diplomacy is more dangerous than the Russian General Staff, because it creates tensions, and operates with threats, lies and hypocrisy."

This view of Marx's has meantime been confirmed often: the firmness displayed by England, France, Austria and Sardinia when Russia invaded Turkish territory on the Danube (Crimean War 1853/56) and the resistance of Turkey (Russo-Turkish War 1877-78) prevented Russian expansion on the Black Sea, while the attempt to open a gateway to the Pacific failed because of Japan's action (Russo-Japanese War 1904-05). The weak policy of the Western powers then allowed the Tsar's successors to extend the frontiers of the Russian sphere of power far beyond the wildest dreams of "fanatic philosophers".

creasing pressure that is carrying the day, will disintegrate any Russian Empire, put these ancient nations again on their feet, confine the Russians to their own ethnic territory, where they will have to begin to make an honest living.

Mr. Forrest, however, would appear (Allies We Don't Want) to arrogate to himself the right to pose as America. Those Russians of whom he approves, Kerensky, the futile Russian Premier for a few months in 1917, Chernov and Abramovich, have only in the last few weeks, owing to the change in American public opinion, been forced to amend their programme of "Holy Mother Russia, One and Indivisible", to allowing the non-Russian peoples to have a plebiscite. They don't need it and they don't trust either Kerensky

or anyone else. They are fighting and dying for their cause and the precious trio above are not and never did.

Kerensky's Campaign

Kerensky's latest move with the support of the trio, whose success in charming the dollars out of the pockets of generous but misguided Americans is stupendous, is to set up in Europe a powerful radio station to broadcast, to the peoples behind the iron curtains, appeals to them to rise against Stalin. The non-Russians repudiate him and all his works, while the Russians will only hear what the Kremlin permits them to hear, and that will not be much.

As to the trio's efforts, I have long held the opinion that the Russian masses will not rise against Stalin; for one thing, they have always submitted

A Black Day for the Bulgarian

On the occasion of the anniversary of Bulgaria's subjection by the Red Army, the well-known Bulgarian fighter against communism, Dr. Ivan Docheff wrote an article for the Ukrainian newspaper "Homin Ukrainy" (appearing in Canada) of August 8, 1951, which is noteworthy.

We are reporting the author's remarks here as they give a true picture of the aims and methods of Russian imperialism as seen from Bulgaria. Dr. Docheff is the founder of the Bulgarian generation of the thirties, and he is now a member of the committee of the National Bulgarian Front, an associated organization of Bulgarian emigrants and representative of the present resistance struggle in Bulgaria.

On September 9th this year it will be seven years since the Red Army appeared on Bulgarian territory and against the will of the Bulgarian people established the communist régime.

That régime had no support in the country, not even among the working classes. It was set up by means of terror and brute force, and by terror and brute force it holds its sway still.

Words fail to describe the conditions under which the people are living to-day. Distress and fear prevail everywhere, now the Russians are in the land. Hatred of the imposed régime is growing, and day by day resistance increases and the longing to get rid of the alien yoke becomes more intense.

Russia's imperialistic policy towards Bulgaria has not changed through the centuries. Only the means with which Moscow seeks to achieve its end, have changed. In order to understand Russia's great interest in Bulgaria, its strategic position in the Balkans must be considered.

In the last century when Russia gave as a motive for the declaration of war against Turkey, that orthodox Bulgaria

must be obliterated, the Tsarist government was really following an imperialist aim. To make sure of its influence in Bulgaria "instructors" were placed in all ministries and barracks. Even at that time there was talk of a "Danube Government", that was to be a bridge for further expansion to the south.

The methods employed then, too, made it impossible for the Bulgarians to free themselves from the Russian protectorate.

The new Russian conquerors who went to Bulgaria in 1944 as "liberators" used even more radical means. Moscow had not forgotten how the Bulgarians had reacted to the Russian attempts in the previous century to form a "Gouvernement" across the Danube and decided this time to set up a Bulgarian Soviet Republic, and good care was taken that this republic received a Russian avantguard.

For Moscow's purpose any means would do. The resistance of the Bulgarians is to be broken by brutal terrorization which is described as the "brotherly aid of the Russian people". But this time too, all the measures employed have failed to attain the

promised success. Moscow has not been able to deceive the people. It is only the traitors who have long been the minions of Russian imperialism, who serve as members of the communist party and obediently carry out the plans for the destruction of Bulgarian independence.

This year again, as in the past, there will be "folk demonstrations" in Bulgaria on September 9th, in which the satisfaction of the Bulgarian people with the present situation will be manifested, to prove their "love" for the enforced régime and occupation army. The "loyal" press will sing hymns of praise to the "Russian liberators" and Stalin. But we know what all these expressions of the "people's will" are worth. We Bulgarians are not to be hoodwinked and the Bulgarian people have learnt the value of Russian declarations of "friendship" and "support" by bitter experience.

The 9th of September will always be a black day in the history of Bulgaria, even for those who are forced to march in line, because terrorization compels them to. They bear their hatred of the regime and the occupation in their hearts however.

To-day, the Bulgarian nation is subjected and has no means of speaking to the world, but in its name the national Bulgarian exiles appeal to the free world.

"The struggle against a regime that was forced upon us has begun and is going on. Nothing that happens in Bulgaria to-day is an expression of the real will of the people. In spite of terror and sacrifices our holy war for freedom and our own sovereign State will be continued till victory is gained."

to their Governments and they have, like most people, a respect for a strong and able man, which Stalin undoubtedly is, and which Kerensky's best friend could not say he is. And my belief has been strikingly confirmed recently by two unquestioned authorities. One was a member of the staff in Moscow of the newspaper, British Ally, published by the British Embassy, but now closed. A trained observer, in his recent most arresting book, "Moscow Close Up", he confirms my view, and he is further confirmed by a letter in a recent number of Truth. It is from a member of the delegation of the Society of Friends who recently visited Moscow in the hope of forwarding the cause of peace. No one can impute partiality to them.

Russian Revolt, an Illusion

He says, "To count on the imminent revolt of oppressed multitudes in Russia is to cherish a dangerous illusion. I doubt very much if the Russians feel themselves oppressed, even if we judge them to be so."

Returning to "Ukrainian pro-Nazism", when the tide of battle began to roll the Germans to the west, and

defeat appeared possible, they released Bandera and Stetko, recognising them as national leaders, if Forrest doesn't. Up to now they had described the Ukrainians as Ukrainian national bandits and brigands, now they were Ukrainian fighters for freedom! They urged Bandera and Stetko to bring about an alliance on equal terms with Germany; had this been accomplished the war would have ended differently. The leaders, supported by the entire nation, declined even to listen to any proposals. With the result? That the Germans cooperated with the N.K.V.D. (Russian Secret Police), whose agents they brought in by parachute and otherwise, to attempt to destroy the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)!

A Russian View of Russian Methods

"The Tsars of Moscow had the instinct of conquest from the reign of Ivan the Cruel; they employed violence and artifice by turns, and succeeded with rare ability in augmenting their territory at the expense of their neighbours. It was under Peter the Great, however, that Russian policy first assumed that decided and stable character which it has retained to this day.

All the objects which Russia pursues unceasingly, with indefatigable perseverance, amounting to nothing less than the subjugation of the greater part of Europe and Asia, were already conceived and designated to his successors by Peter I... The impulse which his iron will gave to the nation still continues, and by an extraordinary course of circumstances, Russia has come alarmingly near to the attainment of his object without Europe succeeding in stopping her. Internal difficulties may have from time to time retarded her progress, but the spirit of Peter still hovers over his Empire, and his pitiless ambition still lies at the bottom of every Russian heart."

I think I hear Mr. Forrest say "mere A.B.N. propaganda". No, the foregoing is a quotation from the Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski a member of the Imperial Russian Court, an intimate friend of the Grand Duke Alexander, a confidant of the Tsar Paul, and a Russian Ambassador. He lived from 1770 to 1861, and his Memoirs were published in 1888.

I could go on indefinitely, but I hope I have said enough to expose Mr. Forrest's article as a complete travesty of historical and present day facts.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE KOMSOMOL

In addition to alarming reports in the Soviet Press on deficiencies in the communist training of young people in Ukraine, there is similar news from Aserbaijan. On 12. 10. 1951, the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" reported as follows on work among the young in Baku, the largest town in the Republic:

"The committee of the Komsomol for the town and district of Baku does not take the pains necessary to train and discipline youth in the theory and practice of marxist-leninist doctrines. Many active members are not engaged in study and are slack in publicity work though, thanks to their training, they know enough to have a complete mastery of the theories of Marx and Lenin. The town and district committee are often weak in their efforts to educate active members in the ideas of bolshevism."

DEVIATIONIST COMMUNIST PRESS

At its last meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist party in Aserbaijan had to pass a special resolution to censure the "serious shortcomings of the newspaper, the "Pioneer", the organ of the young communists of Aserbaijan. At the same time, the "Komsomolskaya Pravda", in Moscow declared that the "Pioneer" was deviationist.

Such reproaches have been too frequent, particularly in recent times, to be a sensation. But it is interesting to ask why "ideological distortions" i. e. "nationalistic deviations" are the monopoly of non-Russian nations in the Soviet empire. The Politbureau in Moscow, perhaps against its will, thereby confirms that the resistance against Bolshevism expressed in literature, art and journalism as "a reaction to bourgeois nationalism" is actually also the antagonism of non-Russian peoples to the despotism of Russian imperialism.

Up till now no "ideological deviations" have been found officially in Russian literature and journalism.

BOHEMIA

MORE SPIES IN INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS

In the recently formed Ministry for State Control, a special department has been created to deal with reports on shortcomings in production plants. A public appeal was made to workers to report to this department in writing or orally all infringements of legal or plant regulations, in particular all cases of inadequate results, waste of material and money, and bureaucratic practices in running the concern.

According to an official commentary by the government, the new Ministry for State Control, which was only established after the latest purge and re-organization of higher party and administrative agencies, has the same powers as a state court of justice and can therefore issue executive measures, so this appeal to workers plainly indicates that the espionage carried on by secret police in factories is being extended.

BYELORUSSIA

MASS PRODUCTION AND POLITICAL TRAINING

The Soviet press reports that in the months of July and August 1951 alone, communist propagandists gave 25,000 lectures on one and the same subject, namely, "The Soviet Union, A Bulwark of Peace and Security for Nations". This uniform lecture had to be attended by 1,850,000 people.

CAUCASIA

CAUCASIAN TROOPS IN KOREA

American newspapers state that Allied reconnaissance reported a Caucasian unit of about 5,000 men and at least 70 armored cars, now on their way to the Western front in Korea. This is probably not the only non-Asiatic unit which the communists intend to put in the field in Korea. Much attention was given to this report in American circles. In the past, soviet propaganda mentioned merely the presence of "voluntary" units at the front in Korea, in which members of Eastern European nations were represented. The Caucasian armored unit, on the other hand, was identified as a type that did not belong to an international brigade.

CHINA

RUSSIFICATION OF CHINA

The "Pravda" reports that the membership of the "Society for Chinese-Soviet Friendship" is increasing daily. It is the Society's task to "enlighten the population of China" about life in the Soviet Union, which is just a psychological preparation of the country for the extension of Soviet Russian influence. In North East China alone, the Society is said to have more than 35 million members. It is also preparing the way for the spread of the Russian language among the Chinese people: "in order to meet the desire of working people who wish to learn the great Russian language, the

Society has arranged 157 evening courses for the study of Russian."

The "Pravda" would have us believe that the whole world wants to speak Russian only.

COSSACKIA

FRATERNAL ASSISTANCE

After grain was delivered and harvest work ended, many of those employed on tractors and threshing machines were sent from the Don areas to the central provinces of Russia "to help on the collective farms of the elder brother". Bolshevist exploitation of human labour is not over when the target is reached.

LACK OF SOVIET PATRIOTISM

On 19. 8. the "Pravda" published an attack on cultural and political training in Cossack areas, where workers were not "instructed in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in the socialist attitude to work and in the proper relationship to the community". Lenin's and Stalin's ideas, it seems, are not sufficiently propagated among working people. The district round Stalin-grad was particularly criticized.

RECURRING COMPLAINTS

At a meeting of the party organizations of workers in the Cossackian oil-fields a discussion took place of the causes of failure to fulfil the plan for the production of oil. Serious shortcomings were found in the work of the Ahtiok Trust.

According to the Soviet newspapers, the plant is being fulfilled at the cost of the quality of the work, the costs of production being increased in consequence of excessive use of material and extraordinary waste.

The "Stalinskaya Pravda" reports that the housing target for the first half of 1951 has not been reached, and that living conditions are wretched.

In a lecture, I. Pyshkin, the secretary of the regional committee of the communist party, declared that the economic production of this important industrial centre in the Cossackian area had been unsatisfactory not only in 1949 and 1950, but also in 1951. According to the "Molot" (Rostov-Don) the political training provided by many party organizations is completely unsatisfactory they being infected by "nationalistic tendencies", "anti-patriotism" and "local sectarianism".

HUNGARY

KIDNAPPING CHILDREN

A refugee from Hungary reports that the communist government in Hungary is utilizing the deportations of undesirable persons that have been going on since May 1951 to forcibly separate children under 6 from their parents, if these are politically unreliable. The children are taken to special communist children's homes

where they receive new names; this will help to erase memory of their home-life and will make it difficult for parents to trace them. Such deportations of children have been carried out up till now not only in Budapest but in a number of large Hungarian towns.

MORE WOMEN AT WORK

The Hungarian government which has called unemployment "the greatest scourge in capitalist countries", a scourge unknown in Hungary, is issuing energetic measures in order to increase the number of women employed in factories and even in mines.

A statement published by the government runs: "The voluntary recruitment of workers — including females — by the government started in February 1951, when no fewer than 160,000 new hands were asked for industry alone. For the whole five-year plan (1950 to 1954), as Ernő Gerő, Minister of Economics declared, 650,000 new industrial workers are required, 62,100 additional workers, of whom 23,000 must be women, are required for the first half of this year. For 1951 the government put the number of women workers at 50%, 47% in the building industry, 80% in trade and state agencies for food, clothing etc., 40% on state farms. In addition, 10,000 women are to be employed in 1951 on railways.

According to an official order, the recruitment of women workers for industrial concerns is to be the result of personal conviction and no pressure is to be exercised. Seeing that there were relatively few women working for their living in Hungary in former times, and that they were exclusively employed in women's work, with the exception of agriculture, personal conviction will scarcely suffice to carry out the government's demands.

LITHUANIA

DIFFICULTIES OF CATTLE REARING

The "Tiesa", the official soviet Lithuanian newspaper, recently published targets for cattle-rearing up to the five-year plan that ends in 1955. A comparison of these figures with the number of cattle reared in Lithuania before the war gives us a sorry picture of economy in the once prosperous Baltic states.

	Target	Pre-war number
cattle	800,000	1,200,000
cows	390,000	800,000
pigs	500,000	1,500,000
sheep	260,000	1,300,000

And it is extremely doubtful whether this target, can be reached 10 years after the war, for the very high mortality among cattle has not been taken into account. Cattle are badly looked after: there is not sufficient fodder, nor, as "Tiesa" reports, enough veterinary surgeons, plagues are neither prevented nor recognized and combated in good time... As a result of in-

adequate care, calves often die at birth." Another reason for high mortality is the lack of warm, weather-proof sheds. Winter is too severe in Lithuania for animals to stay in the open. There are sheds for only 30% of all the cattle. Last winter alone, 60 percent of the cattle left outside froze to death.

POLAND

THE SOVIETIZATION OF LEARNING AND RESEARCH

The systematic sovietization of higher learning in Poland was introduced at the first congress of Polish Scientists in Warsaw in August. The most important action carried out by the congress was to dissolve the famous Academy of Science and Art in Cracow, founded in 1872, and to transfer its functions to a new communist organization which is to carry on its "work and educational experiments and activity and to take over its property". Thus an end has been put to all independent scientific research in Poland.

The congress was attended by more than 1500 delegates who included representatives of the educational world, members of the Polish government, the trade unions, Stakhanov workers and other invited guests. Delegations also appeared at the congress from France, the Soviet Union, China, Hungary, Rumania, Great Britain, Italy and the German Soviet zone.

The dissolution of the Cracow Academy is particularly noteworthy, but the resolutions of the Congress influenced practically all Polish scientific institutions and organizations. For from now on, there is only the new Polish Academy of Sciences which, according to "Poland Today", an official publication, is a "well organized body working a plan that coordinates all such institutes throughout the country".

It is obvious that the dissolution of the Cracow Academy is the last link in a chain with which the communist regime has bound all scientific and educational efforts. The congress was divided into sections corresponding to the various provinces of scientific and school life, and every section had to submit a plan for the scientific work in progress, emphasizing subjects and methods of study which will "help scientists to get to know marxism and historical and dialectical materialism".

Special training courses were held this year; they were compulsory for teachers, who had to show that they had made progress in their mastery of communist theory. Subjects of examination were: problems of marxism and leninism, criticism of capitalist imperialism, the Polish six-year plan, the fight for peace and methods of teaching socialism derived from soviet models. Examiners tested the professional qualifications of candidates, their knowledge of marxist literature and socialist theory, and their level of self-knowledge and criticism.

FRESH DEPORTATIONS

Fresh deportations have taken place in Cracow and Warsaw, against which the Polish Episcopate has protested. In spring it is expected that deportations will increase and will include not only people in towns, but also big peasants. The government in Warsaw is already drawing up lists of these peasants.

According to statistics quoted by Zambrowski in the Cominform paper, "For Lasting Peace, For The People's Democracy" (No. 37) there are about 170,000 so-called kulaks, or rich peasants, in Poland. If we add to these, the fairly rich peasants, we find that there are 378,000 peasants who are viewed with disfavour by the communists. 150 goods trains would be necessary to transport these people to Siberia and thus to solve the peasant problem in Poland in the communist sense.

DEVELOPMENT OF AIR FORCE

Brigade General A. Romeyko, formerly in command for the Polish air force has gone to Moscow as military attaché, his successor being the Soviet Russian General Ivan Turkiel. The appointment of a Soviet officer of this rank to the command of the Polish air force leads to the conclusion that Moscow has begun to pay attention to the development of a department that has been much neglected.

At the same time new air-fields, such as those at Malborg and Puzk have been built. The naval flotilla, hitherto stationed on Lake Leba, is to be transferred to Puzk.

SPEEDING UP COLLECTIVIZATION

According to official statistics there were 3,045 collective farms in Poland at the beginning of July, an increase of 856 for the first half of 1951.

RUSSIAN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

Soviet Russian control of Polish industry is being developed. A number of Soviet Russian engineers have recently arrived to supervise the extension of heavy industry in Poland.

RUMANIA

ACTION AGAINST UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

The Soviet press can no longer conceal the increasing activity of the underground movement in Rumania. But, in order to camouflage its true nature of national resistance against the Soviet Russian regime of force, Rumanian patriots are discredited in the public press as being agents of the Vatican and the U.S.A.

The "Pravda" of 11. 9. published a long article on the trial of members of the Rumanian underground movement which was opened on September 10 by a Bucharest military tribunal:

"The subversive group, to which George Sandulescu and Lasar Shtefanescu belonged, was appointed by representatives of the U.S.A. and the Vati-

can for the purpose of creating an underground organisation called the "Christian Socialist Party". In the pamphlets they distributed, they appealed to the Rumanian people to overthrow the regime of the People's Democracy... Agents of the Vatican and Anglo-American imperialism formed terrorist and various so-called religious communities with the same revolutionary purpose."

The indictment emphasizes that "it is the criminal aim of the Vatican to prepare for a new world war on the territory of the Rumanian People's Republic, under the leadership of the accused, Pacha, Gatti, Shubert, Waltner and Geber".

The trial lasted for several days and concluded with long sentences of imprisonment with hard labour and solitary confinement for all the accused:

Bishop Augustin Pacha, 81 years old, condemned to 18 years solitary confinement and a fine of 1,200,000 lei,

Pietro Ernesto Gatti, 71 years old, 15 years solitary confinement,

Josef Shubert, a priest, 61 years old, solitary confinement for life,

Petri Tota, 62 years old, 10 years solitary confinement,

Eraldo Pintori, 56 years old, formerly an employee in the Italian embassy at Bucharest, hard labour for life,

Adalbert Borosh, 45 years old, hard labour for life,

Joseph Waltner, 59 years old, 15 years hard labour,

Lion Geber, 41 years old, 12 years hard labour,

Lasar Shtefanesku, 47 years old, hard labour for life,

George Sandulesko, 44 years old, hard labour for life.

The accused were not in court when the verdict was pronounced. Their sentences were communicated to them in their cells.

SLOVAKIA

THE ROAD OF FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE

In Slovakia the "road of friendship and peace" is being constructed. This is a strategic motor highway which will connect Slovakia with the Soviet Union. The "Pravda" reports that Slovakian peasants have to work on the road which, according to official statements, is "to unite Slovakia's culture and economy with those of the Soviet Union".

SABOTAGE ON RAILWAY

The "Pravda", the official organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, published in Bratislava, admits that the railway accident near Tatranska Lomnica (area of High Tatra mountains), when many people lost their lives, was due to sabotage. The report accuses railway personnel of having behaved like common criminals and of having endangered the security of the train by carelessness. As "enemies of socialism and the state", they ought

therefore to be made to pay for their conduct.

Well-informed circles of Slovak emigrés connect this railway sabotage with the activity of Slovak White partisans, as it took place in the district where they are most active.

FOR SABOTAGING THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC FOOD

Mrs. Maria Daňkova, head of the food office in Ruzomberok — a town in Central Slovakia — was sentenced to 9 years imprisonment in the middle of October. She was accused of causing losses to the state of 51,000 kilogrammes of sugar, 8,850 kg of lard and 9,850 kg of margarine. Her deputy Stefan Slachta was sentenced to 6 years for misappropriating 48,150 clothing coupons and soap coupons. Sentences were also pronounced on Jan Serafin, manager of the co-operative shops organisation in Ruzomberok, (9 years) and his assistant Ladislav Hatala (3 years).

TURKESTAN

MORE BAD MARKS

The conference of the central organization of Soviet writers of the Uzbekistan Republic ended in the last days of August. The lectures held then, and above all the criticism that was voiced were evidence of the continued internal resistance of intellectual circles in Turkestan to the russification of the people there. The Soviet official press was loud in its censure.

The "Literaturnaya Gazeta" of August 28 writes: "A discussion followed the speech held by Comrade Ujgun, the president of the Society of Soviet writers in Uzbekistan, who gave a report of the five years that had elapsed since the central committee of the Communist party in the Soviet Union published its decree on the reviews, "Syvesda" and "Leningrad" and on the tasks of Soviet literature in Uzbekistan.

According to the press, the speaker first referred as usual to the successes of those years and then went on to speak of shortcomings that are evidently numerous enough; the real life of the Republic "the enthusiastic development of industry, agriculture, science and culture" are not, it would appear, adequately reflected in the literature of Uzbekistan. There are no important books on "the working-classes of Uzbekistan". Many books are "unsatisfactory as regards ideology". Writings, for example, by M. Sheykhade, Taruba Tula and others still "bear the stamp of bourgeois nationalism or are not political, and lacking in ideas."

The dramatists of Uzbekistan, who have not produced a single new play in the last 18 months were censured for not fulfilling their duty to the people. The theatres stage, it was said, inferior or perverse plays which

"idealise the feudalism of the past" (s. Abdula's "Alpamysh"). Literary critics and scholars in Uzbekistan must be blamed for not exercising more influence on the development of literature. The Institute for Language and Literature in the Uzbekistan S.S.R. was branded as a "refuge for bourgeois-nationalist elements", "who" deliberately ignore the successes of Uzbekistan literature and try in their scientific studies to propagate the pan-Turkish, pan-Islam ideal".

During the debate which followed this speech, other shortcomings were mentioned. Translators, for instance, were reproached with arbitrarily altering the contents of original texts that they did not approve of.

The reader who peruses this list of bad marks may well inquire in what the progress of "pupils" in Uzbekistan consists.

UKRAINE

INCREASING INDIFFERENCE IN KOMSOMOL

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of October 19, 1951 complains of growing indifference and a falling off in numbers in the Komsomol in the Soviet Union in general and in Ukraine in particular. A certain Comrade Krywolitsky wrote to the paper mentioned complaining of the inadequate support given him by the higher local and district secretaries of the Komsomol when he was organizing a local branch.

In replying, the paper tells tales out of school. In Ukraine during the first half of 1951, 224 secretaries were dismissed from the Komsomol altogether while 1,506 were dismissed from office. The reasons given are always the same, namely, carelessness, indifference, bureaucracy, lack of devotion to the cause, deviations.

Whatever efforts the Moscow powers make, communism simply will not take root in Ukraine, especially among young people. Mass purges will be of little avail.

LITTLE INTEREST IN THE KOMSOMOL

The soviet press continues its revelations of conditions within the Komsomol in Ukraine. It was reported, for instance, in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" that an alarming state of affairs has been caused in Kyiv, the capital of the country, by the fact that the leading positions in the Komsomol have been vacant for some time, as no one wants to take them. This might at first sight sound incredible. But the same paper published on 28. 9. 1951 an article that reflected the indifference many members of the Komsomol feel for their organisation.

Hanna Konstantinenko, a Ukrainian girl, was sent to work on a stud farm in the Furmanow area (Kazakhstan) after she had graduated from the Veterinary College in Kyiv. As a loyal member of the Komsomol, it was her

duty to report at the local branch as soon as she had taken up her new work. The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" reports indignantly that she kept her membership of the Komsomol secret for eight months so as to avoid work in the organisation. When the local branch got to know of this, she was asked to give a written statement confirming her membership of the Komsomol. Instead of doing so, she declared: "I prefer to give you a written statement to the effect that I am no longer a member of the Komsomol."

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" does not reveal the consequences this entailed for the young Ukrainian.

NEW PEACE CONFERENCE

The "All-Ukrainian Peace Conference" was opened in Kyiv on September 13. Its purpose is expressed in a sentence from a speech by M. A. Posmitny, the "hero of socialist labour": "By means of a mighty effort on the part of all nations, we intend to strike their weapons out of the hands of all warmongers".

The background of the eastern "peace campaign" could not be formulated more clearly and succinctly.

SABOTAGE EVEN IN MUSEUMS

An article in the "Pravda" of 13. 9. 1951 entitled "The Message of Museums in Lviv" states that the department in the Historical Museum in the capital of Western Ukraine devoted to the feudal period deliberately tries to deflect the visitor's attention from "the efforts of the Ukrainian people to unite with the great Russian people".

In the department dealing with the history of Ukraine in the Soviet period, a number of important historical events are missing. It is characteristic that these exhibits should have been accommodated in small, dark, quite inadequate rooms which contrast unfavourably with the space given to the pre-Soviet period.

"There are many museums in Lviv, and justice compels us to admit that things are no better, sometimes even worse, in them than in the Historical Museum. The State Museum for Ukrainian Art in Lviv is open to the public, but working-people would like to see changes there... While there are only 150 pictures in the Soviet department, there are hundreds of exhibits in the section devoted to old Ukrainian art..."

A Memorandum

of the Croatian National Committee

In a Memorandum dated September 15, 1951, the Croatian National Committee seizes the occasion provided by the support given by democratic powers of the West to Tito's regime to inform the free world about the situation of the Croatian people in Yugoslavia under its communist government. Beginning from the collapse of the Danube Monarchy in 1918 which forced the Croatian people, contrary to its right of self-determination, to live in the newly established state of "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" this "unnatural concentration of nations, cultures and worlds" in an artificially constructed state is described as a danger for peace in South-East Europe which is now acute. The Memorandum refers to a remark by the late Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States, which appears in the Memoirs published by R. E. Sherwood, his secretary: "The President expressed his often repeated opinion that Croats and Serbs had nothing in common and that it was ridiculous to attempt to force two such contrasting nations to live together under one government."

The feelings and political aspirations of the Croatian people were expressed by Dr. Aloisius Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb and head of the Catholic Church in Croatia, when he declared before his communist judges in 1946: "The Croatian people stated in a plebiscite that it wanted a state of its own and I should be unworthy if I did not feel the pulse-beat of my people which was a slave in Yugoslavia!"

The Memorandum concludes with the declaration that, if a European federation of free states should fail to materialize, the independent Croatian state would prefer, in accordance with the will of the people, to work with Danube states rather than to cooperate with Serbia.

For the Independence of Caucasia

Meeting of North Caucasians in Munich

The North Caucasian National Committee has sent us this Communiqué:

On 16. 9. 1951 a meeting of North Caucasians living in Western Germany was held in Munich, 200 people from all over Germany being present. A. Mahoma, president of the North Caucasian National Committee gave an address after which several of those present expressed their appreciation of the work the Committee had done up to date.

In the discussion afterwards of the general situation and of Kerensky's attempt to include representatives of non-Russian peoples, among them North Caucasians, in the Council for the Liberation of the peoples of Russia, the meeting was unanimous in its condemnation of such manoeuvres and in its determination to restore the independence of North Caucasia, a republic that has been occupied and destroyed by the Bolsheviks. These present withdrew their confidence from ex-General Bicherakhov, who has put his services at the disposal of the Council and has founded a North Caucasian representative body in Schwabach, Germany, for the purpose of misleading world opinion.

The meeting recommended close cooperation with representatives of the peoples of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia and the formation of an independent federal Caucasian state in the common interest of all Caucasian peoples. The North Caucasian National Committee was asked to work together with representatives of all peoples subjugated by Bolshevism.

ABN-Correspondence, P. O. Box 70, Munich 33, Germany/Bavaria. Published by the Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).
Responsible: K. W. Orleky.

A. B. N. Press Conference

On 6. 11. 1951 Central Committee of the A.B.N. held a press conference in Munich which was attended by 25 representatives of prominent newspapers and press agencies. The A.B.N. was represented by the following office-bearers: Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the A.B.N., Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, general secretary, Dr. B. Balkansky, head of the information department (as chairman of the press conference) and General Ferenc Farkas de Kishbarnak, head of the military Commission, Prince N. Nakashidse, member of the Georgian National Committee in Central Europe, and others.

In a statement to the press, the office-bearers of the A.B.N. demanded:

- 1) that diplomatic trade relations with the Soviet Union be broken off!
- 2) that representatives of the liberation movements of peoples behind the iron curtain be admitted to international

bodies as fully recognized delegates from their respective peoples;

- 3) that the underground armies behind the iron curtain be recognized as active fighting forces.

As regards Kerensky's campaign, the representatives of the press informed that in Wiesbaden between November 3 and 5, 1951 certain mercenary members of the non-Russian peoples formed "parties" willing to join the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". Such unworthy and venal methods are condemned by the non-Russian peoples united in the A.B.N.

The A.B.N. further demanded that an end be put to blackballing Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks and Croats who, during the defence of the freedom of their peoples against bolshevism, were compelled to fight on the side of the axis powers.

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

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Moscow's Fight Against "Bourgeois Nationalism"

The great wave of purges, which has been sweeping over the satellite states and the U.S.S.R. since the spring of 1951, has assumed horrifying proportions. According to estimates given by Mose Pijade of the Communist Politbureau in Yugoslavia (and he should know), this is a political campaign launched by Moscow on the same scale as the purges that shook the Soviet Union in the years 1935 to 1938.

There are, however, differences. Fifteen years ago, the entire Communist party in the U.S.S.R., including Russia proper, was subjected to the purge. Now Russia proper is excluded, and the purge is limited to areas inhabited by peoples subjugated till 1959, and to the countries which became satellite states after 1945. The countries most affected are Ukraine, Turkestan, Aserbaidjan and all the satellite states.

Another difference is that, 15 years ago, the purge and the Moscow show-trials shook the whole world. But today, though the numbers involved are as high, the effect on Western public opinion is not one tenth of what it was in 1935-1938. Facts are conscientiously recorded, but that is all. It is no longer a matter of principle, but a problem of statistics. "There is no evil to which we cannot get used", says a Russian proverb. The West seems to have got well used to this evil.

The motives behind the latest purge are of particular interest. It is carried out under the slogan of "Down with bourgeois nationalism"! It is no longer a fight carried on by a Stalin clique against this or that "right" or "left" deviation; it is not a fight of the Communists among themselves over the interpretation of Marx-Lenin dogmas.

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The Promise of Siberia

By Kirilo Siberyak

"I don't fear Siberia, Siberia is also a Russian land" — are the words of a Russian song and the Russians like to sing it. Unfortunately, their masters from the Kremlin not only like to sing but still more to act as if Siberia and many other countries of the world were Russian. It is little consolation for us to realize that today Russians from Moscow like to act as if the entire world were Russian.

The Meaning of "Russia"

However, contrary to world-wide opinion, our Siberia has never been Russian historically and ethnically. To avoid confusion I must stress that by "Russians" I mean the **Muscovites**. I must point out the fact that "Russia" is a confusing term. "Russia" (Rossiya) was a Greek term to designate the ancient state of the Ukrainian people — the Kievan Rus. In this sense "Russia" was the cradle of the Ukrainian people. The cradle of what we mean by "Russian" people at present was Muscovy, called "Russia", because the founders of the "Russian empire" not only desired to appropriate the history and traditions of the old "mother-city of Russlands", but also to prepare Muscovite expansion on the lands of old Kievan Rus. By right the name "Russia" and "Russian" belongs to the Ukrainians and I still wonder why the latter so easily renounced their old historic name, of which they were deprived by an insatiable Moscow.

Siberia and U.S.A., a Parallel

Speaking of Siberia, I must point out the fact that the origin and development of our country and people show a close and striking resemblance to that of the U.S.A. Therefore, to maintain today that Siberia is Russian is the same as to maintain that the U.S.A. is — British! The American nation owes its origin to colonizing activities in which British, Dutch, Swedes, French and Spaniards bore a share. However, the British share was a preponderant one and the British secured a controlling influence in the development of the U.S.A. As to the Siberian nation in its true sense, the country of Siberyaks owes its origin to the Cossack conquest and to the colonizing activities by many freedom-loving people from Eastern Europe, chiefly by Poles, Ukrainians and Byelorussians in the past and by many others (Balts, Caucasians, Turkestanians, etc.) at present.

The share of the Muscovite serfs in the development of Siberia was very insignificant and, therefore, Siberia of today, is far less Russian than Massachusetts or Pennsylvania were British at the time of American Revolution.

Early History

The **Cossacks**, and not the Russians, conquered Siberia, which had been under Tartar Khans since the 13th century. It comprised the Khanate of Sibir, and the capital was situated at Isker on the Irtysh River, near the present town of Tobolsk. When there was a clash between the Siberian Tartars and the merchant activities of the Novgorodian Stroganov Family, a Cossack Yermak was called in to help. This "Pizarro of Siberia" began the period of expansion in 1581; another Cossack, Deshnev, developed it till it reached the Pacific in 1648. The rapid conquest is accounted for by the circumstance that neither Tartars nor Turks were able to offer any serious resistance. In 1607-1610 the **Tunguses** fought for their independence, but were subdued about 1625. Around Lake Baikal some opposition was offered by the Buriats, but in 1650, another Cossack, Khabarov, set out into the Amur valley. The Chinese resisted him and brought Cossack progress to a stop by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, in 1698. Further expansion along the Amur River had to wait till the middle of the 19th century, when, in the treaty of Aigun in 1860 the Chinese recognized as Russian all the country on the left bank of the Amur.

Cossacks Conquerors

Few of us know that the conquerors of Siberia — the **Cossacks** — consider themselves a separate ethnic group, distinct from Russians. People who have been used to think in terms of Russian imperial mythology cannot think of Russia without remembering the Cossacks of "Russia" and fighting all the enemies of the White Tsar in Moscow. It is true that this warlike and freedom-loving people worked sometimes as frontiersmen for the Tsar of Moscow, but it is true, too, that at other times they attacked the Tsars in bloody uprisings (Razin, Bulavin, Pugachow), which nearly brought about the destruction of the Russian Empire. The fact is that the Cossacks are the descendants of the native Slav population of Northern Caucasia which,

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during the Middle Ages, formed a powerful state of its own — the Principality of Tmutorokan, very loosely connected with old-Kievan Rus. This principality fell a victim to Tartar invasion in the 13th century, but at the time when the Moscow princes were clever in winning the good favors of the Tartar Khans, the Cossacks resisted the invaders and formed independent semi-military communities — in the lower Don as Don Cossacks and along the River Ural (Yaik) as Yaik Cossacks. The Cossacks acknowledged no law except that of their elected councils executed by elected Atamans, responsible to the Cossack council. This democratic system had nothing in common with the iron rule by Moscow tsars, and the Cossack communities considered themselves fully independent of Moscow, maintaining only legations there. However, as result of unsuccessful risings against the tsars of Moscow, the latter were able to tighten their grip on the Cossack lands and to deprive them of their independence. In 1917, the Cossacks of Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan and Ural declared once more their independence of Moscow and fought with arms against Soviet-Russian supremacy. At present, the separatist movement is very strong among the Cossacks and they aspire to the establishment of a sovereign state, Cossackia, which would include all lands with a prevailing Cossack population.

Pioneers in Siberia

By far the largest parts of the Siberian population are not the descendants of the Cossack conquerors. Early in the 17th century there were no more than some 20,000 Cossacks in the whole of Siberia. Just before World War I, they formed four Cossack armies ("voyskos"). There were the Siberian Cossack in Western Siberia, the Transbaikalian Cossacks around Lake Baikal and the Amur and Ussuri Cossacks in the Far East. Following the Cossack conquest, many freedom-loving people left their ancestral homes and set out for Siberia in search of freedom and a fresh start in life. Many who were unwilling to submit to the iron rule by Moscow tsars made their way to Siberia, and Siberia looked to them as the Far West of the U.S.A. to such people in America. The composition of those early settlers showed a strong resemblance to that of the U.S.A. There were hunters and fishermen among them, seekers of gold and silver, ranchers and farmers, merchants and industrial laborers. Besides, the central authority of Moscow sent compulsory settlers into Siberia: prisoners of war (Swedes, etc.), convicts, exiles and sectarians. Most important among the sectarians were the Old Believers ("starovery") who, under the leadership of the Protopope Avvakum, maintained the superiority of old customs and traditions in the Russian Orthodox Church. Those descendants of the pure Slav population in Muscovy did not accept the reforms of the Patriarch Nikon in the 17th century which aimed at subordinating the Russian Orthodox Church to the imperialist policies of

the Russian tsars and, therefore, were severely persecuted and massacred by the tsars.

Very many Ukrainians

In the vastnesses of Siberia which were not easily accessible to the henchmen of Moscow tsars, the Old Believers found freedom to worship in their own way, and to live according to their own traditions. Another important group of compulsory settlers were the political exiles. They gave Siberia a tone of its own. This tone was their freedom-loving uncompromising spirit which extended throughout our country, especially in its cities.

In the early nineties of the last century, Siberia received a new influx of voluntary settlers. These were farmers, most of them Ukrainians and Byelorussians who settled in the Far

A.B.N. fights for the liberation of Siberia and its independence

East and South of Siberia. As a result of this immigration, the Far East ("Green Edge") and the South of Siberia ("Grey Edge") became chiefly Ukrainian. In some districts they formed over 80 per cent of the entire population. This cannot be overlooked as the Ukrainians are the bulwark of anti-Russian and anti-Soviet nationalism. In 1918, a third Ukrainian Congress, convened in the city of Khabarovsk. It decided that the Far Eastern territory populated by the Ukrainians be recognized as part of the Ukrainian state. Later, Ukrainians were among the staunchest supporters of the Far Eastern Republic.

Recent Immigration

The years of collectivisation and the subsequent policy of persecution of Ukrainians, Cossacks, Byelorussians, etc. have resulted in a new influx of non-Russians in Siberia. Even the Soviet sources (The Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R. from 1940) pointed out that "during the last twelve years (1926—1939) there was a considerable migration of people from the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. to the industrial centers of the Russian S.F.S.R., especially in new manufacturing centers". Due to such migration, population of the Ural region, of Siberia, and of the Far East increased by 5,900,000. The influx of the new immigrants was still bigger during World War II, and continues even now. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian workers, engineers and technicians are forced to leave their homeland and ordered to transfer to Siberia. The same policies are carried out in the Baltic lands, in Byelorussia, in the Caucasus and in Turkestan. Thousands of new prisoners of war (Germans, Japanese, Italians, Rumanians, Hungarians, etc.) were forced to remain in Siberia. Besides, there are

millions of slave laborers in detention camps, which form huge slave labor territories. Slave labor territories in North Siberia are completely isolated and even the native hunters are not allowed to enter them. The population of those slave labor camps is estimated at 10 million (in Siberia) and most of them (over 90 per cent) are non-Russians according to Prof. Ernst Talgren, himself a former prisoner in one of these camps (1940—1942).

Increased Population

Consequently, the population of Siberia increased rapidly. In 1911 it was put at 8,719,200. It numbered about 10 million at the outbreak of World War I. Twenty years later it was more than 25 millions. Today it is estimated at 40, or even 45 millions, not including political prisoners in the camps of detention. The vast majority of this population is non-Russian. It presents different racial stock: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Balts, Poles, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Azerbaijanians, Idel-Uralians, Germans, Jews, etc. Being of different racial stock, the new-incomers feel as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Balts, Germans, etc. However, if they remain in Siberia, they begin to feel as the Siberyaks. There is no doubt that the second and older generations already feel like that. Anybody who knows the conditions in the U.S.A. understands what I mean by such feelings.

Native Tribes

Some 25 per cent of the Siberian population are the Siberyaks of the second and older generations. They call themselves "Siberyaks" and consider themselves a distinct nationality from the Russians. The analogy with the Americans is striking. They are the descendants of early conquerors of Siberia, early settlers and their native wives and of new immigrants. Besides the European population of different racial stock, there are also nearly 170 groups of native population and certain groups of these have features that show a strong resemblance to those of the American Indians. One people is definitely Mongol in type and speaks the Mongol language. These are the Buryats (900,000) in the Lake Baikal area, closely related to the Mongols of Mongolia. In the Middle Lena valley there are over 300,000 Yakuts, who are an outlying group of peoples speaking Turk. There are Tartars in the Altai mountains (Oirats) and in the Irtysh valley of Western Siberia. The old Asiatics bearing a strong resemblance to both Eskimos and Indians live in the North, North-East and East of Siberia. Besides, there are some 100,000 Jews in Birobijan, a Soviet-made "national home" for the Jews in the Far East.

Thus, Siberia much resembles America and the Siberyaks — the Americans. Like America, Siberia is a new country, rich in natural resources, in energy and in promise. Its size, its high-pitched activity, its youthful exuberance are typically American. The

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U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

By P. G. Andree

American Unity

Let us start with a little game; suppose an enemy were to land in United States territory, in Alaska, Texas, California or Connecticut. Everywhere he would find Americans, speaking the same language, all feeling and reacting like Americans.

If this enemy were to announce that he had come, for instance, to liberate the State of Texas and the Texan people from the dictatorship of Washington, people would laugh at him, and all Americans, whether from Texas, California, Connecticut or Alaska would do their best to drive him out of the country.

Russian Parallels

Now, suppose an enemy were to land in the territory of the U.S.S.R., in the Union Republic of Turmenistan, or Aserbaijan, or Ukraine, or Latvia, he would find a different nation in every one of those parts of contemporary Russia, a people with a language of their own, traditions of their own, and quite different reactions. If this enemy were to tell them that he had come to make good Russians out of them and give them a new, good Russian government, they, too, would laugh at him, and ask him what a good Russian or a good Russian government mattered to them as Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians or Turkestanians; nor would they consider anyone who approached them thus as a friend.

But if this enemy of the Soviet Union were to come to Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians and Turkestanians and say, "We will give you the same rights that every people in the West has" he would be welcomed by these nations as a friend and a liberator, except perhaps for a very small group everywhere in the Soviet Union who are personally interested in maintaining the present regime.

Important Differences

What does all this mean?

It is a dangerous simplification to compare the United States of America with the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics, only because these great powers are both, federal unions in form, and because, therefore (apart, of course, from their system of government), the situation is the same in both.

When a Latvian, Ukrainian or Caucasian emigrated to the U.S.A., he did so of his own free will, desiring to become a hundred per cent American as soon as possible, and he was then proud of his American citizenship.

When Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians or Turkestanians became Russian citizens, they were forced to do so because their country was conquered by Moscow. They will not recognize the government of the Soviet Union, or any other Russian central government as their government, but only as an

alien dictatorship which they were forced to accept.

That is the first difference.

Soviet Union Based On Compulsion

The United States of America is a voluntary union of free people in free communities, these — and this is important — being called "States"; they are parts of one and the same great nation, namely, the American nation. If a free plebiscite were held in the U.S.A., it would make no difference to this state of affairs.

Things are not so simple in the Soviet Union, where propaganda, false ideas and slogans used in class strife throw dust in the eyes of outside observers. In Soviet opinion, only part of the population is politically of age and entitled to express its views; it is prepared to say "yes" to all Soviet demands and desires. This must be said in order to explain why 99.9 per cent of the votes in all plebiscites held in the Soviet Union are in favour of present conditions there. It is true that, by constitution, the Soviet Union is also a voluntary union, but we must not forget that the adjective "voluntary" was applied in Moscow, after Ukraine, the Caucasian Republics, Turkestan and other Republics, Turkestan and other areas had been conquered by the Red Army in 1918-21 and after the same fate had overtaken the provinces of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania after 1940. The "free will" of the Constitution was therefore established, and will be maintained by force of arms.

If a really free plebiscite were to be held in the separate parts of the Soviet Union, it is most probable that the population there would not vote for the continuance of the Soviet Union. Up till now it has been impossible to gain such proof, as all attempts in this direction have been suppressed at great sacrifice on the part of those concerned.

Furthermore, the communities that constitute the Soviet Union, i. e. the Union Republics, are not parts of the same, homogenous area, say of Russia, but territories settled by different nations. More than 50% of the population of the Soviet Union are non-Russians.

The Soviet Union, therefore, does not possess the common national denominator present in the United States of America; but it tries to compensate for this lack by creating the fiction of a homogeneous Soviet nation. Russian exiles do the same when they speak of an imaginary Russian people (*rossiysky narod*), erroneously translated in Western languages as "Russian people". There is a Russian people, but no Russian peoples, no Russian family of nations, no Soviet nation, no nation of Russia. Clear thinking on this point would save much misunderstanding and annoyance. But both the Soviet Union and Russians in exile assume that people abroad accept their fictions and repeat them out of ignorance.

These, then, are further differences.

Some Erroneous Views

Other traditional views, sometimes expressed by Americans, also require to be rectified.

It is, of course, much more convenient to imagine the world as a simple entity, and not to pay heed to complications, just as it is simpler to count in round figures instead of in fractions. Unfortunately the accounts presented us by the world are not always in round figures.

Let us consider, for instance, the advantages of extensive economic areas. It would probably be more practical from the economic point of view if the American continent were an economic unit. But this is not the case, probably because the states of Latin America would not then be able to hold their own. But nobody dreams of forcing a united, and perhaps more efficient extensive economic area on those states. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, which is geographically speaking a continent, the unity of a big economic area is upheld against the interests of the peoples who inhabit it; it is even propagated by Americans (cf. George Kennan: "U.S.A. and the future of Russia", in *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1951) who assert that Ukraine for instance, is just as much a part of Russia from the economic point of view "as Pennsylvania is of the United States". This as we have pointed out already, is an erroneous comparison, for Pennsylvania's position in the United States is not at all that of Ukraine in the Soviet Union, or as Kennan has it, in Russia. If we wish to talk of extensive economic areas, then it would be nearer the mark to say: Ukraine, or Caucasia, or Turkestan might be part of Russia from the economic point of view in the same way as Mexico, the Argentine or Peru might be part of the U.S.A., provided they so desired.

And this, I think, leads us to a critical point.

Public opinion in America regards the legitimate national efforts of the nations in the Soviet Union as chauvinistic and separatist, because it is easier to speak simply of Russia than of the many different nations that are included in the frontiers of the Soviet Union — the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the Baltic and Caucasian nations, the Turkestanians, etc.

Why Different Measures?

If I am not mistaken, American public opinion reacted differently to cases that are fundamentally the same as ours. Movements for liberation in India, Pakistan and Indonesia secured the approval of American public opinion, though it might have been more practical from the economic point of view to have left those countries as they were — in the British or Dutch Colonial Empires. If American opinion was right in these cases, it is hard to understand why other measures are applied to Russia and the Soviet Union; the desire of people there for freedom is stigmatized as "Chauvinist separatism".

which would do better to accept Russian hegemony than to shake the "historic frontiers of Russia", divide the country up, or destroy such an "excellent economic unit".

Chauvinism and Separatism

Let us consider separatism and chauvinism for a little, beginning with the former. Contrary to the situation in Indonesia or India, the struggle for national liberty in the Soviet Union is so bitter, entailing such enormous peril for the individual, that it imposes rigid discipline and demands unequivocal expression. That the controversy knows no compromise is the result of measures adopted by the opponents and not by the protagonists of the movement for freedom. Surely this is not chauvinism. We can talk of separatism only when part of a homogeneous national whole tries to secede, if for instance, the State of Texas or California should attempt to secede from the U.S.A. But it is surely not correct to talk of separatism when, for instance, Ukrainians, the Caucasian nations or the Turkestanians wish to liberate themselves from an alien regime. Was it separatism when in 1905 the Norwegian people decided to dissolve peacefully their union with Sweden? Was it separatism when Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, and Rumanians demanded their own national homes after the collapse of the Empire of Austria-Hungary? Surely not.

George Fischer, an American journalist (cf. his article "The Vlassow Case" in 'Der Monat', 1951, No. 34), for instance, speaks only of extreme separatist and chauvinist movements when describing the nationalist movements in the Soviet Union, and he calls their refusal to join a committee under Vlassow, a Russian, "malignant". Were the movements for freedom in the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia extreme separatist and chauvinist movements? Were their efforts to achieve independence "malignant", or was American public opinion, which obviously sympathized with these efforts "malignant"? Obviously not. And sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander . . .

Stalin's Methods

Stalin is perhaps not a sympathetic person, but he is no blockhead. Would such a man, with the enormous powers of a centrally governed state at his disposal, give himself the great trouble to pacify, at least in form, the nations living in the Soviet Union by granting them republics, constitutions administrations, and to take meticulous consideration of them, if he did not deem it practical and necessary? Stalin probably knows the proper strength and value of the national movements among the nations living in the Soviet Union. He tries to control them by making them formal concessions, and when that does not suffice, he applies methods of the M.V.D. and "mass murder". But the Western world will have nothing to do with these last two methods, even in connection with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Another Face of Russian Communism

By Dr. D. Donzov

In the West it is believed that Communism, as propagated by Moscow, is a new social order; the object in itself by which the revolutionary suppression of the "rich" i. e. the bourgeois, in favour of the "poor" i. e. the proletariat, is to be attained.

In reality and, as the Russian Bolsheviks look at it, Communism is quite another thing. It is not the object of a social class movement by the means of a national, Russian-political idea, but an idea which arose under the Tsar which they used no less than the Bolsheviks as a method for purely Russian expansion, preaching also a struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors.

During the Polish revolt 1865 the Tsar's envoy in Poland, General Muraviyov, "the hangman", incited the Polish peasants against the great landowners (the instigators of the revolt). The startled West European ambassadors reported from St. Petersburg that "the Tsar had become a Communist" and was encouraging the poor peasants to take possession of the property of the nobles to divide among themselves.

And that was not even the only example of Communist policy (against the "rich") instigated by the Tsar. Just as in 1939 the Bolshevik army invaded Galicia to liberate the poor peasants from the rich Polish landlords, the Tsarist army entered that country in 1914 exactly for the same purpose.

In 1917 the Bolsheviks attacked Ukraine in order to overthrow the socialist government, the so called General Secretariat of the Republic, with the excuse that the General Secretariat was composed of generals, landlords and other bourgeois who were exploiting the poor peasants in favour of the rich, — the Kulaks, Tsar Peter I appealed to the common people of Ukraine against the Ukrainian nobility when the latter with Hetman Mazeppa at their head made an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden against Peter I. He, the Tsar of the rich, in a country where serfdom existed, paraded as the protector of the common people of Ukraine which at that time knew nothing of such bondage. (It was first introduced by Catharine II).

The so-called Muscovite "Slavophiles" (middle of the 19th century), all followers of Tsarism, harangued in their writings against "rotten Europe", against its bourgeois in particular, which was "oppressing" the common people". Dostoyevski expressed his desire to the Frenchman M. de Vogul to see bourgeois Paris destroyed either by her own proletariat, or by the Russian army. All these Khomyakovs, Aksakovs, Leontyevs — most of them tsarists and with proprietary rights over their own people —, urged the Tsar to put an end to all thought of legitimism and start a revolution in West Europe. They all dreamt of an "Imperator Spar-

tacus", such as Dostoyevski and Lermontov foresaw. The well known satirist, Saltykov, the Russian Swift, nearly 100 years ago painted a fantastic portrait of Tsarist dignitaries who were sent to communistic barracks (Falansteres) in which all free citizens went to bed at the same time, ate and drank to the minute and were to increase and multiply. This was not only theory, for Arakcheyev, one of the ministers of the "liberal" Tsar Alexander I who had his father Tsar Paul murdered, actually founded such Falansteres, so-called military settlements, where the peasants cultivated the land under strict military regulations.

For a West European who sees only social class warfare in Russian Communism it is incomprehensible from whence these Communist tendencies of the Tsar, his dignitaries, his writers and ideologists arose.

Another phenomenon still more incomprehensible for the west-European, is that while many white Russians were enthusiastic about the idea of Communism before 1917, now red Moscow attacks many Communists, for instance Ukrainian Communists of 1919 to 1920, the Serbian, or Dimitroff Communists in Bulgaria. All that can be easily explained, for the Russians fraternize with the lower classes of other nations when they revolt against their own authorities.

On the other hand, however, as soon as these classes have the power in their own hands Russia goes against them. In both cases it is the object of the Russians to destroy the leading classes and make of the nation a "bel-lua sine capite"; a herd without a shepherd will fall all the more easily to the Muscovite saviour.

Whatever class of society it may be which has the leadership of a nation that is to be liberated, — nobility, bourgeois, priests (Tibet!) socialist intellectuals, working classes, rich peasants or even a Communist party which is all too independent from Moscow, that class must be fought against. If the poor are the under-dogs in such a nation they are used to destroy the rich who have the upper hand. Should the poor happen to be on top, then it is the poor who have to be destroyed. It is no question of poor and rich but of who is on top and has the power. A nation that is to be liberated must lose its leading caste in order to succumb to Moscow's leadership. Class warfare is a mask; the Communist idea is merely a tool in Moscow's hands to achieve its national political conquests.

That is why the White Russians under the Tsars longed for an "Imperator Spartacus" to call forth a revolution of the masses in the world; that is why the red Russians make their Spartacus emperor to rule over the wandering herd absolutely, in the name of Muscovite messiahship. Communism is merely his weapon.

Attitude of the A.B.N.

to the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"

A "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples in Russia" was formed in Stuttgart by parties of political Russian emigrés, under the leadership of Alexander F. Kerensky, notorious as the Prime Minister of the short-lived Provisional Government in the first months of the Revolution of 1917. The "Council of Liberation" was constituted after the amalgamation of five parties of purely Russian exiles, who maintain that they represent democracy.

This "Council" does not seem to have a broad foundation, as Russians in exile are known to be split up into at least thirty parties, some even say forty-nine. At the press conference afterwards, A. Kerensky stated that the aim of the "Council for Liberation" is to destroy Bolshevism, perhaps without another world war, by means of an internal anti-Bolshevist revolution. This aim is to be realized in three stages: the first stage is to be a campaign of propaganda when the "Council" will distribute leaflets and will broadcast speeches in order "to inform the population of the U.S.S.R. about the real evils of Communism".

Kerensky's "Propaganda Drum"

Mr. A. Kerensky proposes to drum propaganda throughout the entire area of the U.S.S.R. What a man, who has lived for the last 34 years in the safety of exile in the West can tell people who have lived just as long directly under the tyranny of Bolshevism, is not clear. Nor is it clear what kind of liberation can be expected from a leader like A. Kerensky who, when things got dangerous in Russia, fled abroad from Lenin, wrapped in voluminous skirts.

It also seems that Mr. A. Kerensky at the suggestion of his foreign patrons intends to renew his rights "as a Russian Prime Minister still in office" and to form a Russian exile government.

The "Council" declared that it does possess the right and the power to speak on behalf of the nations of Russia, though not a single representative or party of these "peoples of Russia" is, or wishes to be, represented in it.

American Help

It is not the first time that these or those parties of Russian exiles have joined to form a "great committee for liberation"; there have been numberless such actions in the 34-year history of Russian exile. So this formation of exiles would not have been of particular interest if, this time, it had not been backed by certain American "private circles". They give this latest Russian "liberation council" a certain international status and — their money.

A purely "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" has been formed, too and will support Kerensky's Council in all its efforts. The president of the "American

Committee" is Mr. Eugene Lyons; Reginald T. Townshend is executive director and John F. B. Mitchell Jr. is counsel. Its members include William H. Chamberlain, Charles Edison, William Y. Elliot, Allen Grove, Isaac Don Levine and William L. White. The American Committee is organized "to provide advice and guidance, when asked, and to make available to the Russian Council" such funds as it has. The "American Committee" is taking over the whole seventh floor at 6 East Forty-fifth Street, New York City, N. Y.

Anyway, the funds put at the disposal of the Kerensky's Council seem to be sufficient to operate in Munich a big Russian broadcasting station, like that of "Radio Free Europe", and to print much propaganda material. A large house in the Augustenstrasse, Munich, has been acquired and equipped for Kerensky's Council and is now the scene of great activity.

Repudiation by the Peoples Oppressed by Russia

The creation of Kerensky's Council has met with very little sympathy from the peoples of Eastern Europe, both in exile and most surely also at home. As soon as the news of its formation was announced, it was greeted by a shower of repudiations, the first of those being sent in by the circles of monarchist Russians in exile.

But the negative attitude of the national organizations of the so-called "Peoples of Russia" whom Mr. Kerensky proposes to "liberate" is much more important. On August 4, 1951, for instance, a Press Conference was summoned in Munich by the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). On this occasion the A.B.N. stated that the 22 peoples it represents, who live under the rule of

Moscow in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states, categorically refuse to have anything whatever to do with Kerensky's Council. These peoples do not wish to be liberated by the Russians, but from them. For these nations, the only way to destroy Bolshevism and to liberate the nations oppressed by Moscow and restore peace to the world is to completely disintegrate the Russian Empire into the national states that compose it. The peoples in the A.B.N. do not believe in the possibility of a Russian democracy; there has never been such a democracy in all the 700 years of Moscow's history, nor does the psychology of the people of Muscovy lead one to hope for such a possibility in the future. The peoples in the A.B.N. cannot see why they should remain in the Russian union of states even after the collapse of Bolshevism. For them, Kerensky's activity is only the attempt of certain circles of Russian exiles to save the unity and the continuity of the Russian Empire at any price, once Bolshevism has been destroyed. Rendered wise by bitter experience in the past, these peoples do not for one moment believe in the sincerity of Russian "democratic" and other "liberations".

The oppressed "peoples of Russia" have had too bitter experience of Russian "democracy", particularly in 1917/18, to be duped again by the promises of Kerensky & Co. All promises made by Moscow have always come at a moment of Russian weakness in order to disarm and paralyze its opponents. When once it has recovered, Moscow has always renewed its pressure and annulled all former promises and concessions. Every Russian "movement of liberation" inevitably has ended in the more severe totalitarianism and the dictatorship of Russians over other peoples. This must be avoided in the next war, or revolution.

Such were the opinions expressed by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. The resolutions passed on August 24 1951 are appended.

Resolutions

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) announces its attitude to the so-called "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" as follows:

1. There are no "Peoples of Russia" within the Soviet Union. That state includes a Russian people within its ethnographic frontiers, and the following non-Russian peoples: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, Cossacks, Idel-Uralians, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbaijanians, North-Caucasians, Siberians, and others. They do not live on Russian soil, but each on its own ethnographic territory.

These non-Russian peoples were subjected to Russian imperialism by force.

They still continue their fight against Russian imperialism in its present form of Bolshevism, and

struggle for their freedom and their political independence.

2. The term "Peoples of Russia" is a symbol for ancient Russian imperialism which has not changed, and a violation of the feelings of non-Russian peoples. It is intended to lead the Western World deliberately astray, and actually helps to maintain the despotic structure of the Soviet Union.
3. The attempt on the part of Russian exiles to speak on behalf of these is an abuse of the rights of non-Russian peoples, who have long had their own organizations for achieving national liberty, which alone are entitled to represent these peoples.
4. The organizations of Russian exiles which have joined to form the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" cannot claim recognition as representing non-

The Promise of Siberia

Continued from Page 2

Siberyak is a pioneer and enterprising, and he loves his freedom. He has much in common with the American pioneers including such traits as enterprise, courage, boldness in planning. And even if this Siberyak speaks some sort of Russian, he does not want to have anything to do with the Muscovites, for whom he has utter contempt. The Soviets know of this attitude of the freedom-loving Siberian people and they chose to appease the Siberyaks in order not to provoke them against the Kremlin. Apart from the camps of detention, there is much more freedom in Siberia than in any other country of the U.S.S.R.

Struggle for Independence

However, the Siberyaks have always aspired at autonomy and separation from Moscow. The prevailing freedom-loving spirit of the early settlers and political exiles and the influx of freedom-loving Poles and Ukrainians contributed much to the development of the Siberian "separatism". In 1917, the Siberyaks established a government in Omsk which demanded autonomy for Siberia. Unfortunately, the Allies in the First World War did not understand the movement for the disintegration of the Russian empire. In Ukraine and in Cossackia, in Turkestan and in Siberia they gave their full support for the forces striving for the restoration of the "Holy Mother Russia", of the one and indivisible Russian empire. In Ukraine and in Cossackia the Allies supported the tsarist reactionary Gen. A. Denikin with arms and war material instead of supporting the democratic Ukrainian government and the

Ukrainian army fighting Soviet Russian aggression. In Siberia, the Allied expeditionary forces and their subordinate Czecho-Slovak force helped the tsarist Admiral Kolchak to power as "Supreme Ruler of Russia" instead of supporting the thoroughly democratic Siberian government. In Ukraine, Gen. Denikin fought with British arms the Ukrainian armies formed to oppose the Bolsheviks, and thus helped the Bolsheviks to create "a single and indivisible Russia" now engulfing nation after nation. In Siberia, the White guards of Adm. Kolchak, allegedly fighting against Communists, fought in the first instance against the Siberian separatists; they claimed that all their opponent were Bolsheviks. In December 1918, Kolchak, having secured Allied support, dispersed the Siberian government in Omsk.

The Far Eastern Republic

After Kolchak's defeat in 1919, it was an ex-lawyer of Chicago — Alexander Krasnoshchekov — who believed that a separate government should be set up in Siberia; he tried to do so without antagonizing the Japanese, who held power over a large part of Eastern Siberia. Thus, the Far Eastern Republic was formed by the will of the people, as expressed through its duly elected representatives; it guaranteed to all classes of society "the democratic liberties that safeguard the peaceful development of social forces" — to quote the Declaration of Independence of the Far Eastern Republic drawn of in April 1920.

The Role of Japan

The creation of the Far Eastern Republic was not in the interest of Japanese imperialists. They decided to intervene and to set up a Japanese civil administration in the Far East. They supported Ataman Semyonov, half Russian, half Buriat, one of the most hated followers of Adm. Kolchak and set him up as a Japanese puppet. A patriotic popular movement rose against the Japanese and their puppet. The Siberian patriot Tripitzin formed a Siberian guerilla army and fought the Japanese with success. The Japanese placed a price on his head, but were not able to catch him.

Under Allied pressure the Japanese were forced to leave Siberia. Now the Far Eastern Republic faced the Soviets. Early in 1922, the Red Army invaded the Far Eastern Republic which ceased to exist on Nov. 17, 1922, when Kalinin issued a proclamation which merged the Far Eastern Republic with the Russian S.F.S.R.

Recent Development

Siberia's importance increased immensely when the Soviet Government turned its attention toward the Pacific and Asia as a whole. New industrial centers were built up in Siberia, a sign of the Soviet "Drang nach Osten", shifting the center of gravity to the East. Consideration of national defence

received first attention in this gigantic enterprise. The labor for these gigantic projects was "contracted" by the N.K.V.D. and Siberia became a huge prison, covering millions of sq. miles, the largest in the world. The capital of this huge slave Empire — Magadan has now more than 1 million "inhabitants", mostly slave-laborers and their guards. It is evident that the population of Siberia has increased recently at the cost of non-Russian nationalities and these are the staunchest enemies of the Kremlin.

Strategic Importance of Siberia

Once the world has become a many-ringed circus of conflict, one of the most glaring spot-lights has suddenly gone up in Korea. This is an area that has always been a traditional zone of Russian imperialistic expansion. For long years Russian armies struggled there in the time of the tsars; now Moscow has made greater headway in our time in the disguise of Communism. Siberia is an immensely essential factor. It has vast strategic importance for the Russian empire. By the possession of Siberia, the U.S.S.R. qualifies as a potential world power, because it controls an impregnable and self-sufficient land-mass stretching from Central Europe to the Pacific Ocean and beyond to the very shores of the U.S.A. This continuous land-mass is not only a strategic redoubt, but also a strategic base for Soviet aggression in different directions. Thus, thanks to Siberia the U.S.S.R. is a Near Eastern, Middle Eastern and Far Eastern power. Siberia, too, makes the Soviets direct neighbors of the U.S.A. Through Siberia the Soviets have an easy access to China. And because of Siberia, the U.S.S.R. is also the leading Arctic power, a fact which acquired great importance with the advent of the continent-spanning airplane.

Its Future Role

The Future role of Siberia is closely linked to the plans U.S.A. have for combatting the Soviets. At any rate Siberia soon may be the battlefield upon which the future of mankind will be decided and perhaps the final act of the world drama may be enacted. Therefore, U.S. policy makers must pay the greatest attention to this area and its population. According to the principles of psychological warfare, it would be advisable to exploit the anti-Soviet sentiments of the Siberian population, which consists of freshly imported Balts, Poles, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, Caucasians and Turkmen, and, combining them with the local separatist movement of the Siberyaks, to help in promoting a sort of American Revolution in Siberia and in establishing the United States of Siberia. These would comprise separate and theoretically sovereign states of the Urals, Western Siberia, Siberian Cossackia, Central Siberia, Southern Siberia ("Grey Edge"), Mongol-Buriatia, Yakutia, Birobijan, Altay, Oirotia, Transbaikalia, the Far East, Sakhalin, Kamchatka which are joined together by a federal government in Nove-Sybirsk (federal territory) and with national reservations for native peoples of

Russian peoples, even if a few disillusioned or paid persons have declared their readiness to cooperate. The only genuine claimants to recognition as representatives of non-Russian peoples are the representatives of these countries who take active part in their national organizations for liberation. What is necessary is not the "Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" who do not exist, but the liberation of these peoples from their oppressor, Russia, and uncompromising opposition to all attempts to re-erect the Russian dungeon of nations in any form whatsoever.

5. The peoples oppressed by Russia, who are united in the A.B.N., are fighting for the dissolution of the Russian dungeon of peoples, whatever its form — whether totalitarian or democratic, republican or Tsarist — and the formation of independent, democratic national states in their ethnographic frontiers; they repudiate all cooperation with Russian imperialists, no matter their species, and they will continue this fight to realize their ideals, regardless of the attitude of official circles in the West.

Hungary, Moscow's Military Spring-Board

By Lt. Szabo

The political situation in Hungary has recently become very critical in consequence of the condemnation of Catholic church dignitaries, including Archbishop Grösz, and of the deportation of about 10,000 inhabitants of Budapest who lost their houses and all their belongings within 24 hours.

As a direct consequence of the Grösz trial, the "presidential council" of the Hungarian People's Republic issued a law, saying that archbishop, suffragan bishops, bishops, coadjutors, abbots, and the leaders of the church in the provinces may be appointed only with the approval of the presidential council. This means, of course, the liquidation of the Hungarian Catholic Church by Moscow, where the opposition of the clergy in Hungary was most unwelcome. So Bishop Hamvas, who succeeded to the office of Archbishop Grösz, no longer directs the destiny of the Hungarian Catholic Church, but Beresztoczy, and Lajos Szécsi, two new priests appointed by Moscow. Both have been excommunicated by the Vatican. And the courage of the Hungarian people leads us to expect that such measures will not help either Beresztoczy nor the red priest Szécsi, who were trained for this political function in the Church in Moscow, to do their duty.

Hungarian propaganda attempts to make light of the inhuman deportations from Budapest. The broadcasting station of Budapest announced a list, according to which only barons and counts, general and big capitalists were to be evacuated. They did not say that 80% of the evacuees were old pension-

ers, unemployed and politically unreliable workers.

The economic position of the average Hungarian is determined by two factors: the production target to be reached every day, and food rationing cards; — the raising of the target, political intrigues in the factory, tickets for milk, bread, meat, cheese, etc. in an agrarian country like Hungary — are the main concerns of the Hungarian workman's daily life. Work-brigades, consisting of "volunteers" who work for nothing, are making an underground railway in Budapest on the plan of the metro in Moscow, which is to be the "most modern underground in Eastern Europe". Two thousand guilders have been earmarked for the project, and 85,000 tons of iron, 30,000 tons of iron cement and 150,000 tons of cement are estimated to be necessary. No one, of course, mentions that the directors of the construction are soviet engineers, Savelyev and Danilia by name, or that its object is purely a military one. The intention is to make two tunnels for express underground trains, under the level of the Danube, able to transport 60 waggons of war material or 45,000 men per hour.

Enormous sums are available for military purposes, but the Hungarian people's standard of living is very low. A place like Szombathely, the capital of a country with 30,000 inhabitants, for instance, has not a single hotel or a bed for a stranger. ("Ludas Matyi", Budapest, p. 6, dated 26. 7. 51.)

In the military field the Soviets are trying to strengthen their own position in Hungary and to organize a powerful

Hungarian satellite army under "General" Stefan Bata. By the end of 1951, the standing army is to be increased from 110,000 to double that number, an enormous effort for a country with a population of 8 millions. Rigorous measures bring in plenty of recruits, but their "fighting morale" is a matter of concern for the Soviets. During manoeuvres last autumn, there was such confusion among the units "in the battlefield", that the soviet Russian general in charge called the entire performance off and ordered the companies to return to their headquarters.

A flood of arms and armaments of all kinds pours into the big army arsenals of Budapest and Szeged. To simplify training, Soviet Russian technical terms have been introduced into Hungarian service regulations. After reorganization, the Hungarian army will comprise the following active units:

8 infantry divisions,

1 armored car division and,

1 division of paratroopers,

a Communist elite division of 8000 reliable Communists, half of them being paratroopers who are stationed at Pécs, near the Yugoslavian frontier.

It is worth mentioning here that certain armament materials probably reach Hungary via Italy, such, for instance as American motor vehicles, jeeps and scarce raw materials like wolfram, aluminium and nickel ("Öst-probleme" Bad Nauheim No. 29, dated 21. 7. 1951, p. 879).

The exact number of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary is not known, but Soviet units, who exercise great reserve, are garrisoned in every Hungarian town of any size.

In Pápa there is a Soviet military aerodrome, with many bombers and fighting planes; the first relays of Soviet jet planes landed here recently.

In Somlohegy Soviet anti-aircraft troops are stationed, to protect the triangle of Veszprém, the centre of Hungary's heavy chemical industry, from "attacks by Western capitalist aggressors".

In Komárom there are Soviet motorized artillery units, estimated at about 4-5,000 men. There is also a munition dump in the town.

The garrisons of Szombathely, Sopron, Körmend and Kőszeg are moving in the direction of Szombathely — Czellőmölk — Pápa, in accordance with manoeuvres usually held at this time.

2,500 men have been called to the manoeuvres from Körmend, leaving a garrison of 250 men. A Russian military broadcasting station remains in the town, also a unit equipped with "Stalin organs"; the Soviet general Tschibere is the commanding officer during the manoeuvres.

There is a large garrison in Szekesfehérvár and additional quarters have been requisitioned.

Continued on Page 12

North-Siberia. This is how the late Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), Gen. Taras Chuprynk, saw the situation and projected the development, arguing: (1) the desire to get rid of Russian domination is not smaller now in Siberia than it was in 1917-1920; on the contrary, it has increased by the influx of many non-Russian populations into Siberia. (2) The masses of political prisoners should be stimulated and exploited in promoting of these developments; (3) Siberia as a sovereign state with the heavy industry of Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, Stalinsk, Komsomolsk and Magadan, with the oil of Sakhalin and Khlyma, with the belt of black earth in the south and the gold mines in Yakutia would be a completely self-sufficient area, its riches and communications would be made available for the entire world; (4) the deprivation of the Russian empire of Siberia would mean a blessing for humanity, as Russia's pressure on the Pacific and Eastern Asia would once and for all be removed.

By the realization of this gigantic project our Siberia would cease to be

the backwater of history and would become a factor of first-class magnitude. It is not illusory: Siberia has never been an organic part of Russia and the Siberyaks have always belonged to a world different from the Russian. This fact may some day prove to be of decisive importance for the future of mankind. Consider well the effects of a sort of American Revolution in Siberia! Today's huge prison covering millions of sq. miles would be a free country rich in natural resources, in the bold and enterprising activity of its freedom-loving people, in the energy and promise of new developments!

We are curious to know whether the power of the foremost nation of the western hemisphere — of the United States of America — is able to cope with this gigantic project? This may well prove the salvation of Western civilization in case of a world-wide war. But for the Siberyaks, the United States of Siberia is only a symbol of the struggle on the huge stage of the Siberian wastes at the present time: in camps and in mines, in factories and in forests, on the kolkhoz fields and in the cities, everywhere.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

FEVERISH RUSSIFICATION

Now that political and military tension is reaching a climax in the Balkans, Albania's importance for the Soviet Union has greatly increased. The Communist government is strengthening pressure and measures of russification in the hope of overcoming the opposition of the inhabitants, which has been expressed in recent years in a series of acts of terrorism. The Pravda correspondent in Tirana published a comprehensive report of these measures on 6. 8. 1951, which runs:

"The experiences of Soviet Russia are being studied and introduced in all provinces of economy and culture in the People's Republic of Albania. This year the Society for Albanian-Soviet Friendship has arranged dozens of conferences for workmen, peasants and members of intellectual professions; they were addressed by the best workmen who apply the experience gained by Soviet Stachanovists. A mass conference was held lately in Tirana, organized by the same Society. The director of "Enver Hodsha", a metallurgical concern, gave a lecture on technical Standards in industry in the Soviet Union. Working people in Albania show great interest in the study and adoption of Soviet experiences, that help them to build up a new life."

ARMENIA

COMMUNISTS DISCONTENT WITH LITERATURE

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist of Armenian party discussed the further development of Soviet Armenian literature. Comrade O. Mamykonian, president of the section for art and literature in the communist organisation in Armenia, enumerated in his speech all regulations issued by the central committee for the successful development of Armenian literature after the war.

But in this republic as elsewhere, tendencies have appeared which the powers in Moscow consider dangerous. "Literaturnaya Gazetta" No. 76, dated 28. 6. 51, describes the dangers of modern Armenian literature for the ideas held by the people, says:

"Thanks to suggestions and support from the party organisation in the Republic, writers in Armenia have taken up cudgels successfully against reactionary bourgeois nationalism, manifestations of formalism, against paucity of ideas, cosmopolitanism and lack of interest in politics."

But Comrade Z. Hyphorian, who is secretary of the Central Committee of

the Communist party in Armenia, remarked that there are certain deficiencies in contemporary Armenian literature due to its enthusiasm for the historical past and its frank, unscientific idealization of the same. Life in ancient Armenia, he said, is unfortunately described without any reference to class dissensions, and Armenian rulers are described as progressive and national heroes, while the reactionary part played by church and priests is not mentioned. This idealisation of the past greatly impedes Communist education of the working classes.

ASERBAIJAN

AGAIN OF DANGEROUS BOOK

In Aserbaijan as elsewhere, the Soviets are much concerned with the spread of nationalism; it is increasing among intellectuals as a result of russification.

In the "Literaturnaya Gazeta" for 7. 7. 1951 there is an interesting analysis of the extent of this "dangerous" and "deleterious" movement which has infected even the cultural and political apparatus of the republic.

"There are proofs in Aserbaijan literature that many old works containing anti-Marxist views are being uncritically idealised for their bourgeois attitudes."

One of the most glaring examples of this tendency is Kütaba's "Dede Korbut", an injurious book which was forced on the Aserbaijan people by scholars for a long time.

At the eighteenth congress of Aserbaijan's Communist party, Comrade M. Bagirow, the secretary-general, said: "Certain leading critics and writers do not display the necessary political vigilance and responsibility... and have propagated this injurious book. "Dede Korbut" is not a national epic. The whole book is a eulogy of the Ogus and nomad tribes, then the reigning class, who came to Aserbaijan as plunderers and murderers. The book is thoroughly steeped in the poison of nationalism. Nevertheless, some leading men of letters have endeavoured to establish "Dede Korbut" as a national epic. H. Arasly, for instance, wrote in an article that was published in 1938:

"The epic of "Dede Korbut" is an ancient monument of the folklore of Aserbaijan. It is rich in content, and has great artistic qualities which place it alongside the most important epics in the literature of the world. In the simple language of the people it describes life in the tenth and eleventh centuries; it reflects the heroism, the thoughts and nature of the people."

The same errors were repeated and developed by Professor M. Rafily. He, for instance, wrote: "The heroes of this ancient national epic of Aserbaijan

are characterized by deep patriotism, national feeling, nobility and heroism."

It was a grave political error on the part of the leaders of the Academy of Learning and the Institute for Literature in Aserbaijan to publish this book.

One of the chief tasks of our leading critics and men of letters is to fight indefatigably against bourgeois and national distortions in the study of our cultural heritage, and to reveal in the history of literature and folk-lore all hostile ideas as set forth in Stalin's great works on philology."

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DISCOVERY OF SHORTCOMINGS

The plenum of the central committee of the Communist party in Aserbaijan discovered at its August meeting in Baku "considerable shortcomings in party work".

The editorial staff of the two papers, "Communist" and "Bakinsky Rabochy" was sharply criticized. The papers seldom publish articles of propaganda nor do they generalize the experiences gained by propaganda work."

"To generalize experiences" is an expression in the language of Moscow meaning to apply Russian working methods to non-Russian countries. These methods are not welcomed either by freedom-loving members of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union or by many Communists in party organizations who have hitherto collaborated with the Russians.

BYELORUSSIA

INADEQUATE BOLSHEVIST VIGILANCE

In recent times the Soviet press has been devoting increasing attention to the activity of Byelorussian institutions and Soviet organisation in the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. Many shortcomings in party organisations and Communist propaganda have been discovered and severely criticized.

The "Pravda", in its number of July 7, 1951, reports that the general meeting of the Communist party in the Voroshilov ward of the town of Minsk attacked the program of the Byelorussian Academy of Learning. It was alleged that the political training of the scientific members of the Academy was most unsatisfactory, that of young people backward and neglected. Work within party organisations was said to be on a very low level; the party office did not prepare or carry out meetings. There was little or no criticism and self-criticism among active Communists and too little was being done to train young adherents.

But these shortcomings are not merely local. In a report of 18. July 1951, dealing with a general meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party in Byelorussia, the "Pravda" states that organizations of the party exercise little vigilance towards the fate of the harvest, they neither take proper care of the seed, nor do they attend to the gathering-in of the har-

vest. This was said to be true of the areas of Witebsk, Mohilev, Gorodon and Minsk.

It is, above all, significant that Communist leaders are also dissatisfied with the activity of the Komsomol and criticize it severely. The "Pravda" states that at the same meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party, serious faults were revealed in connection with the education of youth and the leadership of young Communist organisations.

These examples prove that the party apparatus has not succeeded in making the Byelorussian people abandon their passivity towards Communist methods of education and in influencing them as desired.

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"READERS ARE ASTONISHED . . ."

The "Pravda" of 9. 8. contains a severe criticism of the "Svyasda", a paper in Byelorussia.

"We regret to announce that this paper has in recent times provoked serious disapproval from its readers. Readers of the paper are astonished that its editors should obstinately avoid dealing with ideological problems. Its editorial staff is quite indifferent to these, particularly to the most important of them, viz., the theories of Marxism and Leninism. The editors avoid dealing with questions like the tendencies of Byelorussian literature and the production of individual writers.

At a recent party conference of the Society of Byelorussian writers, a discussion was held about an article in the "Pravda" entitled, "Against ideological distortions in literature." In commenting on this conference, the editors of the papers in question did not dare to mention the name of M. Tank who was censured for having translated into Byelorussian the dangerous poem "Love Ukraine", written by V. Sossyura.

These serious shortcomings on the part of the "Svyasda" can be explained only by assuming the absence of the proper creative spirit, an uncritical attitude to work and a lack of ideas in the editors."

CROATIA

NO TITO TROOPS FOR THE U.N.

When the United Nations passed a resolution that all member states should provide troops to defend the organisation, many agreed. Tito, however, refused, alleging that pressure on the Yugoslavian frontiers from communist states had never been stronger than now.

True as this statement is, there is another motive behind Tito's refusal: a Communist state, be it Stalin's or Tito's, cannot risk putting part of its army under non-Communist leadership. The reactions to such an object lesson in democracy might be very dangerous for the stability of the government at home. Up till now, Tito's "support" of the West has consisted in saving his own skin and maintaining his dictatorial regime. Except for this,

Tito's foreign policy has been entirely negative. It has not launched a single measure dictated by the desire for a just settlement of internal strife or a regulation of foreign affairs. This need not astonish us when we remember that the continued existence of Tito's regime and the fiction of the Yugoslavian state depends on party dictatorship.

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BARREN POLEMICS

A Soviet Russian delegation under Molotov and Marshall Shukov took part in the celebrations arranged for the anniversary of the "liberation of Poland". In the speech he held on 21. 7. Molotov attacked Yugoslavia sharply: "Everyone can see what a fate has overtaken Yugoslavia, now in the hands of spies and provocateurs who have sold the Yugoslavian people to American and English imperialists. Everyone realizes that the Tito-Kardel-Rankovic-regime has introduced capitalism into Yugoslavia once more, thus making the country a willing tool in the hands of imperialist aggressors. The Yugoslavian people detests this criminal regime which illegally seized power and maintains it by force and fascist methods. **This state of affairs cannot last.** The Yugoslavian nations will find the way to freedom and destroy Tito's bloody regime. That is why we must be obdurate towards the enemies of the world proletariat, and why freedom-loving nations must remain faithful to Lenin's teaching."

On 24. 7. the broadcasting station in Belgrade replied to this speech by announcing that the Yugoslavian people had found its own way and that Stalin's way of freedom was not necessary. "Our people has not the desire to exchange its freedom for Soviet Russian occupation."

Molotov's hint that "this state of affairs cannot last long" fully deserves the careful attention it received in the Western press. It suggests that Yugoslavia would become a new centre of danger if Soviet Russian military and political activity should be transferred from South-East Asia to Europe.

This recent exchange of polemics between Belgrade and Moscow need to give cause for alarm. Molotov's statement that "the peoples of Yugoslavia hate this criminal regime", and that it "seized power illegally and holds it with the aid of terrorism" is just as true as Belgrade's reply that Yugoslavs have no desire to exchange their present position for Soviet occupation. The truth is that the present state of affairs is not a state of freedom, as Belgrade mistakenly believes. The nations in Yugoslavia have no leanings towards either Belgrade or Moscow. They wish to secure their democratic freedom by self-determination.

ESTONIA

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PRESS

The sovietization of the non-Russian republics in the U.S.S.R. is meeting with difficulties. The "Pravda" publish-

ed on 6. 7. 1951 a sharp criticism of the "Rachwa Chajal" (Voice of the People), an Estonian newspaper, accusing it of systematically neglecting its main function, that is, of indifference towards problems of Marxism and Leninism and towards the political education of the masses. It also criticises the provincial paper for not taking note of new publications of Soviet Estonian literature and of ignoring the literature of "brotherly" Soviet nations: the "Rachwa Chajal", it is alleged, does not keep its readers sufficiently informed about cultural events in brotherly republics, or with the best works of Soviet literature which propagate mutual friendship among those republics and Soviet patriotism. The paper is reproached with having published no reviews of books which were awarded the Stalin prize in 1950.

But one of the paper's most heinous offences in the eyes of the "Pravda" is that the point of view taken in commenting on events in the western world is not Communist — things, for example like the lower standard of living among working people in Scandinavian countries, their feverish race for armaments with the support of the U.S.A.; also the struggle of progressive circles in Finland for peace and their rights of living have not hitherto been mentioned at all.

This is not an isolated report. But it proves that the Politbureau in Moscow is not satisfied with the rate of sovietization in recently affiliated non-Russian republics and that its speeding-up is meeting with resistance.

HUNGARY

VIOLENT MEASURES BY THE SOVIETS

According to a communication from "Slobodna Vovvodina", the organ of the people's front of the Vovvodina, a state of siege was declared for the town of Cegled, and 18 persons were arrested, after several acts of sabotage had taken place and the telephone cable of the Russian garrison in the town cut through. Soviet troops were not content with these measures, broke into the people's houses, raped women and girls and handed them over to the Commander of the garrison as "spies".

LATVIA

LATVIA UNDER SOVIET'S COLONIAL STATUTE

More and more products of Latvian industry are being transported to Russia — electro-motors, transportable power stations, telephone equipment, machinery, linoleum and other commercial goods are being taken away for use in Russia. In exchange, Stakhonov workmen from Leningrad are teaching Soviet methods of working to Riga labourers.

At the present, the Riga Opera House is producing the old Russian opera,

"Life for the Tsar". It was composed in order to strengthen the Russian people's devotion to their Tsar and to teach them to sacrifice their lives for the Tsar, if need be, as is done by Ivan Ssusanin, the hero. To conceal the reactionary tendency of the opera, it has been re-named "Ivan Ssusanin". But the contents have not been altered. The opera is abused today to inspire the Latvian people with feelings of devotion to the Red Tsar.

Documents have been discovered in the Latvian State Archives which "reveal the activity of Anglo-American imperialists in the years 1918-1919". The "Pravda" of 6. 7. comments hereon as follows: "These documents show that the prime movers in the plan to make an anti-Soviet block out of the Baltic States were Anglo-American imperialists. General Berts, at that time the head of the British Military Mission in the Baltic, organized this block, which existed till 1940 when Latvia's working people, with the help of the entire Soviet people overthrew the hated regime of the Ulmanis clique and re-established Soviet power in Latvia."

Anti-Anglo-American agitation in the Soviet Union, which is particularly active in non-Russian republics in the Union, and which draws much support from the alleged attempts of the British and the Americans to colonize these areas, began, significantly enough, with the Preliminary Conference in Paris. It should help to prove that "the readiness to come to an understanding" which the Soviets have displayed since last January is really intended to divert attention from their actual aims with the help of diplomatic manoeuvres, and to gain time for prewarating for them.

LITHUANIA

INCREASING INDUSTRIALIZATION

The Soviet press is now drawing conclusions from the fact that practically all the peasants in Lithuania are organized in an agricultural cartel. There are 120 Machinery and Tractors Stations (M.T.S.).

The transformation of an agricultural country into an industrial one is progressing, industry, for instance, constitutes 55% of the entire economy of Lithuania.

The last fact means, when translated from the language of the Soviets, that Lithuania's economic resources are already being largely utilized for armaments to defend Russian imperialism.

POLAND

PURGE IN THE ARMY

A new Soviet Russian "show" trial marks a climax in the program to eliminate from the Polish army all whose past might lead to suspicions of loyalty towards Moscow, and who might therefore take part in resistance.

Nine higher officers were accused in Warsaw of having prepared an "armed coup"; their names are General Stanislaw Tabor-Tatar, General Franzishek Herman, General Yerzy Kirchmayer and General Stefan Mossor, Col. Marian Utnik, Col. Stanislaw Nowizki, and Col. Marian Jurezki, Major Vladyslaw Roman and Lt. Szczepan Vazek. They are accused of having entered the service of the Warsaw government in 1945 after they had been in contact with British and American government agencies. General Tabor-Tatar and Col. Utnik, who were sent on a mission to London by the Warsaw government after the end of the war, are alleged to have brought to Warsaw instructions for the continuation of their revolutionary activity in their own and the Soviet Army in 1949 after being on leave. Plans for the coup are said to have lain in the hands of General Tabor-Tatar and General Kirchmayer. They are accused of having planned to put "agents" in party offices, to encourage desertion and acts of sabotage against party functionaries, to re-admit in the army officers known to be hostile to the regime and put them in key positions, to isolate Polish troops from their Soviet units and to give information constantly to the Anglo-American Intelligence Service. Their aim and commission was to establish a regime which, like that in Yugoslavia, was to be under the control of the Anglo-American imperialists.

After a trial that lasted for 10 days, the generals were summarily condemned to imprisonment for life, the colonels to 15 years, the major to 12 years and the lieutenant to 10 years imprisonment.

The Communist government of Warsaw evidently hopes to break resistance in the country by such terrorist methods and by abusing the forms of justice.

FLIGHT TO SWEDEN

According to a report from Stockholm, a Swedish ship towed a Polish mine-sweeper into Ystad harbour on August 2, after mutiny had broken out on the mine-sweeper. Twelve Polish sailors had shut up the officers below deck. The mutineers said they were political refugees and sought asylum. They were placed under the protection of the Swedish police, and the Polish boat went back to Poland with the rest of the crew.

On August 4, 4 Polish refugees, including one woman, landed on an aerodrome near Malmö. They, too, had been forced to select an exceptional method of flight; they had seized an ancient plane that had been left on a Polish farm. The engine was in such a state that it seemed impossible for 4 people to fly to Sweden with it. The 4 refugees delivered up their arms and put themselves under the protection of the Swedish police.

During, and immediately after the war, Sweden has opened its doors to about 10,000 Polish refugees. Acts of desperation, such as the two just described, are characteristic of the political atmosphere of Poland today under the dictatorship of Communism.

SLOVAKIA

NEW SENTENCES OF DEATH

On 20. 6. 1951 a new anti-Red group of Slovaks was tried by the State Court of Justice. They were accused of spying for the Western Powers and of undermining the authority of the State in Czecho-Slovakia. The following were condemned to death: Jan Dlhy, formerly a secretary in the French Consulate in Bratislava and Vlad. Valesky. General Bodichy, formerly chief of Police in the Slovakian Republic, was condemned to 25 years' hard labour. The Underground Movement in Slovakia continues to spread; it is gaining influence above all in peasant circles. The convict camps in Yasov, Sastin, Sv. Benedikt, Podolinez, Sv. Anton, Kostolno, Hlohevec, Mocenok, Nováky and the one newly established in Eastern Slovakia are overcrowded. According to the latest information, about 300,000 Slovaks are thus detained. In addition, 20,000 Slovaks have been deported to U.S.S.R. and about 300,000 compelled to settle in Sudetenland.

At the moment measures are being taken to transfer Slovak peasants to industrial areas in Bohemia.

THE CATECHISM LIQUIDATED

The catechism and all other religious writings have been removed from schools, libraries and bookshops.

Sermons are the same for all churches, the text being prescribed by the Communists.

The pastoral letter which is issued by the Communists discusses war, or peace, and Western war-mongers. Every parish priest must always apply for permission to hold a procession a fortnight beforehand, giving the number of people expected to attend.

The inhabitants of the community of Koliva, Livice district and many people in the neighbourhood attended church on the Feast Day of St. Peter and St. Paul and were forced by members of the S.N.B. (Red Police) to leave church and work in the fields. A working brigade must attend to potatoes and beet crops every Sunday.

AGRICULTURE THREATENED

Smallholders, called the wealthy people in the village, are ordered to deliver more than double the quantity they actually produce. If they fail to reach the target, they are accused of sabotage, their property is sequestered and their holding converted into a kolkhose. But if they wish to avoid being swamped in a kolkhose and deliver the required quantity of produce, that does not save them. The commission that takes over the produce, finds all sorts of deficiencies, such as flies and beetles in grain; the farmers are accused of having spoiled their produce deliberately in order to damage the Communist regime. The holding becomes a kolkhose, the peasant is put into some factory or employed as an ordinary agricultural labourer.

TURKESTAN

REGULAR RUSSIAN FORCES IN EASTERN TURKESTAN

Immediately after the Chinese Communists occupied Eastern Turkestan as a result of the coup d'état in September 1949, Russian regular troops numbering 25,000, including the 9th, 7th, 11th motorised divisions and 40th Army unit, were stationed in three Provinces of Ili, Chuchek (Tacheng), Altai; some units of 11th and 40th division between Urumtsi, the capital of Eastern Turkestan, and Kucha; the 7th division between Hami (Koumoul) and Shing-Shingsha and Kansuh. Furthermore, the Russians then forced Chinese communists to recognise as a Chinese State Army all the troops who were stationed at Ili and were under the command of Russian military officers, who insisted that the Chinese should give them authority to increase the army and raise it to be a corps.

After having obtained this authority, they recruited more Russians and called these units "5th Army". A Russian officer named Laskin was appointed Commander of a division and this was confirmed by the Chinese Communist authorities. As this army is familiar with the geographical situation in Eastern Turkestan (so the Russians said), it had to fight against the Basmachis of Usman Batur and Yolbars. By this manoeuvre the army was taken out of the three provinces and stationed at strategic important points in the South of Eastern Turkestan, according to reliable information. At the same time Communist China was urged to reduce the size of the Chinese army in Eastern Turkestan.

The Chinese army here which has been financed by the Russians was ordered to obey Russian commanders instead of General Wang Chen, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese army in Eastern Turkestan. This state of affairs annoys the most sincere Communist, General Wang Chen, when he sees himself a puppet commander without a command and real authority.

The enquiry mission about minorities, who arrived from Peking in September 1950, were surprised at seeing a special unit with a special slogan and catch words, which were neither Russian nor Asian "Chinese". When the Chief of the Mission asked him "who are these?" General Wang Chen replied: "they are the 5th division of Ili National Army". Let me throw some light on the facts of Ili National Army: the Russians began to set up plans to occupy Eastern Turkestan when the Chinese Nationalist Government who for 30 years (1913—45) had been unable to establish a firm rule here, established it by concentrating more troops. To this the Russians answered by entering into a treaty with Ali Khan, a prominent scholar of Ili, and promised that if he could lead the people and launch a revolution against Chinese rule, they would help and recognise his independence. The rebel Ali Khan with his followers, after defeating the Chinese,

occupied Ili, Chuchek and Altai, which contain the rich mineral fields of Eastern Turkestan containing gold, petroleum, wolfram, uranium etc. The Russians then disguised themselves as pro-Chinese helping them against the rebels, but at the same time working as mediators between them and the Chinese Government; they insisted on the Chinese recognising these three provinces as a separate autonomy. In a treaty of 11 clauses signed by both parties as a result of their mediation, it was stated that the Ili army should be recognised as a Chinese army. The rebels should have full right to appoint all military, civil and administrative officers, the Chinese Government to permit the Ili autonomy to keep a division of 12,000 men. In this way the Ili National army came into existence.

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SHER MUHAMMED BEK

News has reached us, that the former Commander-in-Chief of the Turkestanian national forces, Sher Muhammed Bek, has gone to Pakistan. There are few Turkestanians who do not know Sher Muhammed Bek. His name is of great importance to our national armed resistance and we Turkestanians are proud of him. To us he is a hero and to the Russians he is a terrible bogey. Especially during the years 1918—25, these decisive years of our national fight for freedom, they learned to know what a dangerous enemy he is. Until now, they consequently have called him "the leader of bandits", but they forget, that they themselves at that time begged him to negotiate with them. They even seem to have forgotten, that the so-called President of the Turkestanian Soviet Republic Nizam Khodja asked Sher Muhammed Bek to work with the Soviets. Nizam Khodja on this occasion said: "I have been nominated as a leader of the Government and you also now must work with us." Sher Muhammed Bek answered: "Do you as the leader of the Government also control the Russian military staff in Tashkent? If so, give orders to the Russian troops to leave our country at once. When this is done, I will be at your disposal." Sher Muhammed was not a "bandit" but a Turkestanian soldier, who fought against Russian oppressors. He was chosen Commander-in-Chief by his countrymen. For 28 years he lived as an emigrant but he has never forgotten his home-country nor have Turkestanians forgotten him.

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INCREASED ABSENTEEISM FROM WORK ON KOLKHOZ

Almost every edition of Soviet newspapers gives account of absenteeism in the collective farms in various districts. Non-participation at the cotton harvest has assumed enormous proportions.

One of these newspapers in its edition of September 1950, stated that in the region of Voroshilovabad in Tadzhikistan only 63% of the peasants, who had been detailed to take part in the cotton harvest, came to work. In this district only 40% of the members (peasants) from the Kolkhoz "Pravda",

60% from the Kolkhoz "Stalin" and only 50% from the Kolkhoz "Qahraman" took part in kolkhoz work and the cotton harvest.

The newspaper further states that in the Kolkhoz "Gorki" (which heretofore enjoyed a very good reputation) there is also absenteeism i. e. out of 36 able-bodied men only 20 turned up at work. The same things can be said of the Asonglu brigade. Out of 35 able-bodied men only 18 go to work. The daily net production of each individual peasant is only 36 lbs. of cotton. The daily average output per person as laid down by the Government is 140—150 lbs. As is apparent from the Press, not one of the kolkhoz workers collects more than 40 lbs. per day.

According to the Press, the same state of affairs exists in the regions of Tadzhikistan, Stalinabad, Hojand (Leninabad), Kulab and almost all districts of Uzbekistan, in all regions of Kirgizia, e. g. Osh, Jalalabad and Frunze, in many districts of Kasakhstan and Turkmenistan.

UKRAINE

Ossyp Dyakiv (O. Hornovy) †

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement has suffered a severe blow which can only be announced now. Ossyp Dyakiv (O. Hornovy) was killed in a fight with Soviet M.G.B. troops in November 1950 at a place in Ukraine. He was an office-bearer in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) — an underground movement in the home-country. He was an eminent publicist and a supporter of the modern democratic views of Ukrainian nationalism. Above all, he was concerned with the problem of the friendly co-operation of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia as independent states, after the collapse of the Russian empire. He was surprised at his work in a fortified, underground bunker by M.G.B. troops, and as he was not only a man of theory, but a fighter, he immediately seized a hand grenade, and was killed at the early age of 31.

*

"PROSPEROUS UKRAINE"

Soviet documentary film in technicolor, which was shown in Italy and France in 1950, and in the United States early in 1951, was shown in Moscow in July 1951, but only to an invited audience. In Ukraine itself, the film has not yet been shown. It is so blatantly full of distortions and lies, that it would only provoke scornful laughter in a Ukrainian cinema. It is arrant nonsense, not a documentary on a prosperous Ukraine.

*

THE STAKHANOW MOVEMENT

Does not appear to have struck deep roots in Ukraine, as is obvious from the report of a debate on the workmen's cadre at a meeting in June 1951 of the Supreme Council of Soviet Ukraine. Provincial agencies were sharply cri-

ticized for having "criminally neglected the Stakhanow Movement". Some telling statistics were quoted, which is an unusual procedure in the U.S.S.R. These stated, for instance, that in the Poltava district there were 27,000 Stakhanowists, i. e. scarcely 2.8% of the working population, in Kharkiw, 87,000 (3.6%), in Kyiv 45,000 (3.1%), in Odessa 30,000 (2.9%). As elsewhere, these "champions" are most unpopular with the population. The Supreme Council complains particularly of the absence of young workers in the Stakhanow Movement, alleging that they are prevented from joining by "illegal pressure" and "lack of understanding". Such frank criticism points to sharp personal attacks and purges in this direction in the near future.

DELIVERIES OF GRAIN

Seem to be as unsatisfactory in 1951 as they had been in former years. This is the conclusion drawn from the propaganda offensive that has been launched this year in connection with deliveries. The services of press, radio, and film have been requisitioned, and there has been a flood of meetings and forced resolutions. The entire Soviet propaganda apparatus in Ukraine is working under the motto: "Deliveries are the citizen's first duty". "Old sins" or, to put it more accurately, the old resistance in Ukrainian country to Moscow's policy of exploitation, comes to light in this connection. It was emphasized that "last year's shortcomings must not be repeated this year". It now became known that in 1950, the following districts were behind with their deliveries: 11 districts in the Volhynia area; 7 districts in the Dniepropetrowsk area; 9 in the Lviv area; 15 in the Woroshylograd area. It is significant that in autumn 1950 the Soviet press announced that the targets for these districts had been fulfilled. Also in the current year Soviet "reports of success" must be taken with a grain of salt.

"MORE IRON!"

Is the latest slogan of Soviet authorities in Ukraine. It was introduced when the "Josef Stalin" metal concern in Magnitogorsk challenged recently all metal industrial plants in Ukraine to a "socialist competition". Strict orders have been issued that the iron and steel plan for 1951 of the Ukrainian industries concerned, be fulfilled well before the date appointed; production is to be increased, the costs reduced, the quality considerably improved. As if charmed by "love for Stalin" and "enthusiasm for work", the following industrial concerns in Ukraine announced that they will take part in the competition: "Leninruda". In the iron-producing district of Kryvy Rih "Dnieprosstal", "Ferroaloy", "Zaporishbud", in Zaporoshe, "Azovstal", the turbo-combination "Shdanow" and a whole series of plants in the Donetsk basin. Every day other plants announce their intention to take part. The leading organ of metallurgy in Ukraine reports as follows: "It is the duty of every one who is engaged in the metal industry to give our fatherland as much

Moscow's fight against "Bourgeois Nationalism"

Continued from Page 1

"Bourgeois nationalism" is merely the Communist party's synonym for **national patriotism** in the countries concerned, and is expressed in the increasing efforts of those countries for independence. It is Moscow's fight for the preservation of the Russian Empire. It is not a fight between classes or parties, but between nations.

It is interesting to note what classes of society are attacked by the purge. In Poland and Bulgaria, the victims are officers; in Hungary, officers, the remaining nobility, wealthy peasants and the Catholic clergy; in Ukraine, writers and artists; in Rumania, officers and well-to-do peasants. Everywhere it is the middle classes, the intellectuals, the clergy, the intellectually progressive that constitute the backbone of every modern, independent, national state.

The purge has been particularly severe in Ukraine. The criticism of "nationalist deviations in literature" that followed the "decade of Ukrainian culture" in Moscow was only a prologue to the severe purge that was carried out, especially in Western Ukraine. It is also significant that the masses of the people are affected even more than the leaders of society, or people of outstanding reputation. According to news which this paper has from underground sources, thousands of intellectuals have been liquidated — officials, engineers, teachers, technicians, young officers, artists, economists, etc. The Ukrainian people has once more, so to speak, got its "brain removed by operation", lest it should "get wrong ideas" in the event of another World War. In the Second World War, Ukraine proved to be most unreliable, although the country had no great sympathy with Hitler and the Nazis. The situation might become more dangerous if Moscow were to come to grips with the democracies of the West, as Ukrainians are particularly susceptible to democratic ideas of freedom.

The purge has had one interesting result — the entire Ukraine and the other countries affected regard this measure as a certain sign that war is not far off. All are convinced that this is a definite measure of mobilization, though in the negative sense. Ukraine expects war, and through war, its final liberation and independence as a State.

metal as possible, thus making it stronger and mightier; all powers must be pressed into the service of this great, patriotic task."

Consequently, during recent months pressure on metal industries in Ukraine has been enormously increased, and brutal methods employed. The working-classes in Ukraine can explain this pressure only as preparation for war. It means, they say, that a great war is intended. Ukrainians hope that this will be the last war Russian imperialists will be in a position to wage.

Hungary, Moscow's Military Spring-Board

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A big dump of ammunition and gas tanks has been laid alongside the line **Veszerém-Circz**, but so well camouflaged that it cannot be seen from the railway.

In **Pécs**, **Siklos**, **Harkályfürdő**, **Vajszlo** and **Sumony** schools and private houses have been requisitioned for troops; the Russian general Samsonov has his headquarters as divisional commander in **Pécs**.

In **Haymáskér** experiments are being carried out with steering armored cars by radar, new kinds of mines and projectiles. Military life is stirring, troops and material are being collected and garrisons re-organized. All Russian units have double the arms, munition and equipment that their strength warrants (s. "Hung. Research and Inf. Center — Weekly Digest of News from Hungary" New York, 9. 7. 51 and "Hadak Utam", Innsbruck, No. 7, July, 1951).

The resistance of the Hungarian people against the dictatorship forced upon them continues to increase, but open resistance is rendered impossible by the Hungarian political police (A.V. H.). Secret sabotage, all the more galling to the Communists, is admitted to exist. Even the Communist press in Hungary is obliged to censure severely in articles entitled "Self-criticism" the Hungarian workman's indifference and unsatisfactory morale. In a plant manufacturing building cement 1,112 workmen stayed away from work in one month without excuse; in the same month there were 538 absentee miners in **Szuhavölgy**. Communists consider that miners are particularly unreliable, and the Budapest district court had to make an example of one who was condemned to 11 months' imprisonment because of deliberate absenteeism. In the Danube-Construction Concern, 35,180 working hours were lost as a result of absenteeism and in May 1,352 workmen absented themselves without permission ("Weekly Digest of News from Hungary", New York, 9. 7. 1951).

Such self-criticism in the Hungarian press is cautiously expressed; nevertheless it does reflect the atmosphere of tension in the country.

In the village of **Pálósszentku** two policemen must guard the grain from attempts at sabotage by "wicked kulaks". . . . In the State Food Cooperative Stores in Budapest, the greatest confusion attends the allocation of food-stuffs. . . . Too few activists and no applications for party membership. . . . More non-members than members of the party are employed in the Hungarian Rubber Factory . . . (all from "Világosság", Budapest, No. 167 of 19. 7. 51). "Világosság" is the official organ of the Communist party of Soviet Hungary.

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Western Book-Keeping by Double Entry

The "Voice of America" recently introduced broadcasts in the Georgian language. U.S.A. State Secretary Dean Acheson inaugurated the transmission personally by an introductory speech.

For the first time an American in a high official position spoke directly to a nation east of the Soviet frontier of 1939, now for long decennias subjugated by Moscow. State Secretary Acheson pointed out the common principles and ideals which connect the two peoples, — the American and the Georgian. Mr. Acheson proposed that the Georgians should "share a common future with the Americans which would bring the Georgians freedoms, such as they did not possess today".

Hardly had Acheson's words faded away in the air when a State Department speaker hastened to explain that U.S.A. policy was not directed at supporting any "nationalist" or "separatist" tendencies among the "peoples of Russia". "The words of the State Secretary must not be misunderstood" — the spokesman stressed.

That made it clear why Mr. Acheson had so carefully avoided elucidating the "common ideals" or the "freedoms" proposed for the Georgians. Whatever freedoms they may have been, one was certainly not among them: the right of the Georgians to secede from Russia and their fundamental right to live in a national State of their own.

This freedom which is a matter of course for the West and a precondition for all the other civil and human rights, is still denied the Georgians. Moreover, even to claim it still is in the eyes of official America a tendency to "nationalism" and separatism. So what is right for the West is no more right for the East. This is political book-keeping by double entry.

Perhaps the day is not far when the aspirations of, for example, the Latvians,

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The Fetish of the Soviet Frontier 1939

Although the public in America, England and the rest of Europe, seem to be getting reconciled to the idea that the armed clash with world Communism and the Soviet Union inevitably must come and, although in America armaments are frantically being rushed through, there seems to be no definite idea how this war will be waged.

The West is overpowered by the thought of Russia's vastness. The thousands of miles from the Oder river to Vladivostok are reckoned with a horrified gasp. The thought intrudes itself, how can a campaign be carried out in that engulfing immensity, where is it to begin and where to stop? It is like falling into a bottomless abyss.

The Western hesitation is very well known and it is duly taken into consideration in Soviet politics and made use of in Soviet propaganda. The Russian thesis is proclaimed and adopted by the West that geographical reasons alone make it impossible to conquer Russia, added to which there is the deep love of country, so strong in the Russian masses. Allegedly they have always risen as one man and seized their weapons when "sacred mother Russia" was to be saved. It runs like this: as long as it is a question of political disputes outside "real" Russia, Russia will allow herself to be "coaxed". For instance, the lot of the satellite states might be discussed, it might even be possible for Russia, one day, to withdraw without loss of face from countries west of the Soviet frontier of 1939. But should the claims of the democratic West go further, it would be quite another story. The Russians would show no mercy in that case.

In order to impress these ideas, Russian intimidation propaganda quotes many historical examples; especially the disastrous campaigns into the interior of Russia under by Charles XII, Wilhelm II., the foreign armed interventions at the time of the Civil War and, most especially, Hitler's horrible defeat. "Many came in but few came out again" the Russians are wont to cite in speaking of those occasions.

There is no overlooking the fact that this Russian propaganda has a strong and fairly lasting influence on the West. In America particularly. The result is that American political thought and planning halts almost instinctively at the Soviet frontier of 1939. That frontier has the power and effectiveness of a political fetish, a taboo.

These facts explain why America has a fairly clear idea of what has to be done in case of war, with the states and peoples west of the Soviet frontier of 1939. The American public, without more ado, openly discuss the plans regarding these countries and their practical execution. In this American policy is quite clear.

It will be required that all states lying west of the Soviet frontier of 1939 receive their full sovereignty again. In this it is believed. American policy is on firm ground. It is confidently expected that no Russian government will be able to incite the population of the Soviet Union proper, much less those of the Finnish frontier districts, Byelorussia, Ukraine the Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Turkestan, etc. to fight another fanatical "fatherland war".

The activities and enterprises of American institutions such as "National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc." and, partially, the "Crusade for Freedom, Inc.", are significant in this respect. For some time they have been sending broadcasts from "Radio Free Europa", Munich. Programmes covering a whole day are put on the air for Czechoslovakia; daily programmes are being prepared for Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia and Bulgaria.

Sunday, July 22, 1951 a "University Free Europe" was inaugurated in New York, with permanent seat in Strassbourg, France. It is closely connected with the "National Committee for a Free Europe", which has been preparing statesmen, lawyers, civil servants, economists etc. for East Europe, in case of a collapse or the abolishment of Bolshevism. The students admitted to this University are Albanians, Bulgarians, Czechoslovaks, Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Rumanians and Yugoslavs, that is to say all members of nations west of the Soviet frontier of 1939. But there are no Ukrainians, no Byelorussians, no Georgians, Armenians, Idel-Uralians, Turkestanians, etc. included; no nationals east of the Soviet frontier of 1939, can enjoy study at this Strassbourg University.

This is significant, and seems to point out that America is apparently not interested in training a corps which, after the war, would be able to take over the democratic direction of these countries and the responsibility for them. This too, leads to a much more important conclusion viz. that America has in general no constructive plan

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The Giant is not so Tough

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., D.S.O.

Reprinted from "Answers", No. 3082/1951)

Are we enthralled? Is Russia what she appears to be, an unattackable all-conquering giant?

That her empire now covers a quarter of the globe including eight hundred million of its inhabitants is indisputable, nor can it be questioned that her resources are enormous and that her army is greater than all other armies combined.

Yet there is something strange about this immensity and power. Seeing that ever since the days of Lenin, Russia's aim has been to revolutionise the world, why, it may be asked, now that the Western European nations are so weak, does not the giant stride out from behind his iron wall and impose his will upon them?

Is it because he fears the atomic bomb?

But why should he? For he now has this weapon and his empire is not an easy bombing target.

Are His Feet Made of Clay?

Is it because he is still exhausted? — Possibly, yet no more so than his opponents.

Is it because he wishes first to test out his subversive tactics? — Again this is possible; nevertheless, ever since the introduction of the Marshall Plan they have increasingly become less effective.

May not there be still another reason, one which fear obscures from us? That the iron wall he stands behind prevents us from seeing that his feet are made of clay, and were he to move they would crumble and he would topple over and be smashed into a thousand fragments.

When we examine this possibility, we shall discover that actually it is not only a probability but very near a certainty, and that therefore we are living under the spell of a dread illusion, cunningly exploited by the giant

and magnified by our ignorance and credulity.

First of all, is there such a thing as Russian Communism?

Between 1917 and 1920 there certainly was, but it led to so profound a confusion that in 1921 Lenin substituted for it his New Economic Policy, and out of it, under Stalin, there rapidly emerged a mixture of State Capitalism and Asiatic despotism.

Instead of being a land of classless angels living in an Eldorado of blissful equality, today Russia is a country inhabited by two antagonistic classes, again the "haves" and the "have-nots", but this time called "state bureaucrats" and "state serfs".

World Revolution

All that has happened is that what Stalin calls "Communism" has replaced the Tsar and the Church, and what is still called "world revolution" is nothing other than Tsarist Imperialism of a super-ruthless kind.

The population of this vast despotic empire is the most heterogeneous in the world. It is a mosaic of two hundred different peoples, millions of whom have nothing in common with Russian culture and do not speak Russian.

As in the days of the Tsars, these millions are seething with unrest. In both world wars they rose and fought against Moscow, and in the second, had it not been for the brutal way they were treated by the Germans, Russia would probably have succumbed.

Twenty-four of these nations are now banded together into what is known as the A.B.N. (Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations).

In Russia it includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, Kosakia, Latvia, Lithuania, North-Caucasia, Siberia, Turkestan, and Ukraine. And in the occupied

countries — Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

In Ukraine, the most important in the Russian group — its population numbers 42,000,000 — an Insurgent Army, known as the U.P.A., has been fighting for years and still remains unconquered. And from Eastern Germany monthly between twenty and twenty-five thousand people seek refuge in Western Germany — a sure measure of discontent.

In spite of deportations, the struggle of the A.B.N. is irrepressible. All its members seek liberation from the Soviet regime; all reject national communism (Titoism) and fight for the extermination of Bolshevism.

They demand self-determination, and are opposed to Russian Imperialism of any kind, whether Tsarist, Bolshevik, Socialist, or Democratic, for they know that one and all spell despotism.

Unfortunately for the detested Soviet régime, these subjected countries supply the greater part of Russia's agricultural and industrial needs. Ukraine is in itself the economic centre of gravity of the Soviet Union.

This is why Hitler in 1941 set out to conquer it. Besides being the main granary of Russia, it supplies 70 per cent of its sugar, 40 per cent of its coal, 70 per cent of its coke, and 60 per cent of its iron ore. Fifty-five per cent of Russian production comes from Ukraine as well as hundreds of thousands of recruits for the army.

The following percentages show clearly how dependent the Kremlin is on the subjugated countries:

Almost the entire production of oil comes from Azerbaijan, N. Caucasia, Turkestan, and Ukraine; 100 per cent of manganese ore from Georgia and Ukraine, 40 per cent of copper from Turkestan and Caucasia, 80 per cent of lead from Turkestan, 80 per cent of zinc from Ukraine and Caucasia, 80 per cent of mercury from Turkestan and Ukraine, 80 per cent of sulphur from Turkestan and the Turkmenistan, and 100 per cent of cotton from Turkestan and Caucasia.

Therefore, the more discontented the subjugated countries become, the more impossible is it for the Russians to wage a war of aggression.

Systematic Destruction

It is often thought that the strategic strength of Russia lies in her expanse. But under present-day conditions this is less true than in the past, because the remoteness of many of the industrial centres from the more likely areas of military operations enables enemy aircraft, by destroying the inter-linking lines of communication, to sever the one from the other.

So vast is the area to be defended, that no Russian air force, however strong, could prohibit the systematic destruction of either railroads or industrial centres.

Further, the Russian railroad system is so thin that from the Pacific to Poland and Rumania it could be paralysed by air attack. There are few junctions and any attempted diversion

Continued from Page 1

for the solution of the national, social and constitutional problems of the Soviet Union in itself. America knows what to do with countries this side of the Soviet frontier of 1939; but Washington does not know what to begin with the countries and nations beyond that frontier. The task seems so enormous, the space so vast, the peoples so varied that no one apparently dares tackle it.

The purely military plan of bombing out the chief towns, railway junctions and chief industrial centres of the Soviet Union exists, but there is no plan for the occupation or the administrative and national-political order in this gigantic territory.

Even the Americans, accustomed as they are to everything on a large scale, shrink before the enormity of that task. They concentrate on the idea of crippling the Soviet Union by their arms; the tendons of the colossus are to be cut, an end has to be

put at long last to Russian aggression. But what is to be done with the remaining masses of humanity, no one knows. They resort to wishful thinking that some "all-Russian national committee" with influence over the "national minorities", or some sort of Russian "exile government" may be formed which will take over the care of the new order in Russia. The Americans will not cross the frontier of 1939. They are afraid of it.

But they need not be afraid. The western horror of the "invincibility" of "holy mother Russia" is unfounded. The only way out is the liberation programme as offered by the A.B.N. We know with dead certainty: Americans will experiment awhile with the "Russian problem", but in the end they will turn to the A.B.N. programme. There is no other way of overcoming Moscow-Soviet imperialism. The fetish frontier of 1939 can be overcome.

Z. P.

PANSLAVISM

By Dr. Stjepan Buć, form. Croatian M. P.

The term "Slavism" is variously understood even to-day, for, to a certain extent, it is a remnant from the past. In the last and earlier decades of our century the label "Panslavism" enjoyed a more important meaning, which was not surprising in those days; for there were circles in the Slav countries who believed in it and therefore fell into the error themselves. The broad masses, however, were always more or less indifferent, if not hostile, to the panslavic idea.

There is no "Slav Race"

In the West one often hears people speak of a "Slavic or Slav race", even among educated persons. In reality this term is utterly ridiculous, for it has no support, either in science or historical empiricism. No one has ever attempted to analyse a type for this "Slavic race", much less define its traits.

The well-known Swiss anthropologist Eugen Pittard once made the statement, "To find out what really lies behind all that, the label "Slavs" must be removed". — It is a conglomeration of every kind of racial, national, cultural and other elements, that is to be found nowhere else in the world.

The Greeks, that is to say the Byzantines, have the credit of coining the term. Whenever they were in doubt how to name an unknown tribe they used the word "sclavini" or "sclavi"

for it. "Sclavi sive Avari" became, so to speak, a matter of course in writing. It is therefore no wonder that the Persian author Gurdese once thought, — "The Magyars are the finest Slavic tribe".

There is a Nordic, an Alpine, a Dinarian, a Mediterranean race, but not a Teutonic, or a Roman, and still less a Slavic race. If there were, we should at least know its anthropological characteristics. We have no idea what the term "Slavic" is supposed to represent, when used for a race.

Pittard, who studied the Slavs of the Balkans particularly, writes: "Are these Slavs in the Balkans ethnic relations of those of Russia and to what degree? The question answers itself and is negative."

To-day, we know absolutely that Croats and Serbs are not of the same race. The former are determined by Nordic, the latter by Mediterranean elements, just as the Bulgarians are by those coming from the Volga, as the name Vlgari resp. Blgari shows. The ethnogenesis of the Czechs can only be explained by a strong Celtic basis with a determinative nomadic strain. The origin of each of the Slav peoples can be explained, however, with the help of the usual "building material", without the "Slavic element". The racial and ethnic differences between the Russian and the Ukrainian people are just as clear.

of transport would lead to inextricable confusion.

Also distances are so great that replacement of railway traction by motor transport is seldom practical. Added to this, the most important railroads leading from east to west run through Ukraine and Baltic States, both of which are hostile to the rulers in the Kremlin.

Finally, what of the Russian army? Is it as formidable as we are led to suppose? This would seem doubtful, seeing that since the last war ended over 16,000 Russian officers and men have deserted and sought refuge in the West.

Also there are two further reasons why the Russian army is suspect. One is that 42 per cent of its recruits come from the subjugated peoples, and the other is that since 1945 scores of thousands of Russian soldiers have come into contact with the West. The result has been that Soviet propaganda on the achievements of Communism has been considerably discredited. Therefore, it is highly probable that the structure of the Russian army is weaker than it was in 1939.

Attacking from Within

What can we deduce from this?

That though the vast Russian empire is all but invulnerable to attack from without, within it is packed with high

explosives. The 150,000,000 subjugated peoples constitute a bomb of such super-atomic power, that if detonated the Soviet regime would be blown to smithereens. Therefore, Russia must be attacked within.

Only the subjugated peoples can do so, for they alone can turn the ideological weapons, now being used by the Kremlin against all non-Communist nations, against the Kremlin itself.

What, then, should the Western nations do?

They should enter into alliance with all subjugated peoples, offering them liberation from the Bolshevik yoke, and self-determination once they are freed from it.

To achieve this aim, out of all anti-Bolshevik peoples they should create a common anti-Bolshevik front, directed and aided by an anti-Bolshevik Cominform.

National Committees of all subjugated peoples should be established and recognised as provisional governments; refugees should be cared for and organised, and agents trained and planted in each subjugated country to foment resistance and keep it alive.

In short, the Western nations should cease to be enthralled by what they see, and attack what is so carefully hidden from them — the feet of clay of the Russian colossus.

While the Nordic element is strong in the Ukrainian people, it is difficult to say of Russians whether "they are Slavized Mongols or Mongolized Slavs" (Padany) "The Russian", says Professor Padany, "is not only different from the Western man, but also from all others who are known as Slavs."

There is no all-Slav History

Just as every Slav people is different from the anthropological standpoint, its history and culture is different too. There are, it is true, epochs in the history of individual Slav people when they lived under the dominion of another Slav people, but they were not assimilated, each people kept its own culture and national characteristics. These "communities" were not voluntary either, they were the result of force majeure or betrayal. They were always regarded as slavery on the one side, and the cessation of that kind of "community" was celebrated as liberation. Even a systematic policy of assimilation on the part of the dominating Slav people for the other "brother people" was not able to undermine the real differences, or equalize the ethnic differences, and brought about no unification.

As there is no "Slav race" in an historical sense, there is no general Slav culture, only differentiated culture, as for instance Ukrainian, Serbian, Slovakian etc. History, of course, does point out many experiments made to create a civilization, disregarding all national peculiarities and pressed upon the people by police measures, such enterprises, as experience has shown, were doomed to failure from the very start. National culture cannot be made as we can see from the U.S.S.R., the so-called "Czecho-Slovakia" and "Yugo-Slavia". There never has been an all-Slavic culture in the past, nor does it exist to day.

The language factor cannot be taken either as a proof of Slav unity or a common denominator of the "Slavic world". There is, without doubt, a Slavic group of languages, just as there is a Germanic (German, English, Dutch etc.) or a Latin (French, Italian, etc.) group. That, however, does not do away with the fact that the languages of the so-called "Slavic people" are just as different from one another as their genetic origin and their national cultural development. "There never has been a prime Slavic, uniform language", the leading Slavist, Professor Jagic declares (Archives of Slavic Philology, Vol. 22, p-33).

It is only an arbitrary supposition that peoples using a similar language must be related. Linguistic relationship and the results of comparative philology do not, by a long way, prove a uniformity in a political and historical sense. There are no fewer than 1 billion persons between the English Channel and India which could be included as Indo-Germanic from the philological view, but it would never enter anyone's head to speak of "Indo-Germanism", much less pan-Indo-Germanism in a political sense.

There are only Independent Nations

Alone the national idea can be a criterion and bring some order into

things. It is this idea which has blown the romanticism of naïve pan-Slavism overboard. After democracy, it is the national idea which is determinative in modern historical development.

Ernest Renan says — "The nation is a soul", while the wellknown sociologist Max Weber formulates a Nation, most strikingly, as "a community of souls having the same sentiments, the adequate expression of which would be an independent State". Accordingly development has decided for ethnic units and against geographical ones, and that is also valid for the so-called Slav peoples.

The experiments with arbitrary state forms, for instance, "Yugoslavia", "Czechoslovakia", to say nothing of despotic U.S.S.R., have proved monstrous miscarriages. The national idea has remained unconquered and each Slav people, like every other nation in the world, aspires to its own independent State.

Certain fanatics infected by Pan-Slavism dreamed, some years ago, of a great "union of all Slavs in a federal State", taking that between Germany and Italy as an example. But they forgot in propagating this idea that there was no analogy whatever. For while, in the case of the Germans and the Italians, it was a question of uniform peoples who for centuries had been conscious of themselves as nations, the "Slavs" were absolutely different races, each with its own national consciousness and each having followed its own historical way.

"Slavism" in the Service of Imperialists

Over against the broad masses of the Slav people who had always been indifferent to Slavism, there were a few individuals in Slavic lands, and perhaps a few circles, who worshipped the idea of Pan-Slavism. For them, Moscow had always been a sort of Mecca, from which they expected some miraculous blessings. These persons were the henchmen of Russian Messiahship.

A hundred years ago, the father of Croatian nationalism, Ante Starcevic, in an ironic poem said, "All that is Slavic squints towards Moscow". By way of this political "Slavism" the people of that mentality later, came to Communism when Moscow became its capital. Some became active agents, others remained only friends and sympathizers... After they had done what was expected of them they... were shot or hanged by the spirits they themselves had called up. Some of these elements succeeded in escaping abroad, mostly to the U.S.A. where they usually rally round the "green international". They have been crushed by the wheels of history and there is nothing left for them but to wait for their physical death.

Most of the "Slavophiles", however, are leaders in the present governments in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Belgrade, Sofia etc., serving the "all-Slav ideal" in a symbiosis with Communism. What they are really, is genocidal imperialists of the worst sort, such as the world has been spared from till now.

Ardent Russian Chauvinism in U.S.S.R.

Judging the real situation in U.S.S.R. we have often ascertained, that today, as well as in the past, the Russian people is the main basis on which the Kremlin builds its power. Our enemies have — on such occasions — tried to reproach us with chauvinism and hatred against the Russian people. In reality Russian chauvinism is increasing rapidly in the U.S.S.R., as well as among the Russian emigrants. It stresses everywhere the superiority of the "great" Russian people over the other peoples, its Messiahship, its unsurpassed genius in technics, art, science etc. The Soviet press demonstrates every day the better qualities and superiority of the Russian people, even outdoing Dr. Goebbels in stirring up nationalism.

All the achievements of science, all inventions and discoveries, simply must have been made by Russians!... Russian music, fine arts, literature and dramatic art must be the best and must be a model for other nations. The Russians are introduced to all other nations as exemplary in every respect. Never before have Russian chauvinism and nationalism taken on such terrible and ugly forms as now in U.S.S.R. The Kremlin knows very well that in a future conflict it may only rely on the Russian people proper, and therefore its excellency is praised, exaggerated and glorified. Due to that, the Soviet press takes advantage of every possibility to awaken chauvinistic feelings in the Russian people and to stress its precedence over the other nations.

To avoid future reproaches of prejudice, we quote some extracts from the "Izvestiya", of May 24th, 1951, referring to the 6th anniversary of the reception of the Red Army officers by Stalin in the Kremlin, and which repeat his eulogies of the Russian people.

"Comrade Stalin", the paper comments, "spoke words, which would for ever be remembered enthusiastically and gratefully."

Moscow, like Belgrade makes use of a "Slavic" political co-ordination. A characteristic example of this method in Belgrade was the execution of the 80 year-old Croatian historian, Professor Segvic, who was sent to the gallows in 1945, only because for 50 years he had devoted himself to the theory of the Gothic descent of the Croats. "Because by his teaching he had undermined 'Slavic' unity," ran the excuse for his murder.

Western short-sightedness has allowed Moscow, Belgrade and Prague to extend their domination over alien peoples, by the pretense of an imaginary "Slav community" and "unity". When once these imperialist centres have been confined within their own ethnic borders and the peoples subdued by them have regained their freedom, then too, the phantom of "Pan-Slavism" will vanish.

Thus Pan-Slavism is revealed as a mere label in which a few Utopians

"I want to propose the toast to our Soviet and above all to our Russian people" — Stalin said.

"I drink to the Russian people, especially, for it earned, during the last war, recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union."

I drink to the Russian people, not only because it is our leading people, but also because it possesses a clear mind, a steadfast character and endurance."

Then a long harangue of praises of the Russian people followed, concerning not only its support of the Soviet power, but also the qualities it had revealed in the history of the past.

Thus the Russian patriotism of Alexander Newsky, Suvorov, Kutusov and Nakhimov, the Russian literature which had prepared the soil for Communist ideas were lauded. "And it is not by accident that Russia became the cradle of Communism", the newspaper exclaims. "The Russian people can be justly proud of the way it has fulfilled its historic task. In the course of its existence the party of Lenin-Stalin has educated the masses to love their home-country and the Russian people."

Lists of all the wonders which the Russian people have performed under the Soviet regime, follows. Moscow is defined as the Mecca of "progressive mankind".

It sounds like a bad joke when the "Izvestiya" declares that the peoples of the Soviet Union sing the following lines:

"Great Russia created an indestructible Union of free republics, expressing herewith all the love and gratitude they feel towards the Russian people, — the leading people of the Soviet State."

We ask, is it possible for prisoners to love and be grateful to their warders?

"The great historic rôle of the Russian people, as the leading nation, was proved in the years of the great

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seriously believed. That label, however, served only definite political purposes and always under abnormal circumstances. Thus the "Slavic" peoples in the former Danube monarchy resorted to this "label" in order to resist Vienna and Budapest. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the far worse tyranny of Prague and Belgrade began and the new oppressors took up this label and used it for their own imperialistic purposes.

At any rate any kind of Pan-Slavism is now a thing of the past, its label is in evil repute and in tatters. It has lost all attraction and will deceive no one any more, so there can be no question of any political reality in it do-day. What the West should do to bring stability and order into the present chaos is to assist the national ideals behind the Iron Curtain to gain victory. These much-tried peoples will appreciate and cherish their regained freedom and know how to defend it against everyone.

Enough Speculations with the East Problem!

By Roman Ihnytsky/Ukraine

The fact that the U.S.S.R. of to-day consists of 16 national republics and comprises more the 50% of non-Russian population, places the West before a series of difficult problems. Is a uniform propaganda possible for the whole territory covered by the Soviet Union? Should the West seek to appeal to the Russians, or the non-Russian peoples? Is the West to decide for a united Russian Empire, or for its dismemberment and consequently the formation of a system of national States in the East?

What have the Russian Emigrants to say on the question?

The answer of the Russian emigrants to these complicated questions is simple, but superficial. They say, "There is no serious national problem in the U.S.S.R. The Ukrainians, Georgians, Azerbaidjanians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians etc. only desire the abolition of the present political and social system, they do not aspire to have independent States of their own, nor do they wish the Russian Empire to be divided up, on the contrary, they are so accustomed to that Empire and living with the Russians, that they wish merely the status quo."

If the West does not understand that, and should favour the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. into national States, the Russian people will be for Stalin and defend his imperium stubbornly.

They base their arguments on an alleged historical fact which they expect to have an immense influence on the West, — they point to Hitler's defeat in the eastern theatre, and say that Hitler also had in mind the dissolution of the Russian Empire, encouraged national movements and collapsed through that fatal plan. Just stand for an undivided Russian Empire, you Americans, who are so inexperienced anyway in European problems, and you will win, for the whole Russian people will rise and help you.

How much of that is true?

Two things are really true:

1. The proper policy for the East will be more decisive than weapons.

2. The West must be warned against a repetition of the mistakes Hitler made in the East.

What were these mistakes? The allegations of Russian emigrants do

not bear out the historical facts. Hitler did not want any national states, built on the ruins of the U.S.S.R. On the contrary, he fought against all political ideas aiming in that direction. We all saw him divide Ukrainian territory up, one part of which he gave to Rumania, another to the General Gouvernement Poland; furthermore, the Ukrainians experienced the "Reichs Commissariat Ukraine" under the bloodthirsty Erich Koch. We saw tens of thousands of Ukrainians transported to concentration camps and we lived to see the U.P.A. starting a fight against these conditions. The same happened in Byelorussian and the Baltic States.

Thus Hitler was certainly not favouring a policy of natural national development of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. He not only persecuted our fellow citizens who fought for a programme of separation but also cold-shouldered the German politicians who approved of it.

These facts have been proved by extensive publications, such as those brought out by American experts, based on documents from German archives. They all confirm the following:

1. At the beginning of the war, when the peoples of the U.S.S.R. did not yet know what Hitler was about, hundreds of thousands of "red soldiers" surrendered to the German army.

2. Most of those soldiers, however, belonged to the non-Russian nations. The Russians among them formed only a small minority.

3. The Russians remained on Stalin's side, even at the beginning of the war, when nobody yet knew, what Hitler was planning.

4. After the end of the War, Stalin repeatedly praised the fidelity of Russians, while the other peoples were never even mentioned by him.

5. On the contrary the non-Russians were severely punished for their disloyalty. All the world knows now about the banning of the Crimean Tartars, Chuvashens and Chechens.

6. When Hitler felt that the war was lost he tried the tactics which the Russian emigrants now advise the West to follow. He made an agreement with the Russian general A. A. Vlassov, having listened to the same Russian exiles, hoping to paralyse the Red Army's power of resistance by consenting to the restoration of the Empire.

What did he achieve? The Russian Empire card was not a trump. The Russians did not desert Stalin, Vlassov was only able to set up two divisions. The hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war did not join up.

Why did Hitler try to come to terms with the Russian? He was impressed by their ninety millions and their political experience. Negotiations with

them seemed more appropriate than with a dozen small nations which in his eyes were simply slaves, without any statesmanship and political elite.

It is a fact that none of the great conquerors or reformers of Europe, thought of dismembering the Russian Empire and of setting up national states in its place.

Will the Western Powers also shrink from playing this trump card, which all until now have avoided?

The Kremlin's East Propaganda

The Kremlin has always been aware of the natural aspirations for independence of the politically advanced peoples. It is therefore not by accident that the Soviet Union introduced the principle of "independence up to complete separation", and gave each nation its own "Socialist Soviet Republic". Centralization in its old form was no longer possible.

The Ukrainian people as the most populous among the non-Russian nations was especially courted. The Ukrainian S.S.R. received its own constitution, including the assurance that it might at any time leave the Union if the people so desired. Furthermore this constitution established a Ukrainian government in Kiew, with its own foreign ministry, its own army and, between 1921 and 1923, the republic was permitted its own consular representatives abroad. Ukraine was acknowledged as the official language. The old Russian allegation that Ukraine was merely a part of Russia was thus officially denied.

The concessions remained on paper, in reality, however, they were nullified and Ukraine definitely became Russian. During World War II Moscow could not avoid granting Ukraine some privileges, again: the Soviet-Ukrainian author, A. Korneichuk, became deputy foreign minister in Moscow; one of the highest military orders of the U.S.S.R. was named after the greatest Ukrainian statesman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky; Ukraine was admitted to international organizations, such as the U.N. Ukraine was even acknowledged as an independent partner in the case of war, with the right of declaring war and concluding peace treaties. Manuilsky represented the Ukrainian S.S.R. as its foreign minister abroad.

1950 Ukraine was more courted than ever: she received her own national anthem and flag. The illusion of having an independent state was to be strengthened in the Ukrainian people. The Kremlin wished to take the wind out of the sails of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement by representing itself as the real founder of the State of Ukraine. It wants the Ukrainian people to believe that those who are true Soviets, are the true Ukrainian patriots. It is clearly to be seen, that the Kremlin recognizes the fact,

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national war... the trust the Russian people placed in the Soviet government," said Comrade Stalin, "was the decisive factor which secured the historical victory."

This playing upon the patriotic and chauvinist feelings of the Russian people plainly shows that Bolshevism is counting more especially on their support, less on the non-Russian subjugated nations. Therefore these eulogies!

W. G.

that Ukraine is ripe for national independence.

What is the West to do now?

It is easy to guess, what effect the Western propaganda of today has on the Ukrainians, Byelorussians etc. if one considers the effect Moscow's propaganda has. The Bolsheviks say: the Ukrainians and Byelorussians etc. etc. from independent peoples which are, however, related to the Russian people. The West says: no, the Ukrainians or Byelorussians are only part of the Russian people. Moscow says: Ukrainians you have your own, independent state within the Union and may if you desire — leave the Union and be quite independent. The West declares: you Ukrainians and Byelorussians have no right to a state of your own, you have always lived in the Russian Empire, and it is much better for you to go on living in it, as part of it. Moscow says: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, you can have your own foreign representatives, become members of international organizations, and all this you owe to us Russians, your friends and protectors. The West says: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, as you are only a part of the great Russian Empire, it is much better for you, if your interests in the politics of the whole world are represented by your central government in Moscow.

Which propaganda will be successful? Which will fail? Is the West to be outdone by Moscow in this respect, too?

What is the West to do? We think the following arguments would not fail to impress the non-Russian peoples: Communism did acknowledge your right to live in a state of your own, under pressure of your national power. But do you really live in a state of your own? Can you really demand your independence openly? No, you cannot. But listen! We want to help you to gain in reality what Communism only promises. If you fight for that, we shall stand at your side.

What will the Russian People say?

Considering the above arguments, the West will certainly ask: What will the 75,000,000 Russians say, if we proclaim the dismemberment of their Empire? Will they not take Stalin's side at once and absolutely?

We can answer this question with another question. We ask: why was Lenin then not afraid of the parole of national independence? Did the Russian people rise against him, then? Did not Stalin repeat Lenin's parole? Why was he not afraid to divide up the former united imperium into federal republics?

If Stalin can afford a propaganda aiming at the independence of Ukraine, why should the West lose anything by using the same arguments?

No, there is no danger that this propaganda will do any harm to the plan of the West to get the Russian people on its side. The Russian people — not its emigrants — have grown quite accustomed to the idea that the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Aserbajians etc. are independent peoples,

The U.P.A. Red Cross

By Bohdan Melodya-Kruk, Battalion Doctor of the U.P.A.

Like every other army at war the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) has suffered casualties which necessitated provision for the care of the wounded and convalescents, so the task arose of procuring doctors, nurses, hospital equipment, instruments and medicines under the difficult circumstances prevailing in an underground movement.

Special ambulance corps were set up very early in the campaign. Since 1945 they have borne the name of Ukrainian Red Cross, and carry on the tradition of the former Red Cross of the old 1918—1920 fights for freedom. Below we give the first more complete report on the activity of the Red Cross with the U.P.A., based on notes taken down by a doctor.

The First Units

The first ambulance units with the U.P.A. were formed in northern Ukrainian districts when the army was formed. As the U.P.A. grew, things became more complicated so that the beginning of 1944 the ambulance service covered the whole field of operation. Everything required for the care of wounded was lacking. In a two front war against Hitler German and Bolshevik occupation, and without supplies from the air from any foreign power there was no other possibility but to fend for themselves. The underground network of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) performed wonders in procuring instruments, medicine etc. through connections with Ukrainian medical circles.

The support of Ukrainian doctors and medical students made it possible, in Spring 1944, to buy medicines for 1½ million zloty in Lviv. Besides, fighting groups of the U.P.A. attacked enemy bunkers capturing medicines and instruments; moreover the stores of the ambulance detachments were replenished by voluntary contributions from doctors and chemists. Underground depots were built in the woods where stores could be properly kept.

Training

The training of a suitable ambulance staff offered a good deal of difficulty. Schools were set up for male and female personnel. Conditions for the enrollment of volunteers were: sufficient school education and loyalty to the ideals of the U.P.A. and the O.U.N. On finishing their training, candidates received a diploma, stating their individual abilities, whereupon they were appointed to ambulance stations or U.P.A. units. The U.P.A. issued a

and it will adapt itself to their separation from the Empire, just as the British did when India and Pakistan became independent, or the Dutch, in the case of Indonesia.

Soviet propaganda has unwittingly contributed much to this development.

special text book by Dr. Jurko and Dr. Shuvar "Ambulance Directives".

Underground Hospitals

When Ukraine was reconquered by the Bolsheviks in the summer of 1944, the most arduous, most difficult and dangerous phase began for the Ukrainian Red Cross. The number of wounded increased continuously so that new ways and means had to be sought for their care. Above ground buildings were out of the question as hospitals or convalescent homes, added to which provisioning the stations and military hospitals was becoming ever more difficult, owing to frequent raids by the Red Army and N.K.V.D. Consequently U.P.A. technical groups began to build underground hospitals i. e. ambulance bunkers. They were generally prepared for 6—15 beds, contained a kitchen, an office, ventilation, and canalization plant and water supply. They had to be so cleverly camouflaged that Soviet scouts would not be able to find them. The wounded had to be given a few weeks, sometimes months of undisturbed quiet. In building these bunkers the greatest care had to be taken that no trace of building operations was noticeable. The technical units of the U.P.A. are to be congratulated on their masterly work.

It frequently happened that the inmates of the bunkers heard the steps of enemy commandos over their heads, without, however, being discovered. On the other hand it happened sometimes that the bunkers were discovered, either by accident, good spying or by confessions, which captured U.P.A. men made after torture; then bunkers were cleared out.

The U.R.C. suffered its greatest losses in the Spring of 1947 in Lemkivshyna (Lemken district) when, after the treaty between Moscow and Prag of Juli 7, 1947, Soviet-Russian, Polish and Czech troops and police, started evacuating the Ukrainian population from the villages, thus depriving the U.P.A. of its support. The enemy troops, which were in greatly superior number, caused the U.P.A. and U.R.C. terrible losses.

Heroism of Ambulance Unit

At the beginning of the offensive against the U.P.A. the ambulance station at Khreshchata fought a heroic battle. When the enemy had discovered its exact situation, 500 men started a regular siege under the command of a colonel. There were 12 men, a physician, Dr. Ratay, a chemist, Mr. Orest and one member of ambulance corps, Mr. Arpad, three female assistants and 6 wounded resp. sick U.P.A. soldiers. On the enemy's call to surrender, they opened fire. A Polish N.K.V.D. soldier who had taken part in the siege and was later taken prisoner by the U.P.A., described the fate of the defenders: When the munition was coming to an end they directed the last shots and handgrenades against themselves. The

last man set the 100 litre barrel of petrol on fire so that nothing should fall into enemy hands and then killed himself. Even the Czech and Polish press was not able to conceal this heroic incident.

Of course the enemy press always stated that the U.P.A. could never have erected ambulance stations without support from the West. The truth is, however, that only the readiness of the Ukrainian people to make sacrifices, made the Ukrainian Red Cross possible. For instance, school children were told to collect medicinal herbs, even during the time of the German occupation. Of course, part of those supplies was lost, due to the lack of proper store-rooms, but a great part of them was saved and was later at the U.R.C.'s disposal. This action was also of great educational value. The U.R.C. edited a special text-book "Medicinal Herbs and their Use" which every U.P.A. ambulance man carried with him.

Population Support Red Cross

With the assistance of the population the food question was solved by the economic department of the U.R.C. Wounded or sick soldiers received a daily ration of fat 50 grs; meat 200 grs, bread 500 grs; potatoes 1 kg; sugar 50 grs; and vegetables and cereals as well. Of course it frequently happened that enemy troops halted supplies, so that the staff of the ambulance stations were reduced to potatoes and salt or "chyr" (porridge of maize) "partisan food". In general the Red Cross stations received provisions for 5-6 months from the commissariat of the U.R.C. or the U.P.A. detachments. Stores were kept in special underground depots.

Ambulance Men of other Nationalities

At first the doctors took care of the wounded, but as casualties increased ambulance men had often to substitute for doctors who were then only attached to the battalions. The ambulance men were not always Ukrainians; there were Georgians, Jews, Germans and members of other nations among them.

Lack of doctors necessitated the better organization of the ambulance service. First came ambulance men for platoons, then for companies of a hundred (ambulance man or doctor) on to the highest degree, — the battalion doctor. The platoon ambulance men had to give first aid, and care for the wounded, until they could be removed to a collecting point. There a doctor or company ambulance man took over.

The doctors or company ambulance men were responsible for the general health and hygiene of the whole unit and the instruction of the men. The U.P.A. battalion doctor's work was mainly organization. He gave instructions, directed the men's training and undertook inspections. He was in contact with the district doctor and had the various ambulance units under his supervision.

The district pharmacist took care of the medical supplies. As far as pos-

sible he supplied the field ambulances with medicines, which in part he put up himself in his underground laboratory.

Transport of Wounded

The transport of the wounded depended to a great extent upon local conditions and the underground laws. Enemy alertness often prevented transport by horse and cars, so the wounded had to be carried on makeshift stretchers, or over a comrade's shoulder, by devious paths to the ambulance centres. The wounded always had



Unit of Ukrainian Insurgents Army U.P.A.

At barber's shop in a hide-out, deep in Carpathian Forest, 1950

their eyes blindfolded when they were being transported, so that the position of the Red Cross station remained a secret.

The underground network of the O.U.N. took over the care of the disabled U.P.A. men. That was possible as the enemy directed his attention more especially to the fighting units and the O.U.N. network was out of reach.

Winter made things extremely difficult. As warm clothing was not always to be had the wounded and the nursing staff suffered very much from the cold. Transport to the ambulance stations took longer than at other times, as traces of footsteps left in the snow would have been fatal. They, therefore, had to be carefully obliterated or cunningly confused.

Aid for Deportees

The activity of the U.R.C. was not restricted to the U.P.A. units. The Ukrainian population energetically resisted Bolshevik terrorism in punitive and deportation actions, and in many places suffered serious casualties. The Bolsheviks left these people lying where they were, uncared for. It was then the task of the U.R.C. to come to their aid in every possible way. Then, too, there were epidemics which the authorities took no trouble to overcome. Finally, in some districts the Bolsheviks resorted to bacteriological warfare against the population which the U.R.C. had to combat by systematic vaccination, procuring the serum on the "black market" at high prices.

Multiple Activities

The selfless work of the U.R.C. deserves special mention. It kept to the

international regulations for warfare and the treatment of the wounded strictly, in consequence enemy wounded were cared for too, — in contrast to the way the U.P.A. wounded were treated when they fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks. Families of the bereaved were notified. Special precautions were taken to obviate any danger to these families, and documents left by the dead were returned to relations.

The U.R.C. was divided into a military branch working with the fighting units and a civilian branch working

for the population. Both branches collaborated. One of the tasks was the training of qualified medical officers and ambulance men, the procuring of instruments, medicines and the transport of the wounded and sick. Many men and women gave their lives in fulfilling their duty. Some day their story will be told by historians.

"... Hands blackened by the sun, wind, and baking potatoes on the field; ragged coats and caps, tattered footwear, but with a smile on their faces, sharp eyes and the expression of an iron will, — that is how the U.P.A. soldier looked that I often met at home..."

Estonian National Council

The "Estonian National Council", a central organization of the Estonians in the free world, held in Stockholm, Sweden, its 3rd Congress on Sunday, April 29, with 200 delegates from all over Sweden, where the greatest number of Estonian refugees have obtained asylum. The purpose of the Congress was to discuss ways and means in the struggle for the liberation of Soviet-occupied Estonia.

In a declaration the Congress called upon all free nations to aid and support the struggle for freedom of the Estonian people. The Estonians who have succeeded in escaping to the free world regard it as their mission to speak for their unhappy countrymen and to work for their liberation. The Estonian refugees must collaborate with their comrades in misfortune from the other Soviet-occupied countries.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

The "peoples republic" blossoms

The Soviet news agency, TASS reports from Tirana, June 7th, 1951.

"The regular meeting of the Assembly of the Peoples Republic of Albania was convened yesterday in Tirana. Abdul Kellesi, Minister of Finance gave a report on the budget. Revealing the imperialist character of the politics of U.S.A. and England, and the provocative policy of the Belgrade, Athenian and Roman puppets, he stressed the determination of the Albanian people, led by the workers party and Enver Hodsha, to continue socialist construction and to defend their country. Kellesi emphasized the fact that in 1951 there was a surplus of 8% in the revenue. The income from the socialist section in 1951 will amount to almost 40% of the total income, whereas in 1950 it was only 31%. The economic plan for 1951 provides for an increase in building of 33% in comparison to last year, and a 49.6% rise in industrial production."

The Soviet press report that in 1951 Soviet agricultural machines will be working for the first time in the fields of Albania.

Fiery political speeches against the free world and eulogies of the Communist party for their handling of the budget, as well as questionable figures of planning and production show that Albania is on the way to the status of a Soviet Republic. There was no need to mention Soviet tractors.

ARMENIA

Armenian Authors do not "Toe the Line"

According to a report in the "Pravda" of June 27th, 1951, the full meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Armenia recently discussed the weak points in Armenian literature. Manikonyan, the head of the section for literature and art in the Committee, declared that the party organizations must lead a consistent campaign against publications which are not compatible with party directives, such as relapses into bourgeois nationalism, formalism, cosmopolitanism, lack of ideas and political indifference. The Pravda report mentions especially that in many Armenian novels "Soviet reality is distorted".

Talk of a relapse into "bourgeois nationalism" in modern literature, runs like a red thread through all the meetings of the Communist party in Armenia, Georgia, Aserbaijan among Volga-Tartars and in other republics. The repeated allusions in the Soviet press seem to point out that these relapses are wide-spread. The authors among the non-Russian peoples are

obviously making an effort to hold their positions in "bourgeois nationalism" i. e. to preserve national obstinacy against the growing russification.

BULGARIA

Resistance Increasing in spite of Terrorism

Extracts given below, taken from the Communist press of Bulgaria, show a true picture of present conditions in this much tried country under Soviet Russian despotism.

In a speech, Cherwenkoff, Prime Minister by the grace of Stalin, said recently: "In order to put a stop to repeated enemy attempts to hold up the Communist revolution a new general political attack must be initiated against internal enemies. Their venom must be extracted with an iron hand and they must be exterminated once and for all."

The wave of terrorization against open enemies and resistance movements continues unabated, parallel with the persecution of so-called "disappointed Communists" — which reaches even the cabinet. Arrests, disappearances, innumerable concentration camps, shadow the majority of the Bulgarian people at every step. Notwithstanding the careful covering up of all signs of resistance it cannot be altogether concealed.

The government paper "Rabotnichesko Delo" of April 5, 1951 reports a great political trial of several persons, for taking part in a Bulgarian "Anti-Bolshevist Legion" to save the nation. A number of them was condemned to death by hanging.

The Communist juvenile paper "The Nation's Youth" in a leading article of April 25, 1951 calls for "a decisive struggle against enemy influence in the schools" and unwittingly reveals the following: "At this moment class war is coming to a head... In Industry the enemy seeks to disrupt production, in agriculture the Kulak elements seek by every means in their power to thwart the plan and the setting up of collective farms, to get around the contributions to the State, to destroy live-stock etc. ... In the ideological and cultural sphere, too, the enemy still clings to the decaying bourgeois culture and morals."

The class war is especially noticeable among the school children in Sofia, which is no wonder, as Sofia was the stronghold of the Bourgeois. ... Communistic discipline is being undermined and instruction disturbed. ... The enemy of the working people is making every effort to get control of the ideas and feelings of the school children. ... The enemy knows very well that the young, bred in the spirit of bourgeois morals, can easily become a tool for his sinister aims. The means for sedition are manifold. The

teachers and the activists among the pupils are given insulting nicknames; the enemy even frequently succeeds in inspiring the sons and daughters of workmen who have been hitherto loyal members and activists of the Socialist Youth. All means undertaken against this bourgeois influence in the schools have failed and our activists are helpless."

The question of growing resistance in the Bulgarian schools and its danger for the Soviet-inspired regime was also the chief point of this year's Spring Congress of the Socialist Youth in Sofia. The "Nation's Youth" of March 9, 1951 in reporting the congress, comes to the conclusion that Communist ideology has not conquered the pupils' hearts. From reports it may be seen that resistance in the schools is so strong that even Communist activists and informers among the pupils dare put nothing in their way "from a feeling of comradeship".

In treating this question the Communist Bulgarian press does not say how many young Bulgarian boys and girls have had to pay with their lives, or hard labour, for their "preference for bourgeois culture". Anyone who knows the conditions in Bulgarian secondary schools and universities as they were before the Communist upheaval, can have no doubt that this heroic resistance in intellectual and cultural fields is nothing but fear of that deeply founded anti-Communist movement which was known by the name of Bulgarian National Legion in the thirties and which embraced the whole young generation, and is apparently today the inexhaustible source for the national liberation campaign in the Bulgarian schools.

LITHUANIA

Lithuania's Communists are Slow to Learn

The end of June 1951, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Lithuania was convened in Vilnius to hear a report by Trofimov, the Russian secretary of the Central Committee, "Pravda" reports July 2, 1951, on the work of the meeting:

"At the plenary meeting weakness in the leadership of party organizations in the villages was sharply criticized. Some district committees seldom discuss statements of accounts tendered by party cells, and fail to take the necessary care in the training of party secretaries. The workers of district and provincial committees rarely attend party meetings at the collective farms and tractor pools."

Members of the plenary meeting deprecated that provincial committees and the different departments of the Central Committee did very little to spread the experience gained in party work, and so few lectures and training possibilities were organized for village Communists. This short "Pravda" report reveals an important feature and one which holds good for the other countries, too, which have fallen vic-

tims to Bolshevik imperialism in the last few years, namely that key positions in these new Russian provinces are held exclusively by Russians. They are secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist party in each land.

It is they who, at the instigation of Moscow, criticize the activities of those traitors who place themselves at the disposal of alien powers against the interest of their own people.

Large Collectives Ruin Villages

"The change in agriculture to large collective farms creates most favourable conditions for building activity", the "Tiesa" (Truth), the Lithuanian Communist paper, writes March 23, 1951. The real objective of large collective farms is the destruction of village communities and small settlements which give a country its wholesome natural structure, and enliven the landscape. That picture is doomed to disappear and yield to the gloomy, lifeless factory character of the large kolkhoz. The construction of these huge factorylike farms requires an immense amount of building material, especially bricks of which there is a great shortage even in the towns, let alone in the country. That the brick-yards "Dawn" near Dotnava, only supplied 40,000, that of Plunge "Victory" 70,000 while Klaipeda (Memel) only prepared 100,000 bricks, is much criticized in another place in the newspaper; also that until now only 3 cowhouses have been erected in Dotnava and Pasvalis. The building of large collective farms is lagging behind.

The local party and building authorities of rayons are to blame for the slow progress in production and building plans. In consequence they are most sharply criticized. The Newspaper does not admit that there is not enough timber in the country to carry out the plans, while in another place it praises the prefabricated wooden houses delivered by Lithuania for canal constructions on the Volga and in Turkestan. "Workers building the hydroelectric power station at Kuybyshev have received a fine present from the Lithuanian woodworking concern, viz. 25 prefabricated dwelling houses made of Lithuanian timber", the "Tiesa" of April 6, 1951 declares.

The homeland suffers and the "fatherland" at large gains . . . Contradictions of that kind are frequent. Once they are decried as failings and then as credit. At every opportunity, however, the actual progress achieved by agriculture in the former free, independent Lithuania is covered with mockery and scorn.

At the speed of the present building activity in Lithuania there is no saying when the large collective farms will be ready. The plans are there, but their fulfilment is another story.

Training in Communism Fails to Function

The evening courses held by the "Lithuanian Communist Party leave much to be desired, the "Tiesa" writes in its Nr. 39. In all these groups atten-

dance is poor. Hardly half of the compulsory members turn up. The paper recommends severe measures for the absentees. The teachers are also backward in fulfilling the requirements. Comrade Laukaitis does not even master the material himself, he merely reads from text books, without commentary or examples. He gives the German declaration of war against Russia as the cause of the World War, and describes the big farmers (kulaks) merely as the owners of large estates without pointing out the exploitation of the workers.

POLAND

New Constitution

Preparations for forcing a Stalin Constitution on Poland are in full swing. A commission under the direction of President Bierut has been charged with the preliminaries. From a speech held in the Sejm it appears that "a Constitution for the country of victorious socialism" is to be drawn up to "strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat" and to be the expression of the real relationship of the class forces.

Dissatisfaction and the hostile attitude of the peasants caused the regime to demonstrate in a series of trials that the government cares of the peasants and that only unreliable officials and policemen are to be blamed if there are any violations of the law.

In Plonsk several policemen were sentenced to 5-7 years prison because they beat the peasants when they bought corn. In a trial in Gryfice which caused quite a lot of excitement, even a party-secretary and some "activists" were sentenced to 1-6 years imprisonment.

But the beaten and exploited peasant is not to be deceived or contented by the punishment of some subordinate officials. He wants to see his real torturers hanging on the gallows.

Good Train Derailed

The Berlin "Nachtdespeche" reports that Polish partisans derailed a goods train conveying material from Poland to the Soviet Union. The Soviet guards, protecting the line, are said to have been killed.

Flights from the "Paradise"

During the past weeks a large number of Poles has succeeded in fleeing from the "people's paradise" in strange ways. For instance 2 employees of the Warsaw airfield, R. Jurek and J. Kozaczynski, who had hidden in the hold of an aeroplane of the Lot line, landed in Paris.

Two polish fliers landed with a school plane at Passau, Germany and asked for political asylum.

Eight of the crew of the steamer "Batory", laid up in London for repairs, preferred not to return to the steamer.

In Sweden, too, fresh refugees have turned up, among them a young student, who had concealed himself among the bunker coal, on a Swedish steamer, arrived at Göteborg from Gdynia. He reported to the police and begged for asylum. A sailor from a Polish ship in the harbour of Karlsham failed to return on board.

Prices

A few instances of prices in Poland: 1 kg of cherries costs 10 zloty; strawberries 11.50 zl., new potatoes 2 zl., cauliflower 8 zl., tomatoes 50 zl. At Breslau and Stettin 16-40 zl. is charged for 1 kg cherries. At Szczecin (Stettin) 1 kg of butter costs 22 zl. and one egg 70-80 groszy.

SLOVAKIA

Proofs of Resistance

In April, at Levoce (Leuchan) seven members of the "Slovak White Partisans" were condemned for having carried out sentences against Communist functionaries that had been proclaimed by partisans tribunals. On July 2, Nosek, Communist Minister of the Interior, officially admitted the facts. He had received orders from Moscow to liquidate all "elements of opposition" in Slovakia by the end of May. The partial confession of seven sentences instead of a final report of victory may be regarded as a proof of the fact that he was unable to carry out his orders and that resistance in Slovakia is still alive.

TURKESTAN

The Youth of Turkestan is Refractory

"The office of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Usbekistan has adopted a resolution, in which it is stated that the previous resolution of October 7, 1950 concerning the defective enrollment of new members for the W.L.C.S.M. (Komsomol) and the abolition of these defects has not been fulfilled." Thus the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of June 27, 1951, in an article on the situation in Usbekistan.

The work of the youth organizations in the districts of Fergana Surkhan-Daryinsk and Bukhara are described as especially unsatisfactory. The Komsomol organization in the towns of Tashkent and Samarkand are reproached for not being able to attract more young workers to their ranks. Altogether the party, as well as Komsomol, are criticized for working too slowly.

It is important to note that the youth of Turkestan has been successful, in spite of pressure on the side of party organizations, to keep up their passive attitude towards the Komsomol as a Russian organization.

Growing Disinclination to Communist Teaching

In the autumn of 1950 the District Party Committee of Stalinabad called a meeting at which the Party secretary

of the Party Committee, Kuznetsov, made a speech on "the improvement in ideological work". "It has been necessary lately to remove many Communists from their posts, as they absented themselves from attending party teaching, on purpose." The Party secretary stated that among the dismissed persons there were many who had held high posts. He talked about the great number of Communists, who not only did not take an interest in the Party teaching, but did not even attend the Lenin-Stalin lectures! He then went on to criticise the Communists, Komsomols and the intellectuals in the villages, who, in spite of their higher-grade education, did not participate in the propaganda campaign, which is being carried on by the 12,000 propagandists belonging to the 1,056 collective propaganda groups in the districts.

At the district meeting, Erkaoglu, the second secretary of the Party Committee, was deprived of his functions in this connection.

A. Ivanov, the deputy manager of the department for propaganda and agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Kazakhstan reported the following on 28. 8. 50: "In 1950, 280,000 party members participated in the party training courses. These are 95.5% of the total party membership." In spite of the large attendance at party training courses the standard of training was very low, as the management of the school was in the hands of men, of whom only 15% of the higher officials had a middle class and university education. The report gives ample proof that the lack of interest in Communist training among the leading Communists is on the increase.

The Wireless under Russian Control

On looking at the programme of the wireless broadcasts in the Soviet Republic of Turkestan, it appears that the time allotted for Turki broadcasts is 1 hour and 36 minutes per day. The time allotted for transmissions in the Kirgiz languages are from:

7.45—7.56 Political lecture in the Kirgiz language	11 min.
8.59—9.20 Kirgiz Concerns	41 min.
18.09—18.38 Kirgiz Concerns	29 min.
21.15—21.30 News in the Kirgiz language	15 min.
Total 1 hr. 36 mins	

On the same day, at the same station there was a transmission in Russian which lasted for 3 hours and 30 minutes. This illustrates the pressure the Russians exert on Turki wireless transmissions.

Guerilla War

National Chinese government circles announce from Formosa that heavy fighting is going on in East Turkestan between Soviet units and anti-Communist resistance fighters. The latter are estimated at some 60,000. The information concerning this fighting was given Tschiang Kai Chek by a partisan leader from the province of Sinkiang.

According to this report there are two mechanized Soviet divisions and more than 50 planes in action. The partisans have withdrawn, after stubborn resistance, to the Rien-Chau Mountains. Up to date they have killed over 8,000 Soviet soldiers, the deputy commander of a division and his chief of staff and the regimental commanders.

The partisan leader, Elbar Khan reports further that in East Turkestan some 20,000 Soviet soldiers are occupied in the transport of uranium and other important minerals to U.S.S.R. He states that the partisans have the support of the indigenous population. They appeal to the head of the National Chinese government for help, above all for weapons.

UKRAINE

"The Ukrainian Decade" in Moscow

From June 15, — June 25, 1951 the "Decade of Ukrainian Culture" took place in Moscow. With it the Soviets wanted to prove the "indestructible friendship of the Soviet peoples".

This year there were more than 2,000 Ukrainian artists, such as actors, singers, composers, musicians, authors, painters, sculptors and workers in applied arts, who could be seen and heard in many a concert, exhibition, and theatre performance. But behind the beautiful facade of a prospering Ukrainian culture, the Soviet management was easily perceptible, which only permitted the products of Ukraine's national culture to go back to the folk plays and farces and burlesques. Every proceeding in a cultural respect is duly controlled to see whether it is a contribution to the glorification of "socialistic realism". The new songs sing of Stalin, the "new" plays praise Stalin and the painters only paint Stalin. After 10 days of the festival, people really might gain the impression that the only thing that inspires Ukraine's cultural life is — Stalin.

Yet the splendour surrounding this "Decade" cannot deceive us. The real Ukrainian culture has meanwhile fled from the mortuary of the Moscow galleries into the underground and emigration, and there the true spirit of the Ukrainian people is developing and proving itself, without any outside support.

Before a Tempest?

In an editorial "Pravda" of July 2, 1951, starts a campaign against the "ideological distortions in literature". Which is actually directed against independent intellectual currents in Ukraine. The editorial was caused by a poem by the well known Ukrainian poet, V. Sosyura, with the title "Love Ukraine", which was published in the magazine "Zvezda" (Star). This poem

had first been published in 1944 in the Ukrainian language and was reprinted several times.

Now Sosyura is blamed for asking his readers in his poem to love "his" Ukraine, an "eternal", "timeless" Ukraine, that has nothing to do with the epoch, i. e. the present socialist Ukraine. "Pravda" remarks that any enemy of the Ukrainian people, coming from the nationalist camp, like Petliura, Bandera etc., could as well have written such a poem.

"The Soviet Ukraine grew and prospered by the solid friendship between the socialistic states, by the irreconcilable struggle against the enemies of the people, the bourgeois nationalists. This Ukraine is not to be found in Sosyura's poem; in that it stands all by itself, without any connection with the other peoples of the Soviet Union . . .

It is well known, that nationalism is always trying to retreat into its own national shell without paying any regard to those facts which unite the working masses of all the peoples of the Soviet Union . . ."

The "Pravda" does not only criticize the editor of "Zvezda", and its publisher W. Druzin, but also the whole Ukrainian press which permitted the poem to be published for 7 years without criticism, and especially the Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine. They charge it with not having given enough attention to "ideological questions".

"Pravda" has not only reproached Sosyura for having produced poetry of "ideological distortion", other poets, such as Maksym Rylsky had to suffer the same. Pravda states, too, that similar lapses are to be found in other spheres of Ukrainian art and mentions the text of the opera "Bohdan Khmelnytsky" which was written by Alexander Korneichuk and Vanda Vasilevska.

We think it of great political importance that "Pravda" criticism reproached Sosyura for a mistake he made 7 years ago, and includes persons whose true Bolshevik ideology and attitude had never been doubted, — on the contrary, had frequently been awarded and stressed. This reproach has nothing to do with the abandonment of the last remnants of national concessions, which had once been granted by the Politburo, for obvious reasons, during the "Great National War". Neither is it caused by the revision of the spirit of the language, based on Stalin's recent "philosophical" perceptions.

Other tendencies are to be noticed. During the last weeks the Communist parties of nearly all non-Russian republics, from Turkmenia, to the Baltic Sea, were attacked by the Politburo on account of their tolerance towards divergencies of a nationalistic kind. A method seems to lie behind the whole affair. A new purge is obviously imminent? The last one Ukraine had to undergo started in 1956 and was ended when the war broke out. May be now the Russian war preparations which will cause a new one.

From the Soviet Press

Clothing only for Small People

Clothing only for Small People

Complaints from various towns of the Soviet Union are reaching the offices of Moscow newspapers, that stock and outsize clothing is not to be had in the shops. The Moscow "Isvestiya" applied to the competent trade chief in Leningrad, Kirsanov, with a request to inquire into the matter. After discussions with him and the representatives of the Soviet clothing factories, the newspaper published an article saying:

"Comrade Kirsanov gave the following explanation, based on his personal observations:

'In the Leningrad shops there are really no clothes for large men.'

But why? What is the reason for it, Comrade Kirsanov? To this question the head of the Trade Department gave a clear, direct answer:

'The factories are not turning out clothes and coats for the broad masses.'

Comrade Dubrovina head of the trust "Leningrad Clothing", cleared up this point.

The material for large size suits and coats is there, but there are no...

'No what?'

'No instructions from the municipal Trade Department.'

'It all depends on Kirsanov then?'

'Yes, everything depends on him...'

It would be a mistake to suppose that it is only in Leningrad that the clothing factories have no care for tall people. It is an actual fact that many of them produce clothing only for short people, and but rarely even for stock-size. The reason is first, because with one model less, the production plan can be more easily fulfilled. Secondly, it makes it possible to boast of "great saving" at the end of the month. There are good and beautiful materials to be had, it is true, but as before mentioned they are only intended for small people."

(Isvestiya, June 3, 1951.)

Moscow and its War Potential

May, 1951 the "Isvestiya" published a long article by M. Baybakov, Minister for Mineral Oils in the U.S.S.R., containing important information on the changes in mineral oil geography. He says:

"One of the characteristic features of development in the 5 years after the war, is the fundamental change in the mineral oil geography of the country. While five years ago the eastern provinces only produced 12.5% of the total oil production, they now, in 1950, supplied 44%...

Extensive investigations in the east have led to the discovery and equipment of the richest oil fields in the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Republic, in the Tartar Autonomous Republic and in the province of Kuybyshev."

Lecture in Political Science

"Crocodile", the Moscow satirical journal complains in No. 19 of July 10th, 1951, that political lecturers in the province of Kuibyshev show up unprepared are not able to keep the attention of their audiences. Not in Kuibyshev only...



It's a bit strange, himself a nice fellow, and is talking devil knows what!

A.B.N. Manifestation in Canada

On June 24, 1951 Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, Croats and members of other peoples subjugated by Moscow, marched through the streets of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, in orderly columns to a joint anti-Communist manifestation. Some thousands of people were assembled around the monument to the Unknown Warrior when the priest, Semen Izhyk, himself a former political prisoner in concentration camps, spoke of all those who had been victims of Bolshevik terrorism.

After a march through the main streets, there was a demonstration of protest. At the close, the resolutions which had been passed were sent to the United Nations, President Truman, Prime Minister St. Loran and to the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

Western Book-Keeping...

Continued from Page 1

Lithuanians, Estonians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians and other peoples of the Soviet Russian dominion, to get out of the clutches of Moscow, will also be labeled and denounced as a "nationalist" and "separatist" tendency.

For the peoples united in the A.B.N. it is no secret that in the West, more especially in U.S.A., people cling to the fatal idea of the indivisibility of a great Russian Empire. With embitterment and repugnance our peoples hear themselves defined in Western publications, even today, as the "Russian people" or the peoples of Russia". As if these peoples had no names of their own, no national history that lasts for centuries, no honour and dignity of which they may be as justly proud as the nations of the West. The much lauded principle of self-determination seems, for the West, to halt at the frontiers of Moscow's despotic empire. The responsible statesmen of the West, however, should be aware that this double book-keeping will not take them far, nor lead to any constructive policy in the end.

A clear answer to such errors of Western policy was once again given at the great A.B.N. convention held in Munich, June 3, 1951. In 22 languages at this convention in reality only one basic speech was held, only one vow was made:

We want no Russian Empire. We will have no State union with Moscow. We will not be chained to the great Russian Empire. Away from Moscow! We want our own independent national States. We want a really free world in which each nation can decide its own fate.

The peoples of the A.B.N. will no longer, no matter on what basis, discuss with the Russians a "balance of mutual interests" or a "common form of life", or the like. We want our full indisputable freedom. There can be no discussions about the meaning of national freedom. One has it, or one dies for it, it cannot be divided. Democracy is no magic word that can bring about two different things at the same time: retain the unity of Russia and give the subjected peoples so much desired freedom. It simply cannot be done. If democracy means respect for the will of the people, and especially is not to have a hollow sound for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, the West must decide without ambiguity for real freedom for all oppressed nations. And first of all this means the unconditional separation of these peoples from Moscow, from Russian Empire.

A Circulation of 36 Million Copies

Official Soviet newspapers announce that last year 90 more newspapers appeared in the Soviet Union, published in Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Tadjikian, Moldavian, Tuvian, Yakutian, Caracalpakian and many other languages. The total daily edition of Soviet newspapers amounted to 36 million copies the beginning of this year.

This information shows the gigantic struggle that is being carried on by the Bolsheviks on the ideological front, and their endeavour to russify the souls of the peoples with the help of their native languages.

Bibliography

Major Tufton Beamish, M.C., M.P.:

Must Night Fall?

Hollis & Carter, London 1950 — X. 292 p. —

In spite of the Iron Curtain there is today in West Europe as well as in America a flood of publications on East European problems. Too many people feel called upon to publish their experiences, impressions and memoirs, in the belief that they are contributing to the better understanding of present East European problems; while on the other hand there is much too little direct archive material, too few documents, too few unprejudiced analyses of actual occurrences.

Major Tufton Beamish, who is a member of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons has written a book which belongs to the above second category. He deals in the first place with the historical background and the actual events in "the people's democracies" Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, and particularly with the courts, police, army, religion, education, culture, and the life of the youth in these countries. He deals chiefly with the time after the Bolshevik night had fallen upon these lands.

This book gives indeed one of the deepest, most matter of fact, glimpses behind the Iron Curtain. Whoever wants to learn what has been done in these countries since the war and above all how these once Western inclined democratic agrarian countries were overrun and pressed into Bolshevism, must read Major Beamish's book. He has a subtle but sure hand in arranging facts and events, with a good sense for the national peculiarities of the countries he is dealing with, knowing what is essential and what to leave aside. He gives an excellent analysis of the mechanics, the methods and the fiendish machinery for bolshevizing these countries. His description of the Bolshevik meatmachine tearing the living bodies of these nations apart, to make a horrible Communist Frankenstein out of them is outstanding.

For the Eastern reader especially, the fact that the author justly distributes the blame for the rising and later imperialist growth of Bolshevism, is most satisfying. It does not say in the book, that any "dark forces", "super-national plots", or a "special race quality" or a "specific national trait" in the Eastern peoples is to blame for Bolshevism. No, the West is to blame, too, in fact all of us are, to a certain extent. Had we in the West behaved differently, night would not have enveloped these countries and, furthermore, this same night would have been less menacing for Western countries. He castigates the fatal mistakes of the British Labour Government, attacks the Americans, and does not spare even his own Conservative Party. In spite of that his book is optimistic, because the author believes that by the proper handling of the Bolshevik problem, bright daylight will once dawn after this terrible night.

The author has travelled very much in Eastern countries, also after the war; his critical matter-of-factness does not prevent him from expressing warm sympathy for these peoples. As he has obviously gone very deeply into their problems it would be a good thing if he could find time, and the possibility, to turn his attention to

the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R. and write a similar book about them. The West is in great need of a book like Major Beamish's. There do not seem to be many such experts among the present generation in the British Parliament, who are so well informed as Major Beamish. Z. P.

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Alexander Kaeles:

Human rights and Genocide in the Baltic States

Stockholm 1950 64 pp 8°. Eslouian Information Centre.

The middle of June all the members of the Baltic States scattered abroad in the world, keep an exceedingly tragic anniversary: — the beginning of their systematic extermination, deportation and "resettlement" into the interior of Soviet Union.

In the night of the 13th of June 1941, the criminal action began suddenly in all the Baltic States at once: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Since that long prepared for tragic night in which thousands of Balts were arrested, shot and deported far into Russia, the terrorism of the N.K.V.D. later M.G.V. has never ceased. Deportation and eviction continue almost unabated.

That June night of 1941, with its carnage was repeated in other St Bartholomew's nights from March 25th to 26th 1949.

Alexander Kaeles in his small book gives us a deep insight into these events. It is actually a compilation, put together by the "Estonian Information Centre" in Stockholm, which was founded by the Estonian National Council Mr Johannes Klesment, a former Estonian minister of finance, and the well-known publicist Paul Poom have contributed largely to the work.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. It should be called "The Rights of Man and Genocide in Estonia", a practically almost nothing is said of the massacres and the statistics of other two Baltic countries.

What the reader learns of the fate of the Estonian people is serious and shocking enough. The authors have made use of an interesting method in their work. As a motto for each chapter they take a quotation from the "General Declaration of Human Rights" of December 1948 by the U.N. and against the background of this declaration, the Soviet actions are described. Thus page for page we read the story of Soviet slavery, torture, cruelty.

Through this juxtaposition we get a striking picture of a completely distorted, chaotic world. Whatever is positive in the U.N. Declaration of Rights is, on the Soviet side, a complete negation. Everything has been turned into the exact opposite of the intended good. And it is all proved, over and over again by hundreds of facts.

We learn that the Estonian people, which up to 1939 counted 1.125.000 inhabitants has, under 10 years of Rus-

sian dominion, lost some 15% of its national substance through execution, massacres, starvation and deportation, i.e. 185.000 of its inhabitants. Instead, over 500.000 Russians and peoples of Mongolian descent have been imported into Estonia. The Russians came in as conquerors, the Mongols were dragged there.

The author quite rightly points out that this fate has not only been meted out to the Baltic peoples. It was the same thing with the Volga Germans, the Chechen-Ingusen, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmucks, who were all either exterminated or evicted from their homes and settled elsewhere.

In one thing we, unfortunately, cannot agree with the authors. They attribute this Soviet genocide to the idea of Pan Slavism, while in fact it is not the Slavs as such who are to blame for this continuous extermination but the Great Russians the Muscovites who are thus creating a new living space. The Muscovites rage in Slavic Byelorussia, Slavic Cossackia and Slavic Ukraine in exactly the same way. These people are being deported or exterminated literally in millions.

Altogether Ukraine has lost in the course of 35 years of organized genocide, some 9 million of her inhabitants. All three Baltic States have a total population of 5½ million, so it is easy to reckon out how long it will take Moscow to make away with the last Balt. How long is the free world going to look on passively at all this? Z. P.

The Anti-Bolshevist Rally in London

On June 30, 1951 some 6000 people gathered in Hyde Park to commemorate the 10th anniversary of The Restoration of Ukrainian Independence. The rally was organized by the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain which to-day has almost 3000 members.

Besides the Ukrainians who had come from all parts of the British Isles, also British spectators were present and many who had come to London for the Festival of Britain.

After a religious service and the blessing of the flags of the different groups, addresses in English and Ukrainian were read by representatives of the political and general organizations, as well as representatives of the Poles, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Lithuanians and the British friends of Ukraine. They all warned the Western world that the menace of Bolshevism must be stopped as soon as possible.

At the end of the Hyde Park Rally a resolution was read in English and Ukrainian.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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June/July 1951

A. B. N. Speaks to the World

A Serious Warning

We are devoting a good deal of this issue of our bulletin to material from the great anti-Bolshevist Convention of 22 peoples of the A.B.N., on June 3, 1951 in Munich.

From this material the reader can obtain a clear idea of the depth of the anti-Bolshevist, anti-Russian and anti-imperialistic feeling, even the embitterment prevailing among these 22 nations. In 22 languages at the Munich Convention we might say that actually only **one** fundamental speech was held, only one profession of faith was laid down, namely — "we will have no Russian Empire; we will have no federation with Moscow! Away from Moscow! We want our own, thoroughly independent States, we want a free world in which each nation may decide independently upon its own destiny!"

The great Munich Convention, however, was not only the disowning of Moscow; it contained also a grave warning to the West, especially to the U.S.A.

The A.B.N.-nations know full well that the West, including America, is clinging stubbornly to the idea of a great indivisible Russia. The A.B.N. peoples see again and again with bitterness and repugnance that the West still describes them as "Russian nations" or "the peoples of Russia".

In the opinion of the West, the self-determination of nations only reaches to the frontiers of the Moscow Empire, within that Empire it loses its validity.



Mass Rally of A.B.N. Members

In other words, what is fair for the Western nations is **not** fair for the nations of the East. With this sort of two-facedness no constructive policy can be achieved in East Europe.

The Munich Convention came just in the right moment. May 26, 1951 the broadcasts in the Georgian language were begun by the "Voice of America". The introductory words were spoken by U.S.A. State Secretary, Dean Acheson. That was the first time an official American personality had spoken directly to one of the peoples subjugat-

ed by Moscow. Mr. Acheson spoke of the "common ideals" which were a bond between the two peoples, the American and the Georgian. He proposed that the Georgians should join with the American people in a common future, a future which "would bring the Georgian nation liberties which it did not enjoy to-day".

Mr. Acheson refrained from defining more exactly "the common future" and "the liberties" which the Georgian people were to enjoy. Whatever freedom

(Continued on Page 2)

Greetings to the Fighting Home Countries

The Convention adopted unanimously with enthusiastic cheers the following resolution:

"We bow our heads in deep veneration before the countless sacrifices made by our heroic countries and send our hearty greetings to those carrying on the fight there, the national liberation organizations, the insurgent armies and formations of our oppressed, but by no means conquered peoples. We solemnly declare that we shall do everything to attain our common aim — the restoration of our independent States."

Freedom for Nations! — Freedom for Individuals!

Quotations from the Speeches at the Public Meeting of A.B.N.

June 3, 1951, in Munich

From the Opening Speech by Prince N. Nakashidse (Georgia)

"In this address I'm speaking not only to the members of our subjugated peoples assembled here, but purposely also to all the representatives of the so-called free world. For it must be realized that . . . all the people on our earth, this side and that side of the Iron Curtain, are faced by the same destiny . . . Never has the idea of the indivisibility of freedom, peace and security been so true as to-day . . .

The western world still talks of merely restricting Soviet-Russian aggression, of coming to an understanding with Moscow . . . and even proclaims the preservation of peace . . . and the status quo as the highest aim of western policy. We ask, however, where is the indivisibility of peace as long as the West gives itself up to the illusion that it can lead a pleasant, peaceful life this side, while on the other side millions of people are fighting against and languishing under the most frightful tyranny the world has

ever known? Where is the indivisibility of freedom when the "preservation of the present peace" is only to be a reprieve for the western world . . . ? Where is the indivisibility of security when the peoples of the West intend to buy security at the expense of perpetuating the misery of our peoples . . . ?

Why does no one think of their re-

away with illusions . . . away with tolerance! The mask of dissembling Russian Bolshevism has fallen and its challenging face is a warning to be active. If the world, Christianity and our whole civilization, is to be saved at the last minute, the joint front of the West and the subjugated peoples must take action at last. It is not enough to stamp out Bolshevism, which is the double face of audacious insatiable



Presidency of the A.B.N. Convention — Prince N. Nakashidse speaking

A.B.N. speaks to the World

(Continued from Page 1)

he may have had in mind, one was certainly not included: the freedom to separate from Russia and erect an independent national Georgian State. For, hardly had Mr. Acheson's words died away, when a speaker of the State Department hastened to make it clear that U.S.A. policy was not directed at supporting any national, separatist tendency among the "peoples of Russia". The words Mr. Acheson had addressed to the people of Georgia "must not be misunderstood".

An answer was given in Munich on June 3, 1951 which also was not to be misunderstood. The peoples of the A.B.N. are not willing to enter into discussions with Moscow on any basis whatever, with the purpose to consider "mutual interests", "the common way of life" and the like. What we want is absolute, full, unconditional freedom. There can be no debate about freedom. One has it, or dies for it; it cannot be divided. The word "democracy" is not some sort of charm which can bring two different things about at the same time, i. e. preserve the unity of Russia and give the "peoples of Russia" their freedom.

If Russia really wants to be free, it must free "its" peoples unconditionally. That will be the acid test for Russian democracy. The peoples combined in A.B.N. will take up the cudgels against any power which does not respect their wish for complete freedom. But they wish to become and to remain friends with the West, friends and allies of America too.

sponsibility for the millions of subjugated nations? . . . Where actually does the standard begin for the protégés for whom the world conscience and international ethics feel responsible to-day? . . . Are not our peoples just as well worth defending and protecting as the South Koreans, the inhabitants of Formosa and the Philippines?

Russian imperialism. If the world is to be saved from deadly peril no half measures will do . . . That means destroying the very foundations of menacing, boundless Russian imperialism and giving back their freedom and stateship to the subjugated peoples, so that at long last peace and security may reign in the world."

Greetings from the Scottish League for European Freedom

The Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, John F. Stewart, sent the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, a message of greetings for the Congress of A.B.N. June 3, 1951, which we give in an abbreviated form:

Dear Mr. Stetzko,

There is no use shutting one's eyes to the fact that the position of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. is not generally understood in the West . . .

There is one large section of the public, both here and in America, which blindly supports anti-Communism and the restoration of freedom and independence to those countries overrun by Russia since 1939, but takes no ac-

count of the wishes of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. Almost the mass of this section thinks there is no other solution wanted or possible than the keeping together of the whole Russian Empire . . . If the Empire is preserved, the treatment of the non-Russian peoples will be the same as under the Bolsheviks.

It is admitted now on all sides that, at the back of every international evil

The West on the Wrong Way

From the speech held by Yaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine), President of the Central Committee of A.B.N.

Friends! Fighters for the freedom of your peoples! Friends from the free world!

In our epoch full of dangers and great events we, the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russia, decided once more to appeal to public opinion in the western countries, because the trend in the policy of the Western Powers, especially that of the U.S.A., is making us uneasy. We, here, raise our voices in the name of oppressed Karelia-Finns, Etshonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Albanians, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbajjanians, Turkestanians, the people of Idel-Ural, the Siberians, and, especially in the name of their underground liberation movements.

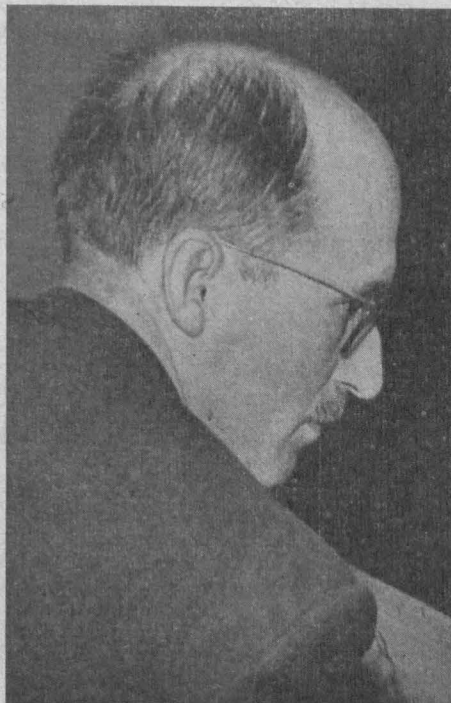
We hope that our protest, our demands, our warnings will be heard, above all in the West where the decisions as to the policy of the Western Powers are made. We particularly want the truth of the indivisibility of freedom to be understood and grasped at last.

To-day, happily, there is no need to warn the West of the menace of Bolshevism, because, aside from a few incorrigibles, the fact has become clear to all.

Now, however, comes the question how the West is to act in order to accomplish its task. It is no longer a matter of preserving peace — that has gone already — but of securing victory. The answer from official quarters, up to now, fills us with misgivings. There is a serious danger of the same inexcusable mistakes being repeated in certain official quarters, expressed in the attitude of the Western Powers

to the Russian dungeon of nations.

Over the whole earth, wherever there is no real State independence or national sovereignty, irresistible liberation movements are at work. India, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philip-



Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of A.B.N.

ines and many other lands have joined the ranks of the free peoples. It is still seething in Morocco, Indo-China and elsewhere, but gradually the Western World is yielding to these countries. The countries this side of

is Russia . . . Russia will not be deterred from her own path, whether Stalin or Kerensky is in the seat of power. No "Peace Campaigns" in reality organised by Russia, will be effective. No boast by America of having more or superior weapons than Russia will deter Moscow . . .

The only safety for the world does not seem to me to be in better weapons, "Peace Congresses", Atlantic Pacts, United Europe, or anything of the sort. The only plan is to take the power from Moscow to hurt anyone, and this can only be done by the complete liberation from any kind of Russian control of the non-Russian States of the U.S.S.R. They are all States of superior civilisation to Russia, their peoples outnumber the Russians by more than 2 to 1, they have no imperial policies, their natural resources, if used for the peaceful development of their own countries are more than sufficient for prosperity, they have no wish to be dragged by Russia into any of Russia's wars, no matter for what purpose, and no small countries cause world wars.

This would certainly mean the disintegration of any kind of Russian Empire, but, on the other hand, it would compel the Russians to turn themselves to getting an honest living in the world.

To my mind, the object of the oppressed nations ought to be proclaimed as, not wishing America, Britain, or anyone to "liberate" them; they have had plenty of experience of "liberation" in the past. They will liberate themselves, and they have a right to expect support from the West, not that they should support the West in liberating them.

As for the Scottish League for European Freedom, its whole work is devoted to educating public opinion to this end, and it has reason to claim some success . . . The amazing stupidity and appalling danger to the West caused by the surrender to Russia of Finland, the Baltic States and so much else of Europe, is becoming apparent even to the muddled thinking of the West, and will have the inevitable result.

Yours sincerely

J. F. Stewart, Chairman

the Iron Curtain which have not yet sovereign rights, are approaching independence more and more.

And behind the Iron Curtain?

The national liberation movements there, are still more vigorous, though the circumstances are much harder in a totalitarian State. In spite of all the persecution by the Bolsheviks these peoples never cease their fight.

It is hardly six months since the news echoed through the world of the death of the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., General Taras Chuprynka, the leader of the revolution in Ukraine, killed fighting against an M.V.D division. But at the same time another piece of news reached us, that the fight was going on under another leader. The men fall, but the fight continues without a break.

A year ago the Bolshevik paper "Pravda" reported severe fights with the insurgents of Osman Batus in Turkestan, and alleged that they had been overcome. Yet recently information reached us from Pamir that the fight was going on, just as in the Caucasus. The other day the "Pravda" announced that the Supreme Council of the Soviets had bestowed decorations and awards on members of the M.V.D. for work against "political bandits", i. e. members of the underground. Maturing national revolutions will burst the dungeon and national States will arise instead, as soon as a peace is established in the world.

Our aim is:

Sovereign national States for the peoples subjected by Moscow, within their ethnic borders, reparations for all the injustice suffered, especially from the occupation powers — i. e. return of all deported, resettled and expelled persons to their home-countries.

Even the sham republics set up by the Bolsheviks confirm the fact — nolens volens — that mighty national movements exist in the U.S.S.R. which the Russian Bolshevik imperialists are trying to neutralize, both by their unheard of terrorism, and smoke-screens of the so-called "independent federal States" which, in reality, are nothing but Moscow's colonies. It was not by accident that Bolshevism in 1917 took up the parole of "self-determination of the nations, including the right of secession". The very fact that it did so is clear evidence that deceit was required beside terrorism to enslave the people. It is not the Russian people with its other so-called "tribes" which forms the Empire, but different nations have been forced into this Empire.

There is no united, indivisible Russian Empire, there is, for example, only a united and indivisible Turkestan, Georgia, Aserbajjan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Ukraine, Byelorussia, and there is also a national ethnographical Russia — but the Empire, the dungeon of nations, must be broken up. Whether the leading circles in the West like it or not, the process of bursting the U.S.S.R. dungeon of nations by the national anti-Bolshevist liberation revo-

lution has already begun and sooner or later will be achieved!

The third, independent power within the Soviet Union is at work — the subjugated nations. It is not a question of so-called insignificant "minorities", but of ancient, highly developed States, whose capital cities existed when some of the present western metropolises were not on the map at all.

We are not fighting for the creation, but for the re-establishment of States which have existed for hundreds, in some cases, over a thousand years. In the struggle to recover our independence our peoples behind the Iron Curtain have made the greatest sacrifices. Does the West intend to stand in our way and attempt to force upon us another, a new form of a Russian dungeon of nations?

The Age of Nations

The world is not developing into an enforced Union or World Empire, that is to say a "World Union of Soviet-Socialist-Republics", — but rather into more independent States whose consolidation is based on equality and freedom without distinction of race, size, wealth or any other peculiarity. The free nations and those still to be liberated will, by reason of their national, independent democratic forms, and mutual respect of rights and liberties, combine in world institutions for mutual aid and co-operation and there, without any "right of veto" and the like, they will discuss and settle their affairs in harmony.

War as the means of settling international disputes will only cease when there are no more superior and inferior nations, no masters and slaves; when certain people in every nation cease their robbing; when each individual is content with what he has and gives up coveting from his neighbour what he has not; when all chauvinism and international hatred has ceased.

The greatest enemy of truth, freedom, justice and harmony among men and nations is the Russian Empire no matter what hue it may take, red, pink, green or white. Its present high stage in development is Bolshevism. It fights no longer for a division of spheres of influence, but solely for its exclusive, total and absolute domination in the world, i. e. for a Moscow World Empire! There is no end to its covetousness. Wherever in the world there is a small nook where speech is free, there Bolshevism stretches its tentacles. That is its law. Yet the idea of liberty, no matter how remote, might send its rays into their dungeon.

The A.B.N. comprises the Mongolian, Slav, Ugro-Finnish and other races; all of whom face Russian imperialism in a common front line. We reject and oppose Pan Slavism as a form of Russian junkerdom. The Russian State must be confined to its own ethnic borders to prevent the pressing of its "order" on other people.

The conception of a World Empire is alien to the national liberation idea. Only with the latter can victory be gained, not by half measures.

Therefore the efforts of imperialist circles among the Russian emigrants,

which are aimed at upholding the Russian Empire, if only within the frontiers of 1941, are indirectly an advantage for the Bolsheviks, for they disintegrate our common front and discredit the Western World in the eyes of our subjugated people as accomplices in setting up a new kind of serfdom.

Condition for National Liberty

Real freedom of the individual is the condition for national liberty. A.B.N. is fighting against Russian imperialism, against serfdom, but not against those Russians who stand aloof from the oppressors. We call upon the Russian masses to shake off imperialism and be content with a state within their ethnic borders. We do not protest against the collaboration of the West with Russian anti-Bolshevik circles when they speak on behalf of their own people, but we do protest against the collaboration of the West with Muscovite imperialists, we protest against all assistance given to any new form of serfdom planned for us, even if it is called "white" this time.

For us every Russian imperialist, even though he calls himself a democrat, is a Bolshevik tool. And it is the same with those who have collaborated with Bolshevism, for on one side, they demoralize the anti-Bolshevik front; they confuse the minds of the subjugated nations in their notions of the West thus strengthening Bolshevik supremacy. If the West supports such elements it means that the fate and the real freedom of nations is a matter of indifference. We on our part are ready to co-operate with such circles as lay no claims to our countries and are content with their own ethnic territory. That is our one condition.

We here publicly accuse the white Russian imperialists and their friends in certain western circles of undermining the united anti-Bolshevik front, fostering chauvinism, and confusing the objectives. In that they harm the Russian-Muscovite people proper.

We blame them for their indirect support of Bolshevism because they ignore the most important factor in liberation: the national ideal. What should our people fight for in common with the West? Only to change their fetters? Why will those chauvinists and new totalitarianists not recognize the greatest truth of our time, namely national and personal freedom for every individual? Some people in the West look upon them as democrats and our liberation movement as undemocratic. Where does the truth lie? Is the man who fights for freedom a fascist, while he who seeks to enslave him is a "democrat". Since when have these terms been confounded in the West?

No one can openly go against our ideals. It is also an error when some western people believe that we, in propagating our ideas, are driving the Russian people into Bolshevism.

The West has not to choose between us and Russia as a nation. The West has rather to choose between the ideas of a future order, i. e. between the idea of national liberation, or further

enslavement. If it chooses the former it will have our peoples and the Russian people proper behind it, that is to say, of course, if the sound element among the Russians stand aloof from their imperialist compatriots. Should the West choose enslavement, then our people will be against it. **That is not lightly said! It is a considered opinion!**

The explosive power of the national idea can be seen by its effect, when its greatest enemy, — Moscow, uses it as a means to stir up the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa. Why does the West not support this idea behind the Iron Curtain with honest intentions, when the Bolsheviks do so much this side with treacherous intent?

No Hatred for Russians

And another thing. Not long since, the Bolsheviks decried the fight of the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Aserbaidjans, Byelorussians, the people of Idel-Ural, Siberia and others as anti-Russian. To-day, in the exhilaration of their chauvinism and russification policy, it is the fight of Bulgarians, Poles, Hungarians, East Germans etc. that is anti-Russian, and to-morrow it will be the turn of France or Italy if we do not all conform to their way of thinking.

Any people attempting to shake off Moscow's chains counts with the Russian despots as hostile. Moscow alone allegedly knows no hatred of other nations. Shall we defame Bulgarian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Croatian, Czech, Slovakian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Siberian, Cassackian, Georgian, or North Caucasian fighters for independence as chauvinists or Nazis, although we neither claim foreign territory nor hate any other nation?

We wish the Russian people to enjoy freedom and want Russia's friendship, just as we want the friendship of all other nations who respect our rights, on the basis of freedom and equality. We regard the readiness of the West to break up the dungeon of nations and restore full sovereignty to all nations on the basis of their national ethnic borders as the first condition for a victory over Bolshevism.

Our Appeal to the World

We appeal to the Western World to leave the decision as to our future to us. Do not, if you are really democrats, as we are from the bottom of our hearts, hang more chains around our necks. Treat us like you treat other western nations upon whom you have no wish to force your will. Do not forget that our peoples have announced their will to freedom, not in paper plebiscites but with their blood. If Bolshevism should once rule over your countries and you had to fight against it, would you think it necessary to hold a plebiscite to decide whether your people should be free after the victory?

Measure our peoples by the same rule you claim for yourselves. Don't forget that just as you have the collaborators with Bolshevism in your lands and deny them the right of speaking in the name of your people, our people, too despise them because they have contributed to strength-

ening tyranny in the subjugated countries. Do not repeat the mistakes of the past.

Our National States a Guarantee of Peace!

Would there be any Bolshevik menace if the western countries in 1917 had not helped to maintain the dungeon of nations? Should one have to fear a Russian atomic bomb? None of our national states would have been in a position materially to produce it. The Soviet Union is so placed because all the wealth of various peoples and countries is at its disposal. Was it not in your and your children's interest to destroy this horror then? Would a Georgia with 3 million inhabitants, a Byelorussia, or a Turkestan, have been able to produce that weapon to-day when, aside from U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., even Great Britain is not able to do so? Were the Moscow despots deprived of the mineral oil of Aserbaijan, the bread, iron and coal of Ukraine, the cotton of Turkestan, the wood of Byelorussia and the riches of other countries, would they be in a position to threaten the world and finance a world revolution? Only the national States can guarantee world peace, for they cannot pile up war material, and reserves of manpower singly. They therefore, are really a guarantee for peace, progress and humanity.

Military Strategy

Ladies and gentlemen!

Strategy depends on the political conception of a war. The political conception of the dissolution of the Russian dungeon of nations demands, of course, a strategic conception of the war. If this dungeon is to be left in some form or other, the co-operation of the subjected peoples will be excluded. For a strategic conception of the war the constitutional anti-Bolshevik attitude of the West is not sufficient. It must be based on a positive idea: the dismemberment of the Russian Empire as the dungeon of nations, national liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

It is time that the West made some decision in this direction. In making these demands to-day we are not acting from our own egoistic interest, but because it is high time to prepare effective counter-action.

The Subjugated Peoples — A Second Front

The victory of the West is only to be gained if there is an adequate second front behind the Iron Curtain.

National revolutions are necessary and for them favourable conditions must be created, in order to assure co-operation with the free world.

The West cannot count on success without co-ordinating and bringing the operations of the West into line with the front of the subjugated peoples. Such co-ordination is only possible if the West recognizes and supports the political platform of the subjugated peoples. That is, the conception of the dissolution of the Russian dungeon of nations and recognition

of the sovereignty of the liberated States therein.

Bolshevism is preparing, and, in some places, waging a two-front war; aggression from outside and civil war within. It draws the West into periphery wars, such as Korea, China, Indo-China, for the purpose of attrition and to bring the West into conflict with the other nations. So the bastion of tyranny must be attacked in conjunction with the subjected peoples, i. e. the second front. The real core of Bolshevism, ethnographic Russia, must be overpowered, for only then will its forces in the whole world break down. The moment the West makes a counter-attack on the bastion of evil, on Moscow itself, the real ethnographic Russia, the subjugated peoples with some help from the West would not find it hard to settle accounts with the Russian Bolshevik occupation troops in their countries.

Possibilities Not Fully Used

Conclusions should be drawn, now, from the fact that the Soviet army is made up of soldiers of different nationalities. It is known, for instance, that the Far East divisions, stationed near Korea, are for the most part men belonging to our nations. Would it not be advisable to start now a political offensive by broadcasts etc. in our sense, so that our ideas penetrate from all sides into the U.S.S.R.? Why does the West not make it possible for the broadcasting stations in Europe, Asia and the Near East to appeal to the subjected peoples in our names and with our representatives? Why don't un-

compromising fighters against Bolshevism broadcast from the stations available to the West? And why are broadcasts not composed in the spirit of national freedom? Why are these important factors not in the hands of approved anti-Bolsheviks who have never had any dealings with Bolshevism?

Our Idea is Advancing

The subjected peoples are a supreme power. They are not a "fifth column" of the West, but an equal partner and a valuable potential ally. In contrast to Bolshevism, which can only attract a certain sort of person in the West, the West could win whole nations behind the Iron Curtain on one condition, support of the national idea.

It is necessary and high time to bring the two great plans of the free world and the subjugated peoples to a common denominator.

Slowly our conception is advancing from its previous isolation. The sooner it penetrates into competent quarters the better it will be, not only for us, but for the whole freedom-loving world.

Finally, we shall never cease our cry: the Russian Empire, whatever colour it has, must be divided up into national independent States among which there also should be a Russian State within its ethnic borders.

Those are the conditions for victory and for enduring peace in the world, a peace for which we all long, but we place freedom above peace and life.

Long live freedom and justice for all!

From the Speech held

by General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary)

Chairman of the Military Commission of A.B.N.

"... Bolshevism is already at work, with the help of its 'fifth columns', stirring up unrest, civil war, revolutions and partisan warfare everywhere in the world, and in this way there is no stopping it... It is quite possible that the cold war could continue, that the Korea of to-day may be followed by other Koreas, and the present state of affairs last for years. That is certainly the basic idea of Cominform policy. In the present cold war and the warfare of to-day, the Soviet 'fifth columns' and 'ideology of world liberation' decidedly have the advantage and are able to support any Communist attempt inside a country with money, experts and arms from outside..."

They know perfectly well that their greatest danger is not atomic bombs, not modern weapons, aeroplanes and western army divisions, but the yearning for freedom which cannot be eradicated from the hearts of the subjected peoples... These masses form an important power. It is true, they have no modern weapons at their disposal, but as soon as they feel and know that the moment of their liberation is approaching they will be able, through their singleness of purpose, their deep faith and their defiance of death, to be a match for the achievements of technics,

and will dare a national revolution against the loathed system of terrorism... The future will show what importance is due to the strength of this inner resistance. Our insurgent units, especially the U.P.A. have been fighting for years in the woods and mountains without outside support.

These capable soldiers know the Russian tactics, training, weapons and territory and could, if necessary, be increased tenfold in a short space of time. The military value of the U.P.A. and other insurgent forces must be highly estimated.

It is time to act, for any delay is an advantage for the Soviets and adds to their strength and will cost the west heavy casualties. Our A.B.N. units are ready, prepared in the ideology that was born in the trenches and insurgent warfare, in the martyrdom of our home countries and the political education in emigration...

Those who languish in prisons and concentration camps and those who are fighting in the mountains and woods will not have things done by halves, they expect uncompromising action from us, for the sake of our much-tried peoples.

To that we shall adhere!"

From the Address by A. Ismail, the Representative of Aserbairjan

"... Thirty-one years ago the red imperialists fell upon our democratic republic and abolished its national independence which was proclaimed and recognized in 1918. For the second time in its history our country fell victim to Russian imperialism. For three decades people have fought desperately. The national revolts in Azerbaijan against the Moscow oppressors have never ceased. No reprisals by the Moscow despots have succeeded in suppressing the will of our people for freedom. Our fight against Bolshevism will last till our aim is achieved... As long as terrorism, fear, oppression and slavery exist there will be no peace on earth."

From the Address by Dr. A. Kamenoff, the Representative of Bulgaria

"... In the name of the National Bulgarian Front, as bearer of the liberation struggle at home and in exile, I declare the complete solidarity of the Bulgarian people with the conception and ideals of the A.B.N. and swear allegiance to the common fight for liberation of all subjugated nations... The subjection of our country towards the end of World War II. was only possible after it had been declared at Teheran and Jalta as belonging to the Russian sphere of influence, thus the Red Army was able to march into Bulgaria... without a fight... In those critical months the fatal conspiracy by the so-called "Fatherland Front" began to spread, and against the political will of the people played Bulgaria into the hands of Moscow..."

In the government of the "Fatherland Front", which was set up by the Red Army under the deceptive slogans "death to Fascism" and "Freedom for the People", the national and State life of Bulgaria was washed away in blood. The pro-Russian groups of the leftist agrarians, left Socialists and the "putsch" party of "Sveno" had been Communist partners.

These groups were blind enough to contribute to depriving the Bulgarian State of its power... The Bulgarian people, however, who have been cast into their present martyrdom by these Russophile collaborators of Communism, feel that their behaviour in exile is a provocation. The "National Bulgarian Front" considers it as its duty to warn the West against taking such emigrant politicians seriously and supporting them..."

From the Address by Dr. St. Stankievic, the Representative of Byelorussia

"... And to-day, likewise, persecution and the annihilation of the Byelorussian people have not broken their will or belief in liberation... At present two large groups of partisans are operating in Byelorussia: — The Byelorussian Army of Defense and the so-called "Black Cat"... The existence of the Russian dungeon of nations, in the form of the U.S.S.R. is a disgrace to-day

in the epoch of great democratic ideas, a disgrace which must be wiped out. The democratic world which yesterday saw in Bolshevism a partner and ally, begins to-day to call it by its right names. Names we have known for thirty-three years i. e. criminality, barbarity and robbery!"

From the Address by W. Glaskow, the Representative of Cossackia

"... Kerensky's so-called democratic government refused to recognize the expression of the people's will in the Cossack parliament. He began an open war against the Cossacks with the object of forcing them once more into the Russian Empire.

The Cossacks... continued their fight against their alien oppressors. This liberation struggle is being carried on by our brothers at home, and also here in the free world by small groups of Cossack emigrants. The uprisings in 1922, 1928, 1932/33 and 1937 are the best proofs that the Cossack nation has not given up its fight for freedom and independence.

During World War II. more than a hundred thousand Cossacks fought for freedom and independence. We Cossacks are proud that we were never on the side of Bolshevism, were never the allies of Communism."

From the Address by Dr. Stjepan Buè Representative of Croatia

"... Just as Moscow finds labels for Russian imperialism, 'Little Moscow', i. e. Belgrade, does so in south-east Europe, in order to veil Serbian imperialism... Our struggle is still more difficult to-day, as we have to overcome double obstacles. On one side we have to contend with the traditional political imperialism of single nations, resp. their cliques which have gone into partnership with Communism, besides which there are two Iron Curtains, not only one. The Iron Curtain drawn down upon us by the West Causes us pain..."

I am sorry to say that the West itself has drawn a curtain of its own which prevents it from seeing clearly what is going on behind the imperialist Communist one, and therefore from coming to the proper conclusions... It prevents the western politicians, organizations and peoples from looking behind the Iron Curtain. They only see tyrannical governments at the head of artificially formed states, maintained by brute force. Thus false plans are set up... They can't realize that the idea of self-determination is the strongest force to-day behind the Iron Curtain..."

From the Address by Fr. Yanik-Horak, Representative of Czechia

"... Slavery prevails in the once free Bohemian countries... That is the truth behind Gottwald's bloodthirsty régime... which not even the Iron Curtain can stifle, nor Kopecky's propaganda ministry, nor even the hundreds of agents who went into exile at Gottwald's orders... Do governments,

above all the American Government, know how many of those Bolshevik agents from the ranks of Benes-Czechoslovakia, financed by American money, are practising espionage and sedition?..."

From the Address by Dr. A. Soysal, Representative of Crimean Tartars

"... Russian Bolshevism, after the second world war, when the free peoples were endeavouring to create peace and social well-being in the world, drove the Crimean Tartars out of their home country, just because they expressed their centuries old wish to be free from Moscow. As the representative of the Crimean Tartars I accuse the Soviet Union of the extermination of whole peoples..."

From the Address by Dr. L. Liptay, Representative of Hungary

"... Bolshevik forces once more brought agitators, back to Hungary. The Soviets went so far as to insist on Communists being accepted in the government, against the will of the people..."

To-day not more than 3-4% of the population, at the outside, are Communists, and yet the population has suffered untold cruelty and terror at their hands for years now..."

The western world should know... what strong passive resistance is offered by the people... Cardinal Mindzenty's martyrdom has given the people great moral strength in their unequalled perseverance... It is a silent, hard, unyielding, heroic fight for freedom."

From the Address by G. S. Julay, Representative of Idel-Ural

"... After overthrowing the Idel-Ural Republic, which the Turko-Tatar National Assembly had proclaimed in the liberation revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks destroyed the political unity of the Turko-Tatars by dividing Idel-Ural into three autonomous republics..."

The deportation of the Turko-Tatars from their homes into places as far away as Königsberg, was for the purpose of uprooting our people from their own soil..."

The persecution of Islam in Idel-Ural was not only based on the godless Bolshevik philosophy, but also to abolish this essential element of national consciousness from the Turko-Tatars..."

The policy of extermination carried on by Bolshevism, called forth freedom organizations and underground resistance movements in the whole area of Idel-Ural. The armed revolt in Tataria and Bashkir in the years of war communism, the underground organization "Sultangalievshchyna", the activity of anti-Moscow Tartar-Bashkir-national-Communists which were liquidated with much loss of blood in 1936/37 prove that the Turko-Tatars, since losing their own Statehood have carried on their fight for freedom... 50,000 Tartar-Bashkirs fully armed fought against Bolshevism in World War II."

From the Address by Mg. Julijs Bracs, Representative of Latvia

"... After the collapse of Poland in World War II. the Baltic States... were occupied by the Soviet Union. We call that year of Bolshevik rule the "gruesome year". Some 8% of the Latvian population were killed, shot, deported or fell in the resistance movement.

Latvian resistance at home is alive still. Caution prevents me from giving any details in public...

We shall fight for victory and after the victory is won, we shall return home from all the countries in the world. But the victory must be decisive. No new Russian imperialist State must be permitted to arise again."

From the Address by Dr. B. Huk, U.P.A. Fighter, Representative of Ukraine

"I speak in the name of fighting Ukraine... There is no armed or active resistance within the Russian ethnic borders, but only where, not only social serfdom, but also national oppression exists; that is to say, only among the subjugated peoples..."

The Ukrainian liberation movement opposes Russian despotism, hatred of everything foreign, its effort to supplant Ukrainian culture with Russian which is alien to Ukrainian feeling, while clinging to a national consciousness that has grown through the centuries, national dignity, the love of truth,

justice, and freedom for nations and individuals...

The object of the immediate revolutionary struggle is the psychological mobilization of the broad masses, the winning of new forces for the fuller development of a future armed encounter...

Ukraine and other subjugated peoples cannot be overwhelmed. Our fight goes on and will continue till the Russian imperium is shattered, no matter what colour it may adopt."

From the Address by Dr. Ct. Pokorný, Representative of Slovakia

"... Freedom can never be a gift, one must work and fight for it. That is why the anti-Bolshevist resistance movement in Slovakia and the Slovak fighters for freedom, in the Carpathians, have been carrying on an unequal, bitter struggle full of self-sacrifice and heroism for the last six years against the red Prague dictatorship... and against that unnatural State formation called Czechoslovakia. Our fighters for freedom in Slovakia are just as forsaken and as self-dependent as all the other revolutionary resistance fighters of the A.B.N., and have been so for years... In battles they can only rely on the mutual aid given by the underground movements and revolutionary insurgent detachments of other subjected nations which are united by the common ideal of freedom and the right of self-determination..."

From the Address by A. Bater, Representative of Turkestan

"... The national, armed struggle which the Turkestanians have carried on for years against the Red Army, reached its climax in 1922/23 at the time of Enver Pasha. After the collapse of the national resistance in 1923, the Turkestanians went underground and took up the fight from there against the alien dominion forced upon them... In spite of unceasing terrorism, the alien régime has not succeeded in breaking resistance... oppressing the national will for freedom, much less in winning the people over to it."

From the Address by J. A. Noreika, Representative of Lithuania

"... We must make it clear to the Western World that the present danger of aggression does not lie with Germany, Japan, National China or Spain, but solely and alone with the Kremlin and the Communist States... Let us spread the view that the Kremlin is no match for the combined co-ordinated forces of all the anti-Communist nations and will soon be forced to capitulate... I, therefore, in the name of the Lithuanian Central Delegation in A.B.N., give the watchwords: all to action in the World War against the world enemy — Russian and Bolshevik imperialism of whatever colour it may be!"

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the Public Meeting of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)

June 3, 1951, in Munich

I.

At no time in history has the whole civilized world been so menaced by catastrophic ruin as the present.

Never has world policy played such trumps into the hands of the destructive powers of evil, as now. Trumps of politics, economy and strategy.

We are standing on the threshold of a new world war which will decide the future of the whole world.

Our subjugated peoples with their national anti-Bolshevist liberation movements, form the power which will decide the issue of the coming conflict.

It is significant that the parole of self-determination which the Bolsheviks put to their own uses in 1917/18, to mislead our peoples, is still paraded by Moscow. It is a strange thing that this parole in the mouths of the Bolsheviks, even now, takes effect with people who have not yet experienced themselves what "self-determination" means in the Bolshevik "language". Thus self-determination, besides the "Fifth Column", is a strong weapon at the service of Moscow Bolshevism, with the help of which the peoples of whole continents are being stirred up in order to make them tools for the conquest of

the world. That makes the fact that the western world fails to see the importance of the national idea, all the more tragic. The strong forces of the national movement in the oppressed nations have not been taken into account in the struggle against the world menace represented by Russian-Bolshevism.

In view of this situation we, the representatives of the national resistance and liberation forces of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, namely: Albanians, Armenians, Aserbaijans, Bulgarians, Estonians, Georgians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, Croats, Latvians, Lithuanians, North Caucasians, Rumanians, Serbs, Siberians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Czechs, Turkestanians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, hereby declare:

1. Aggressive and destructive Bolshevism is only an enlarged form of Russian imperialism which has grown ever greater in the course of centuries by the conquest of other lands and the enslavement of alien people in Europe and Asia.

2. The thirst for conquest has been, developed more especially on ethnic Russian soil. The Russian people alone

has been its motive power, breaking, by deceit and force, all resistance put up by the non-Russian peoples of the Czarist empire, to bring them eventually under Bolshevik-Moscow law. It is, therefore only logical that all the non-Russian subjected peoples should wage a war of resistance and for liberation from Moscow, while on the ethnographical territory of Russia there is as good as no struggle at all.

3. To crush all resistance and make these people tractable for its criminal conquests, Bolshevik Moscow makes use of means unheard of in history, to break the spirit of and annihilate whole peoples. Such means as mass executions, torture, starvation, death-bringing concentration camps, deportation and mass resettlement. And it is these methods which they are preparing for the whole of the free world.

4. Like the Czarist régime, Bolshevism strives for the russification of the people subordinated to it and to secure a hegemony for the Russian people as "master-men". The manpower and economic potential of the subjected peoples have been exploited and misused to help the Muscovite empire of the U.S.S.R. to world do-

mination. It remains with the Kremlin to nourish Russian messiahship, to encourage the feeling of self-confidence and superiority and increase chauvinism.

5. The Russian political circles abroad, even if they are anti-Communist, are incapable of turning their backs on traditional Russian imperialism. They deny the right of the peoples, formerly oppressed by Czarist, and later by Bolshevik Russia, to their State independence. They oppose the abolition of the Russian dungeon of nations and the restoration of State sovereignty for the subjugated nations. Kerensky recently made this clear when he declared, "rather the worst dictatorship than the dismemberment of Russia".

6. Our peoples have fought stubbornly against Russian slavery for centuries. In 1917/18 our peoples set up their independent national States and were willing to live at peace with all their neighbours, Russians included. The unaltered Russian imperialism, this time in the guise of Bolshevism, ruthlessly destroyed and crushed the newly gained independence of our peoples.

7. The Russian-Bolshevik campaign for the destruction of our peoples was idly watched by the world. Not a finger was raised when the potential of our peoples was abused to spread Bolshevik aggression. Thus Moscow was enabled to extend its dominion right into the heart of Europe, after the second World War, and throw a number of northern, central and southern European States into the mill of Bolshevik russification. At the same time Moscow succeeded in dominating many places in Asia and acquiring important spring boards for its purposes.

8. In spite of all the cruelties they have to endure our subjected peoples have not lost their belief in freedom, nor have they given up their fight. This fight, of course, is not only directed against Bolshevism, but also against Russian imperialism of every sort, whether in monarchist, "solidarity", socialist or "democratic" garb.

9. Our peoples have seen through the so-called all-Slavic idea, Pan-Slavism, as the perfidious weapon of Russian imperialism. It is a weapon that Bolshevik Moscow uses to-day for the russification and assimilation of Slav, semi-Slav and even non-Slav peoples. We reject the pan-Slavist idea most decidedly because we are convinced that it only benefits Russian imperialism, and means the further ruin of our peoples. We refuse every kind of racial ideology and fight alone for our own national freedom and State independence.

10. Notwithstanding our implacable struggle against Russian imperialism of every sort, we recognize the sovereignty of the Russian people within their own ethnic boundaries. This, however, only on the basis of mutual respect and the recognition of our national sovereignty, our own vital interests and our right to State independence. Under these conditions we offer our hands in friendship to the Russian people for our common fight against Bolshevism.

II.

At this decisive hour we put the following demands to the West:

1. In the fight against Moscow's aggression the Western Powers must not depend solely on their material superiority in armaments, but, above all, on a morally superior ideology. As the experiences of Napoleon and Hitler have shown, Russia cannot be conquered without an idea that carries all before it. In order to crush Bolshevism the West must promulgate now the watchword of real self-determination,



Segment of the A.B.N. rally

guaranteed by national sovereignty, as the most effective ideological weapon against Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

2. The inalienable right of the oppressed peoples to national independence and State independence must be unconditionally recognized and guaranteed now. Unnatural State groups and federations formed against the will of our peoples, are to be rejected. It is alone by this means that the resistance of the peoples oppressed by Moscow can be brought to a common denominator with the West and a genuine alliance with our people be initiated.

3. Co-operation with the national revolution of the subjected people for the liquidation of the Russian Empire as the seat of world incendiarism.

4. Restoration of the free, independent national States of all the peoples within the Soviet-Russian sphere of power, as the only right way of abol-

ishing permanent Russian world aggression and the threat of war, as well as the creation of a constitution of the world, which will guarantee real peace.

5. Our oppressed peoples claim equal rights with the peoples of the free world, with regard to the Atlantic Charter and the principles of the United Nations. We ask and expect that representatives of our peoples be admitted to all the institutions of the United Nations, including those representing the national revolutionary resistance movements against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism and who have not lost their legitimation by any collaboration with Bolshevism.

6. We demand that any maintenance of the Russian dungeon of nations, of no matter what colour or form, after the overthrow of Bolshevism, as well as all attempts at collaboration with certain, so-called "all-Russian liberation centres", be given up once and for all. Russian neo-imperialist institutions are likely to obstruct the liberation struggle and discredit the Western World in the eyes of the subjected peoples, as holding the stirrup for a new tyranny.

The exclusive support which former collaborators of Communist despots enjoy in the West is likely to harm the respective peoples fighting at home against that same tyranny.

7. As the most important factor for the success of psychological warfare against Bolshevism, we demand that competent representatives of our national liberation organizations and underground movements be consulted in all Western initiatives. The broadcasts, especially, by the "Voice of America", "B.B.C.", "Free Europe", must be so arranged that not only the language of each individual nation, but more especially, the contents and the spirit of the transmissions meet the requirements of the inflexible liberation movements, and appeal to the unquenchable national will of the people in question.

8. And finally, we demand that the free world, in fighting against the Russian-Bolshevik threat, and for world freedom, does not permit itself to be side-tracked to secondary fronts, but concentrates its full striking power on the fundamental evil, which is Russian imperialism. It is that which must be exterminated once and for all, so that freedom, peace and general culture may flourish once again on God's earth.

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

Editorials

An Appeal to free Peoples of the World

Voted unanimously at the ABN-Convention, Munich, June 3, 1951

To-day, when the inevitable conflict between two irreconcilable opponents, — the world of tyranny and the world of liberty, — is approaching a crisis in psychological, ideological, political and military spheres, we feel it is our historical duty to draw the attention of the World once again to the following:

1) It is a dangerous illusion to believe that any reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is possible. Bolshevism as ideological totalitarianism would be denying its very being if it did not always remain aggressive.

It is placed before the alternative either to attain world domination or fall to pieces. Do not think, therefore, of reconciliation and cherish no illusions about living peaceably side by side! Think only of victory and how to secure it, so that you are not defeated yourselves.

2) To secure victory two things are necessary. First you must be morally strong, as well as armed to the teeth. Secondly you must win the subjected people to our side by a straightforward policy which shows you have confidence in them. You should contribute to the building up of a second front, both political and military, of the subjected peoples behind the Iron Curtain and support their national movement for freedom, their political underground organizations and insurgent armies.

That, above all, is the pledge for your victory.

3) As for your military strength, it appears that before long it will be great enough to cross swords with Moscow. That, however, is but one condition for your victory over our common world enemy.

The first mistake is in combating only Communism, but not Russian imperialism at the same time.

The second mistake is made in treating the U.S.S.R. as a political and national entity.

The third is derived from the other two, namely that you aim at abolishing the Bolshevik regime, but not at the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. and the reinstatement of sovereign national states of the peoples caged therein.

Russia must be forced back to its ethnic boundaries! Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Caucasia, Georgia, Aserbaijan, Armenia, Idel-Ural, Siberia just as well as Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and Albania, and also the Serb, Croat, Slovene people subjected by Communism, must become free again and attain their independent national States within their ethnic boundaries.

4) We must warn you seriously against certain Russian groups abroad which, although they are anticommunists, still cling to the idea of a Russian Empire. They are trying to persuade you that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. have no other wish than the end of the Communist regime, and not to regain their national independence. Such misleading statements are dangerous, for they may cost you the sympathy of the non-Russian population of the U.S.S.R., which constitutes no less than 65% of the total population of the Soviet Union.

We wish to warn you, as urgently, against working with collaborators of Communism, for that might discredit you in the eyes of the oppressed peoples, and alienate the national revolutionary, really anti-Bolshevik, forces.

Keep the friendship of the subjected peoples! Do not antagonize our peoples by supporting any new form of Russian despotism or any variation of Communism or Bolshevik imperialism.

5) Nations of the West! Out in the free world in our days a number of peoples, — India, Pakistan, the Philippines, — have, achieved their State independence. Do you not realize that the same irresistible development, carried along by the explosive power of the idea of independence, is at work in the Soviet sphere of influence? Those are the forces with which alone you can achieve victory. Only the second front of the national freedom movement and the insurgent armies behind the Iron Curtain, can avert the tragic ruin of the world under communist totalitarianism and Russian imperialism. Give your support to this second front which is already in existence and without which there can be no victory.

Do not forget that the majority of the soldiers in the Soviet army, as well as those in the vassal States, are our countrymen and your friends! Make it possible for them to fight on the side of freedom! Freedom, however, means independence in one's own national State!

Freedom, for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. means the dissolution of the Russian Empire and the restoration of independent national States!

Freedom-loving people all over the world, unite in the fight against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism, for the freedom of nations and the freedom of individuals!

Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.)

„Russian Democratic Committee“ in U.S.A.

On May 9, the „Voice of America“ broadcast an article in Russian by an „old Russian democrat“ R. A. Abramovich, recommending the formation of a so-called „Russian Democratic Committee“. The article was not only published in the Russian exile press, but unfortunately also in the paper of the American Federation of Labour. This obliges the organizations of the subjugated nations, especially those living in U.S.A., to take a stand against these plans of Russian imperialists.

Mr. Abramovich proposes forming a Russian Committee of the leading „Russian democrats“ and the „democrats of other nations in the U.S.S.R.“. It is a Punchinello riddle why a Committee of representatives of different nations should be called „Russian“. It seems the „democrat“ Abramovich regards the subjected nations merely as „national minorities“ in a Russian Empire, although they unerringly continue their struggle against Russian oppression. Actually, he makes no secret of it; for he declares that the political plans of the Committee to be formed, are identical with the miserable Russian programme of 1917.

Mr. Abramovich, mindful of his powerlessness, „promises“ the oppressed nations of the U.S.S.R. the „self-determination of national minorities“ under the supervision of the U.N., while even the Kremlin despots, — on paper, — recognize the independence of the national Soviet Republics. In this way the Russian exiles are doing Bolshevik demagoguery an invaluable service.

When Mr. Abramovich and other Kerensky helpers allege that „the great majority of the Russian people are of their opinion“, the question naturally arises, why they impose on the hospitality of the U.S.A. while the despots in the Kremlin rule with the blessing of the Church? The answer is very simple; because neither the millions among the privileged classes in Russia, nor the mass of slaves under their direction, have any idea of overthrowing Russian despotism and setting up Russian exile „democracy“ in their place.

It is a pity that the plans of the Russian „Democratic Committee“ cannot be ignored; it is not possible to do so, because they will cause confusion in the political circles of the West and might arouse illusions as to „Russian democracy“.

It is not difficult to prove that the Bolshevik government is carrying on at home and abroad the traditional imperialistic policy of its predecessors, and it is no less clear that the Russian emigrants abroad who allegedly raise their voices „against“ the Moscow government, have nothing in common with the members of the subjugated nations fighting stubbornly for the restoration of their independent States, and for that reason could not co-operate in a joint Committee.

Is Cooperation with the Russians Possible?

By V. Kayum-Khan

We publish an article by Veli Kayum-Khan, the President of the National Turkestanian United Committee, the Chairman of the Political Commission of A.B.N., the Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Peoples of A.B.N.

Just now when the world is undergoing a complete change and when the national demands for the independence of Turkestan are beginning to play a part in world politics, the Russians both this side of the Iron Curtain and behind it, are acting against us. They are determined to carry out the legacy of Czarist Russia. Murder, looting, arrests and oppression are prevalent in Turkestan.

The Russians sometimes disagree with regard to the ruling system in Russia, but their policy of expansion and their views on colonial policy are the same. The Czarist Government, which conquered Turkestan and attempted to make a colony of it, was overthrown in 1917. This Government was succeeded by the Government of Alexander Kerenski who also pursued the same imperialist policy in Turkestan, but also in Aserbaijan, the North Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Idel-Ural, Ukraine, Cossackia etc.

The red regime which succeeded the Kerenski Government also followed in the foot-steps of its predecessor. The crowns and colours changed but the principle of imperialist expansion and the oppression of foreign peoples remained unchanged.

The Kerenski group speaks about the great and indivisible Russia. Kerenski is not opposed to Stalin's policy of colonisation. The Monarchists are pursuing the old Czarist imperialist policy and wish to subjugate Turkestan and other countries.

The group N.T.S. (National Labour Union) comprises chiefly the new generation of the old Russian emigration and some new emigrants who call themselves Solidarists and who speak of an imaginary "all-Russian people". They, too, hold the view that the aspiration for independence among the peoples living under Russian rule is more dangerous than Communist propaganda. They too wish to uphold Russian rule over the other peoples.

The new Russian emigration is represented in the Vlassov group. The members of the emigration, who were educated and grew up in Red Russia before the Second World War, entertain the same ideas as all Russians, both this side and behind the Iron Curtain. They all propagate the idea of an indivisible Russia. Vlassov was supported only by Russians; we did all in our power to oppose his aims at Russian hegemony, while 120,000 armed Turkestanian soldiers and all other Turkestanians stood fast by the N.T.U.C. The National Turkestanian Congress of 1944 approved the committee's work and pronounced those as traitors who joined Vlassov or any other Russian group. Vlassov's object was to realize his imperialistic aims with the assistance of Russophile circles in the German Government. The sponsoring German Government and Vlassov him-

self forgot that it was not a question of fighting solely the Bolshevik regime, but a question of fighting for the liberty and national independence of Turkestan.

We find that all Russians have the same imperialistic tendencies and feel, therefore, that cooperation with the Russians in a mutual fight against Russian Communism is impossible, as long as the Russians stick to their imperialistic policy. If, however, the Russians were to abandon their imperialistic policy, we could live on good terms with them. No Turkestanian has ever been a traitor to his country. No true Turkestanian has ever extended any help to his enemy.

We do not wish to divide Russia proper, we only want to have our independence, as Turkestan is not Russian soil and we are not Russians. The same applies to the Caucasus, the Crimea, Idel-Ural (Volga Tartary) and Ukraine, and others. We possess our own culture, our own language and our own country. The N.T.U.C. has always maintained and still does so, that they are not opposed to the Russians if these latter remain in their own ethnographical territory and do not attempt to rule over us. We will continue our struggle for liberty until we achieve our aim — there can be no question of compromise.

It would not be difficult to find a basis for negotiations if the Russians were to change their attitude, but it is useless to pursue colonial principles in

the 20th century, at a time when it has been accepted, both in England and the States, that such principles are out of date.

N.T.U.C. must draw together still more closely all Mohammedans, Turko people and non-Russian people, as Russia by her imperialist policy and Communist ideas is threatening all the cultured nations of the earth. Russia wants to extend her power as far as the Indian Ocean and the Orient. The time has come for the East and West to unite. Attempts at separatism and neutrality, as have been observed in some nations, are a grave danger for their countries and for us. There is no room now for Western and Eastern pride, we are all in the same boat and must overcome the world danger.

We now mention, in order to illustrate the Russian methods applied for combating the vanguard of the liberation movement, a few of the directives Moscow issued to her representatives abroad.

1. To create dissension between the old and the new emigration;
2. To create dissension between the individual political groups or to foster dissension artificially by interfering in their private lives and influencing their press;
3. To discredit the politicians living among the emigrés by involving them in scandal and thereby trying to convince the Western Powers that these politicians are not to be regarded as serious representatives;
4. To cause religious dissension and to use it as a weapon;
5. To exploit insignificant quarrels between the national groups and thereby to obscure the principal issue which is the struggle against Communism;
6. To slander and discredit the leading politicians and to produce a state of frustration among wide circles of emigrés;
7. To destroy national organizations and replace them by decentralised groups, which are led by nonentities.

This is the aim of the Russian 5th column. Our reply to the above-mentioned Russian plans is unity, national integrity and national discipline and we are determined to keep to the decisions of the National Congress of 1944.

When we talk of Turkestanian unity, we do not wish to say that we want to separate ourselves from the Turki-Islam and other peoples; on the contrary, we wish to live in the closest contact with them. We wish to maintain Turkestanian unity because the Russians wish to make "nations" of our tribes and "languages" of our dialects, in order to divide us up more easily.

Only one people lives in Turkestan, there is only one language, one culture, one religion and one history, i. e. Turkestanian.

We do not have an East Turkestanian and a West Turkestanian problem, but only one indivisible Turkestanian problem.

The Turkestanian people wishes to live and work with the Turki-Mohammedans and all non-Russian peoples on terms of closest friendship.

A.B.N. Press Conference in Edinburgh

The President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Yaroslav Stetko, the Chairman of the Military Commission of A.B.N., General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, and the Chairman of the Political Commission of A.B.N., Veli Kayum Khan, who are all now in Great Britain, met June 20th, 1951, in Edinburgh for a press conference at which the political aims and tasks of the A.B.N. were discussed. Leading Edinburgh newspapers like "The Scotsman", "Evening Dispatch", "Daily Record", "Evening News" etc. took this occasion to give some positive expression to the struggle and the political aspirations of our subjugated peoples.

In this connection "The Scotsman" writes: "The West could never defeat Russia unless a second front was established behind the Iron Curtain, formed by underground national organisations and of insurgent armies and formations of peoples subjugated by Bolshevism."

"Evening News" comments as follows: "If another war broke out, A.B.N. . . . hopes to organize its own political and military strength within the Soviet Union and bring about the fall of Russia by means of national revolutions."

"Evening Dispatch" says: "Bolshevism, Mr. Stetko said, launched its attack against the entire world, and it must be counter-attacked on a similar scale. In order to combat it, all sane forces in the world must be mobilized and the final blow dealt in co-operation with the underground movements of the subjugated nations . . . It was necessary to unite both the strategy of the free world and that of the underground movement of the oppressed peoples in the name of one idea and one purpose."

Third Conference of the O.U.N.

In the second half in the month of April, the Third Conference of all the groups belonging to O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in foreign countries was convened. At the Conference the attitude of the O.U.N. towards the liberation struggle in Ukraine itself was discussed, and the tasks of the O.U.N. groups abroad, in connection with the present world situation.

Here some highlights of the resolutions passed:

1.

International politics at the present moment are marked by the contentions between two blocks of States at variance in their outlook, social structure and policy. This struggle is led by two world powers, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. The aim of the U.S.S.R. is to bring the whole world under its yoke, to form a U.S.S.R. covering the world. The U.S.A. tries to bar the imperialism of the Bolsheviks and, by the aid of its economy, as leading power in economic and political life, to sway the world.

2.

The block around the U.S.S.R. is formed by force against the interests of the subjugated nations. The formation of a West Block has been brought about by threat to their national existence on the part of Moscow.

3.

Besides this procedure of forming two opposite blocks there is another factor of increasing importance which is actually determining the character of the 20th century. That is the liberation movements among the subjugated peoples and their struggle for national independent stateship. The liberation movement in Ukraine and that of other subjugated peoples under Moscow's yoke forms a third automatic power striving for the overthrow of Russian imperialism and the formation of independent national states.

4.

The aims of the nations subjugated by Moscow have had little or no recognition from the States of the western block. That attitude on the part of the West deprives the anti-Bolshevist front of an important revolutionary factor.

5.

Should this situation remain unaltered, the Ukrainian fight will go on independently from that of the two blocks. An analysis of this development leads us to the following statement:

a) The existence of an independent Ukrainian State, as well as those of the other States subjected by Moscow, would in no wise run counter to the aims of the Western Powers.

b) The nearer the conflict approaches, the more aware the free world becomes of the lack of a leading idea in its fight against the U.S.S.R. and, as the latter is an imperialism, the objective can not only be to change the political regime, but must be the destruction of that Empire.

c) As a war becomes more imminent, the U.S.A. and the Western States will realize that victory cannot be assured

merely with diplomatic pressure and their own means alone. In any case they will have to reckon with revolution and a war of the different peoples against Moscow's imperialism.

d) During a war, the national liberation movements would be of decisive importance in the military defeat of the U.S.S.R.

There must be a change in the attitude of the West towards the overthrow of Russian imperialism and recognition of the national and State rights of the subjected nations.

6.

Our foreign policy must be directed at combating those forces which seek to disturb our action, particularly circles among the Russian and Polish exiles.

7.

To develop this foreign policy it must be borne in mind that all the activity of Ukrainian circles is built up on the same principles:

a) rejection of any kind of federative conception without compromise, and all undermining of the principles of unity; b) the work must be based on the liberation fight at home, on its forces and ideas; c) complete independence in political activity.

8.

Our work must go on in the field of publicity in:

a) press conferences and verbal information; b) mass action; c) diplomatic steps; d) counteracting moves made by the Western States, from the standpoint of Ukrainian interests.

9.

Through the A.B.N. our organization, working with the organizations of the subjugated nations, has not only been able to mobilize the idea of the dismemberment of the Russian Empire, but has even managed to obtain some understanding of the matter in the Western World. We must continue to act in this direction and add to the success hitherto attained.

10.

As regards the Russian side, we may say that Russian imperialism is what it always was and always will remain. Our hostile attitude is directed against those Russians who are realizing Moscow's plans in Ukraine, not, however, against those who do not support or serve that imperialism.

11.

We regard the political influence of the White Russian emigrants, — ambassadors of Russian imperialism, — as the greatest danger after Bolshevik

An Action that was Prevented

The A.B.N. with its own means had built a radio station in Belgium (Ham-aen Honveigné, Commune Wannes lez-Stavalot) which was in operation only for a short time, from October 1950 till February 1951, because the Belgian police confiscated the apparatus and arrested the operators.

March 3, 1951 the Belgium court in Verviers sentenced 5 Ukrainian patriots and anti-Bolsheviks to imprisonment and fines, although they were working for Europe and Belgium against Communist danger. That happened under the government of the Christian-Socialist Party. The Belgian lawyer for the defence, a deputy of a Christian party and a well-known Socialist, was only willing to take over the case for the defendant for a large sum of money, which the Ukrainian miners in Belgium had to collect among themselves. That is just an example of the "help" given by certain circles in the West for the anti-Bolshevist campaign.

At the same time, however, the Bolsheviks, what with their free press and their deputies, have unlimited possibilities of undermining western public opinion, especially in Belgium.

Those are facts, painful, bitter facts, which are a shame for the West. For we are fighting our battle for the West too. If our struggle were not a proved obstacle, the Bolsheviks would have occupied Europe long ago.

The fact can be proved. Is the influence of the "fifth column" so great in the West already, or does the West not realize what is to be done? Why must some anti-Bolsheviks and anti-Nationalists still remain in American isolation camps, while the Communist party, which is preparing your destruction, is free to carry on?

In face of these happenings the question may be put why does the West not support our struggle, strengthen our people and thus keep their confidence in the West alive? On the other hand the U.S.S.R. gives the "fifth column" in Western countries every imaginable kind of support, so that it may dig the graves of democratic ideas.

ism. Every attempt to negotiate with Russian imperialists must be thwarted. We must concentrate our strongest intellectual forces in order to intensify and deepen our work of enlightenment.

12.

Polish political circles, even in exile, are still contemplating an imperialist expansion of Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian territory. Such plans must be most decisively rejected and combated. Polish-Ukrainian understanding in their joint liberation campaign, can only be on the basis of mutual recognition of the State sovereignty of the two nations, and the integrity of their ethnic territory, as well as the recognition of those rights for our allied nations, especially Byelorussia and Lithuania.

John F. Stewart

On his Eightieth Birthday

On July 1, 1951 our great friend, the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, John F. Stewart, celebrates his 80-th birthday.

It is a great joy to us that Mr. J. F. Stewart has reached this ripe age in the best of health and full of energy and creative power. We know we are expressing the wish of all the peoples in the A.B.N., in wishing Mr. Stewart many happy returns of the day and the hope that he may preserve his good health and well-being in the coming years too.

We believe that Mr. Stewart will agree with us when we say that perhaps the greatest reward for his untiring efforts in the cause of A.B.N. will be when in the near future, we may repeat these birthday greetings from our own countries that have been liberated from Bolshevism and Russian imperialism.



The Tragedy of Cossacks 1945

By W. Glaskow

It is six years since, after the end of the war, a deed was committed which has no equal in history, while the whole free world looked on in silence. Thousands of Cossack refugees, the aged, women and children who had escaped from the claws of Bolshevik tyranny were handed over to Stalin. For that terrible deed the former Western allies of the Soviets bear the moral responsibility. It will remain a dark spot in the annals of western democracies for they delivered up these unfortunate people literally to be tortured.

The right of political asylum had been regarded for centuries as sacred, and all free States with any sense of self-respect recognized the right for every fugitive. The Cossacks in their free republics have always granted asylum to all who needed it. No one was refused even though the granting of that right often brought them into conflict with powerful neighbours, Turkey, Moscow and Poland. In later times, too, in 1917, after the union of the Cossack Republics, thousands of Russian emigrants were given asylum and, in spite of the demands made by the Bolshevik despots, the Cossacks refused to give them up, because they would not deny that sacred right.

The freedom loving Cossacks, the sworn enemies of Communism, could

not imagine that that sacred right could be denied by representatives of the civilized Western World. It never entered their heads that representatives of Christian civilized States, to please "good old Joe", would deliver up the victims of Communism to certain death.

That sly old deceiver Stalin and his accomplices succeeded in persuading his gullible allies to hand over the most ardent enemies of Communism, the Cossacks, to be destroyed. They labelled them German collaborators and refused them asylum.

It was not the Cossacks, the undaunted fighters for justice, for the rights of their people to freedom and independence, who were collaborators, but Stalin was Hitler's ally. August 23, 1939 he concluded a treaty of friendship with Hitler and a secret agreement for the division of Poland. By his collaboration with Hitler he opened the way for the second World War. He broke old treaties, seized Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, a part of Poland, Rumania and Finland. After September 1939 he delivered many wagons full of grain, cattle, mineral oil, iron ore etc., which he had taken from the peoples he had subjected, — to Hitler and thus helped him to wage war against Belgium, Holland, Norway and France.

(Continued on Page 15)

In the U.S. Congress

On April 17, 1951, Charles J. Kersten, Representative of Wisconsin, moved a resolution in the House of Representatives recommending active and moral help from the U.N. for the liberation struggle being carried on by the nations subjected by Moscow.

Referring to the American Declaration of Independence and the principles of equality for all people and their right to life, freedom and happiness, it is affirmed that Communism, which by deception and treachery played the power in Russia into the hands of a criminal minority, later, through military aggression occupied the free democratic republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia, Aserbaijan, and others and then the Baltic States.

After affirming that all these peoples are fighting unceasingly against this Russo-Bolshevist injustice, Congress man Kersten demands in his resolution that:

1. The United States Congress reaffirm the historical friendship of the American people for the peoples of the Soviet Union — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and other non-Russian peoples, with whom the United States is connected by the same ideals and the desire for freedom and democracy.

2. The United States Congress to insure the common struggle of the American people and the peoples oppressed by the Soviets, against Communist imperialism.

3. The United States Congress to express the firm determination of the American people that non-Russian peoples in the Soviet-Union are to enjoy the right of self-determination, including the right to decide on their own form of government.

4. The United States Congress to express its belief in the speedy liberation of the subjugated peoples.

To make that possible the President of the United States be asked:

1. Not to enter into any negotiation or any connection with the present Soviet government which might in any way contribute to the stabilization, or spread, of Soviet power over the subjugated peoples;

2. To develop a strong foreign policy, taking into account the danger of the Bolshevik regime and its imperialist character towards non-Russian peoples;

3. To make use of every opportunity that U.S. representatives have of calling upon the institutions of the U.N. for aid for the non-Russian peoples, in order to realize their liberation;

4. To secure material help for the active liberation campaign of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., from the government, or private institutions.

After the well-known demand made by the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Harold E. Stassen, this resolution brought in by Mr. Kersten is a further important attempt to solve the political problem of the subjected peoples in a way that is in the interests of the western world.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

An Island of the Cominform

Albania with its 1.1 million inhabitants is the most isolated country in Europe. It is closed off from the free world on one side by the Iron Curtain, on the others by the Cominform States and Communist-Yugoslavia. The Soviets with their ships and planes have the monopoly of communications with the outside world. Once a month, an Italian ship lands post from the West and collects the outgoing mail. The Italian and French are the last of the diplomatic corps there and they are closely watched by the secret police and their movements are restricted. The actual power is in the hands of the Soviet ambassador, W. Chubakhin. He and his immediate followers, — all Russians, not one Albanian, — occupy all the important posts in the country. He even gave orders recently that the sessions of the Albanian government were to be held at the Soviet Embassy.

The Moscow "Pravda" has threatened that should occasion arise Soviet troops would occupy Albania. A menace which affects not only Albania, but also Yugoslavia and Greece.

ASERBAIJAN

"Bourgeois Nationalism"

At the 18th conference of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan which ended on May 28, 1951 attention was drawn to serious "mistakes" and "abuses" in scientific, cultural, economic and political work. The following extracts from a speech by M. D. Bagirov, the principal secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Azerbaijan deserve notice:

"Inadequate control in many plants and the absence of book-keeping and financial reports, account more than anything else for unsatisfactory work in the sectors of industry and transport. The party must fight daily to strengthen Bolshevik control and conduct systematic investigations to see whether directives issued by supervisory organizations are carried out.

The co-ordination of party and plant is one of the chief conditions for the fulfilment of the economic plan. In order to carry out the directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, local organizations charged with ideological work among members of collective farms will find it necessary to devote more attention both to manual workers and intellectual workers and a higher level of education must be demanded of Party officials in plants and collective farms.

The Work in scientific institutes of research is also far from satisfactory.

A check last year revealed that the drawing up of the program of work was not always taken seriously; 76 out of the 199 subjects of research planned for 1950 proved to have neither scientific nor practical value. Serious errors were also discovered in preparations for holding scientific examinations. Heads of former scientific institutes of research were too lenient towards the influence of friendly relations between candidates and members of the board examining for degrees.

The party organisation revealed an erroneous and unscientific conception of what was supposed to be the progressive nature of "Mjuditismus" and the so-called Shamil movement, which has been stressed by Soviet historians. Criticism of the errors in the light of some of Azerbaijan's historical problems is important for the party's work. The speaker emphasized especially the need for a constant fight against symptoms of "bourgeois nationalism".

S. Abramov, the regional secretary of the Communist party in Bergkarabagh, stressed in his speech that party organisations in the country did not sufficiently concern themselves with collective farms, with the result that the experience of activists was not widely known or utilized.

S. Gordiew, the party secretary in Kirowabad emphasized that local organizations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Azerbaijan were not interested in publicity work in Azerbaijan and did not answer any questions.

BULGARIA

Anti-Communist Movement

We have received a report from Bulgaria that unrest in the country is growing. Peasants are leaving the collective farms in great numbers and fleeing to hide in the woods. In several places the Communist forces are met with armed resistance. Partisan activity is increasing in the mountainous districts.

BYELORUSSIA

Extermination of the Population

The memoirs of the former Spanish communist general, **Valentino Gonzales**, who writes under the pseudonym **El Campesino** were recently published in Paris with the title "La vie et la mort en U.R.S.S."

General Gonzales fled to the Soviet Union after the Spanish civil war and later, as is usually the case with refugees in U.S.S.R., he was a prisoner for years in Workuta and other concentration camps in the Soviet Union. In 1949 he succeeded in escaping.

In his memoirs (pages 92 and 104) Gonzales in speaking of the Byelo-

rusians says, that of all Soviet Republics Byelorussia has suffered most from the N.K.V.D. In 1944—46 three great "purges" took place. In 1944 the accusation was mainly espionage and masses of suspects were shot. In 1945 "enemies of the home country" were sought and sent to Siberia. The most terrible purge was that of 1946 when great numbers of Byelorussians were deported to Siberia or put into local concentration camps. As a result of these purges, Gonzales declares Byelorussia is the most depopulated of the Soviet Republics.

There are a great many concentration camps, of which best known, according to the author, are the camps in the environs of Miensk, Rahatschou, Kalenkawitschi, Krytschawa, Baranawitschi and Hlybokaye.

CROATIA

Anti-Communist Resistance

(Croatia Press) Bishop Dr. S. Cekada, the Croatian bishop of Skolpje, who was ordered by the Vatican to take over the administration of the see of Banyaluka, was commanded on March 7 by the "national authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina" to leave this 'People's Republic' within 24 hours, or he would be taken to Skolpje under the armed escort of the U.D.B.A. The Bishop wired to Tito for protection, but received no reply, so he had to leave Banyaluka.

The Communist government of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is almost entirely composed of Serbs, to whom Dr. Cekada is a thorn in the flesh, partly because he refused to acknowledge the "Union of Catholic priests" founded by Communist authorities after the model of unions of Serbian Orthodox priests. This Communist experiment proved unsuccessful in the case of Catholic priests.

Should Tito ever send an answer to the Catholic bishop's protest, it would doubtless run: "In view of the decentralization of the administration I cannot do anything in this case, it being the affair of the People's Republic in question."

Who could maintain now, that Tito's Yugoslavia knows nothing of "democracy"?

According to a report by Tanjug, a Jugoslavian press agency, a trial was opened in Zagreb on 4. 6. against 16 teachers and students of a Zagreb theological college who are accused of having formed a "Croatian National Committee" in order to upset Tito's régime. They are said to be connected with A. Pavelitch.

CZECHIA

Stakhanov Working Methods

May 9, 1951 the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda", reported from Prague, "Yesterday there was a special, much enlarged, meeting of the chair and

committee of the Central Council of the Czechoslovakian Trade Unions, at which a delegation of the Soviet Stakhanov workers attended.

Mr. Frantishek, chairman of the Central Council of the Trade Unions emphasized in his speech that the delegation of Soviet Stakhanov workers had visited more than 40 plants; this had been of great use to the workshops of the Republic. Mr. Supka expressed warm gratitude to members of the delegation for giving the workers of Czechoslovakia the benefit of their experience.

Members of the delegation spoke of the impressions they had gained during their stay in Czechoslovakia.

The secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Union, Zdenek Valoukh, informed the Assembly that the chair of the Central Council was working out measures for spreading knowledge of the excellent results achieved by the Soviet Stakhanov workers.

This news shows how false the hopes of the Benes clique were, that they could set up an "independent Czechoslovakia" with Moscow's help; an independence and hegemony of the Czech people which was to oppress the other peoples within their borders. As soon, however, as the growing dependence on Moscow became clear, these men emigrated to the West and now spread the tale of Moscow's deceit, to conceal their own guilt. To-day, from U.S.A. they are still demanding national freedom for the Czechs and the retention of national slavery for the Slovaks, Sudeten-Germans and Carpatho-Ukrainians.

ESTHONIA

Signs of Resistance

The Congress of the Communist Party in Esthonia, as the "Pravda" reports, has shown that there is opposition at work against the Communist régime, although more than 10 years have gone by since Esthonia was included in the U.S.S.R. and in 1950 there was a "purge" among "the politicians and intellectuals".

In the debates at the Congress the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Esthonia was sharply criticized although, according to the Pravda, the majority of the members declared that during the purge the nationalists bourgeois elements in the administrative, economic and cultural institutions and corporations were well screened.

The resolution adopted by the Congress stresses the necessity "of a continuous struggle against the remnants of national, bourgeois ideology".

LATVIA

Deportations

In its issue of 4. 4. 1951, the "Latvija", the organ of Latvian emigrés, publishes a message broadcast by radio Alma-Ata (Central Asia) according to which, 160,000 Esthonian, Latvian, and Lithu-

anian families had been deported in the course of the last six months to the Soviet Republics of Kasakhstan and Turkmenia. According to the same source "some hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Moldavians have been transferred to Turkmenia where they have transformed steppes that have been uncultivated for hundreds of years, into fertile land. "All transferees, both people from Baltic provinces and others, themselves wished "to be transferred to these areas."

On April 23 and 24 the C.C. of the Soviet Latvian C.P. held a plenary session and undertook some changes of its functionaries. Instead of the former C.P. secretary A. Nikonov who is minister for agriculture, since January of this year Karlis Kruminsh, hitherto secretary of the Latvian Komsomol, was elected to the secretaryship.

LITHUANIA

Resistance in Villages

On May 17, 1951 the "Pravda" published an alarming article headed "Party Work in Lithuanian Villages", in which an improvement in the activities of the Bolshevik Party among the Lithuanian peasants is asked for. The article says,

"It is a question of excluding kulaks from the collective farms. The kulaks and other hostile elements have even taken over leading posts in the collective farms. The collective farms must be most decisively freed from these people."

On 15. 1. 1951 the "Tiesa", a Soviet Lithuanian paper writes as follows about wages in a model collective farm: "In the last financial year, "Karolis Pozela", a collective farm, had an income of 250,000 roubles the half of which came from the cattle. This income was divided in the first place between the state and the M.T.S. and the formation of a common fund. What was left paid for the work done. A kolkhoz worker received for one working — day 1.72 kg of corn, 2 kg of feeding-stuffs, 118 grams of sugar and 15 roubles. Lower wages will scarcely be found anywhere in the world, particularly when we remember that only about 120 working days per year are counted for many of the kolkhoz workers."

The "Tiesa" of 25. 3. 1951 describes in a leading article the advantages of the Soviet trade system:

"Quite a number of the directors of trade companies do their work very badly; they do not even supply their customers with goods of which there are adequate stores. An inspection, for instance, that was recently held in co-operative stores in Vilnius, revealed that in many of them there was neither salt, soap nor tobacco. . . . The plundering raids at trading centres have not yet been stopped. Many such raids were carried out in Kowno and in other towns and districts. Plundering

has been particularly frequent in co-operative stores where thieves and scoundrels got hold of goods amounting to millions.

RUMANIA

Russification

May 20, 1951, the "Pravda" published the following report from its Bucharest correspondent,

"At present more than 7,000 courses are being held in the Russian language. They are directed by the Central Committee for Organizing Courses in Russian. The commission has issued a number of pamphlets and posters, in huge editions, with the theme "Knowledge of the Russian language is the most powerful means of acquiring and spreading valuable Soviet experience, in the way socialism should be built up". The commission is having 100,000 text books of the Russian language printed for these courses.

To satisfy the demand of the workers to learn Russian, "Arlus", the "Society for the Strengthening of Cultural Bonds with the Soviet Union", has organized several thousand more big courses which are to last 3 months. These courses have already been started in the factories of the towns Stalin and Bucharest, as well as in a number of others in the Republic."

Just as the Russian despots, before the Bolshevik revolution, subjected the peoples under their rule to russification, so now their successors continue their efforts on new victims of their imperialism.

Will western politicians, once the peoples of central Europe have learned Russian, count them as Russians, just as they do to-day with the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians etc.? Will British politicians think B.B.C. transmissions in Rumanian, Czech, Slovak and Hungarian just as superfluous then, as they do now for the non-Russian peoples?

TURKESTAN

The Lack of Care for the Disabled and the Families of the Fallen

No care is taken now of the Turkestanians who were compulsorily recruited and sent to the front. The war wounded and disabled are left to their own devices. The relatives of those who fell in World War II spend their time going from one government office to another without achieving anything. More and more names of war wounded appear in the columns of the Turkestanian newspapers because their appeals to the Soviet authorities for assistance are disregarded. There is a state of chaos in the offices of Social Welfare in the district of Kant in the province of Pishpek, which is run by Ivchenko. Disabled soldiers besiege these offices for weeks on end. The complaints re-

main in the offices for months without any action being taken on them. One war widow's petition was pigeonholed in the desk of an official for 10 months without any action being taken on it. Vanilov, manager of the works engaged on making artificial limbs, is guilty of gross slackness in the carrying out of his task. The newspaper agreed that the prevailing conditions, which were even intolerable for a Soviet State, were, if possible, rapidly deteriorating.

Increase of Thefts and Looting

B. Sadiqqizi, the Deputy President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, in an article on "the increase of thefts and squandering of state property in the kolkhoz of the republic", stated the following: "From the Kolkhoz, May 1st" in the village Telpakhinar in the region of Uzon of the Surhandarya district, the sum of 216,856 roubles had been embezzled. 557,390 roubles were stolen from the kolkhoz Kirov in the village of Qatagan in the district of Kanimeh. The complaints by the kolkhoz peasants to the district, party and Soviet organs, were not given a hearing."

The same things also happens persistently in Kirgizia. For example, in the Talas district, the statute of the kolkhoz was not obeyed and the kolkhoz property squandered. According to the books of kolkhoz Voroshilov, 5 121 sheep and goats were registered, the auditors however found that 117 sheep and goats were missing. After 2 weeks a further 117 sheep and goats were missing. 71 sheep were missing from the kolkhoz Cholpan-bai and no attention was paid to the working hours and the stipulated output of work. The number of missing cattle rose to 2,228 in the course of a year.

The kolkhoz peasants also divided the tiled land belonging to the kolkhoz amongst themselves for their own use. 1,638 such cases were recorded in the whole region (extract from Soviet press of 27. 7. 50 and 19. 8. 50 and from the B.B.C. broadcasts of 12. 12. 50).

The Struggle against Purdah

In August 1950 in Tadzhikistan an open letter was published by the "active party women(*)" against purdah. The Party and Soviet organs sent their propagandists into all districts with this letter. In Stalinabad alone 675 propagandists were mobilised to go from house to house. The motion was put forward at meetings to dismiss officials who had 2 wives, or who allowed them to go veiled. Although propaganda is made that the abolishment of purdah is not obligatory, pressure is applied against those who continue to observe it. For instance in the kolkhoz "Karl Marx" in the district of Gussar, a woman wearing the veil was threatened by the Chairman of the village Soviet and the President of the kolkhoz. This woman was not given any peace until she ceased to wear it.

*) "Aktivistki" ardent women Communist enthusiasts who engage in propaganda in their spare time.

UKRAINE

"Voluntary Collectivization"

(From O.U.N. reports). We have often reported on the methods used by the Bolsheviks to force the peasants into the kolkhoz. Below we give some examples, taken from reports of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Underground Movement of the 1st quarter 1950.

In that period by terroristic methods the Bolsheviks were able to form collective farms in the following villages:

Sloboda Neb., kolkhoz "W. I. Lenin" with 115 peasant farms;

Nebyliv, kolkhoz "J. W. Stalin" with 45 peasant farms;

Kaminy, kolkhoz "T. H. Shewchenko" with 270 peasant farms;

Topilsko, kolkhoz "I. Y. Franko" with 64 peasant farms;

Nowytia, kolkhoz "New Life" with 432 peasant farms;

Krasna, kolkhoz "32 Years of Red Army" with 285 peasant farms.

The above kolkhoz were organized in 1950. During that time the population suffered unspeakably under Bolshevik atrocities. People were beaten with iron rods, tied to horses and dragged to the village halls. That was not enough, for at the village hall the executioner was waiting to force the signatures by twisting arms and wrists, causing agonizing pain. All that usually took place at night. Whenever the peasants tried to prevent them from entering the house, the windows were broken in and the owners dragged out.

During this "voluntary" collectivization 553 people were maltreated.

At Nebyliv on January 19, 1950 four peasants were beaten to death because they would not join the kolkhoz. January 20, the Bolshevik, Ivan Wynnyk, killed two peasants T.O. and N.D. for the same reason.

February 16, the head of the N.K.-V.D., Bakumenko arrived at Nowytia with 120 Bolsheviks. While organizing the collective farm they ill-treated more than 350 persons. 15 of them were severely flogged and a peasant woman, M.J. died a few hours after being ill-treated.

February 27, the district secretary of the Communist Party, Boryak, and the public prosecutor Moskowkyj with 150 Bolsheviks terrorized the inhabitants of Berlogy to force them into the collective farm. 120 persons were maltreated, the peasant woman D.N. so badly that she lost her wits and had to be sent to an insane asylum.

March 18, at Ukryniw Stary 16 peasants were maltreated by Maslow and Luchnikow, authorities for agricultural affairs and 25 other Bolsheviks. They took 15 houses, dragged out the peasants and had them sent to the station of Kalush.

March 20, 8 Bolsheviks smashed the windows of several houses at Berlogy on which posters had been put up against collectivization. They then arrested the peasant woman T.N.; the Bolshevik Pekarshy and two others raped her.

Many other such cases are reported.

Examples of Soviet Spoliation

Some villages in the district of Stanislaviv are an example of how the Bolsheviks exploit the Ukrainian people.

Maydan. In 1945 the village had 110 hectare of arable land 85 of which grew wheat, the rest, root vegetables, potatoes etc.

The Bolsheviks demanded 256 cwt of grain, 12,000 roubles in taxes, 9,000 roubles for tank convoys, 25,000 roubles for the "State Loan".

Stara Huta. 150 arable land, only 57 of which is cultivated. Demands made: 110 cwt of grain, 5100 roubles in taxes, 10,000 roubles for tank convoys, 15,000 roubles for the "State Loan" and 2,800 roubles for other expenditures.

Mikitinzi. 600 hectare arable land 275 of which is cultivated. Demands: 620 cwt of grain, 95,000 roubles in taxes, 15,000 roubles for tank convoys, 38,000 roubles for the "State Loan".

Pidpechary. 1,357 hectare arable land of which 476 is cultivated. Demands: 842 cwt of grain, 325,000 roubles in taxes, 60,000 roubles for the tank convoys and 160,000 roubles for the "State Loan".

Kolodivka. 695 hectare arable land, of which 315 is cultivated. Demands: 400 cwt of grain, 126,000 roubles in taxes, 10,000 for the tank convoys and 75,000 for the "State Loan".

Dobrivlany. 318 hectare arable land, of which 180 is cultivated. Demands: 280 cwt of grain, 30,000 roubles in taxes, 35,000 roubles for the tank convoys, 57,000 roubles for the "State Loan" and 46,000 roubles for other expenditures.

The Tragedy of Cossacks 1945

(Continued from Page 12)

To even the most slow thinking people to-day, it must be clear that the Cossacks were neither servants nor agents of a foreign power. They did not fight to change the Russian or Soviet power for another, but they were, and still remain, deliberate political fighters against any kind of oppression and arbitrariness, against every sort of dictatorship, and for the freedom of the Cossack people fettered by Russian slavery.

There can be no doubt but that these freedom-loving people had and still have a right to claim respect for their political convictions, support in their struggle for freedom and also the elementary rights of political fugitives.

We Cossacks know very well why Stalin wants to destroy us. We were the living witnesses of his crime and his reign of terror. With other freedom-loving people we constitute a mighty power against the red dictatorship which is already planning a new World War.

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„Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times“

By Oleh Martovych

Edinburgh, 1951. 176 p. 8°. No. 5 of „Today's World Handbook of Current World Affairs“, published by Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh.

*

The literature on Ukraine which has appeared in the last ten years in English is not very copious or varied. Oleh Martovych who is a well-known Ukrainian author, does, however, give the names of 30 books on Ukraine written in English in his bibliography. Then there are 14 periodicals in English which report regularly on Ukraine. The author has taken the trouble to find out and name some 100 articles about Ukraine which have appeared in magazines and newspapers in different parts of the world in the last 10 years.

This is the richest and most carefully collected list of publications in English on the subject of Ukraine which has appeared up to now, and it will certainly be of the greatest use for every English speaking student interested in East European problems.

But the real value of the book lies in itself. It is a work which gives the reader a deep insight into the political and social life of Ukraine in recent times. For the reader it is as if the "other side of the moon" were suddenly revealed; the sight of a world which for the West, has hitherto been almost unknown and unnoticed.

Almost all the aforesaid 30 English books on Ukraine have a general, historical, informative character. They begin with Ukraine's early history, the coming of Christianity, stretch over 4 epochs of Ukrainian history and devote, at most, 10-15 pages to modern times. The reader thus learns a good deal but nothing thoroughly.

With Oleh Martovych it is different. The author devotes hardly 30 pages to the course of Ukraine's thousand-year-old history as an introduction. The bulk of the book is the story of the last 30 years, the years before and after World War II being especially brought into the light.

In the conception of the world today Ukraine exists only as the place officially represented in the United Nations by the Soviet-U.N. delegation. Oleh Martovych writes of quite another Ukraine: the anti-Bolshevist; fighting, freedom-loving Ukraine, steadily, even fanatically determined to erect on the ruins of the Muscovite Empire — in common with other Moscow subjugated nations, — an independent, sovereign, democratic, national Ukrainian State within its ethnographical borders.

The question is often discussed in the West how East Europe will be, what will happen, what forces will come to the fore, what transformations will take place when one day, as is to be expected, there comes a collision between the democratic West and Bolshevik East?

Whoever wants the answer to these questions should read Oleh Martovych's book. He will learn from it, for instance, that for the last three decades there has been a powerful **Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.)** at work covering the whole country, only waiting for a favourable moment to burst out into a revolution. He will learn that the revolutionary liberation struggle is directed by the **Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.)**, both in political and military matters, and is based on the well-organized, disciplined **"Ukrainian Insurgent Army" (U.P.A.)**.

No East European riddles need be guessed. All basic national, social and cultural forces are here which in an uprising will automatically appear on the surface. It is only essential that they are recognized and properly estimated. In the eleven chapters of his book the author gives his western reader all the necessary information. He reveals the historical foundation of modern Ukrainian life, describes the make-up and aims of the different political parties; describes what they have in common, but also what their differences are. He analyses the deep-lying social forces in Ukraine which, when the time comes, will contribute their full measure to the fall of the Russian-Bolshevik regime.

One day "new" names will be famous in east Europe and far beyond, the

names of Stepan Bandera, Colonel Andriy Melnyk, Yaroslav Stetzko, Colonel Vassyl Koval and others, the living leaders of the coming Ukraine. Their names will be as well known as those of the leaders killed in action, such as the Ukrainian President Simon Petliura, Colonel Eugen Konovalets, General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka. Anyone who wishes to know more about the coming men who will be the decisive factors in East Europe and Ukraine, must read Martovych's book. To-day these are, so to say, submerged names in the same sense as Prof. William H. Chamberlain calls his book on Ukraine "The Submerged Nation" (New York, Mac-Millan Co. 1944).

Mr. John F. Stewart, Chairman of the "Scottish League for European Freedom", a good friend of Ukraine and well-informed on the whole situation, has written an introduction to Martovych's book. Mr. Stewart is one of the leading men in post-war Europe, who have realized that only by using the revolutionary potential of the nations subjected by Moscow can Bolshevism be brought to a fall. He sees Ukraine as a pillar in the liberation movement.

The book is illustrated with 11 portraits of Ukraine's historical figures, photos of U.P.A. units, etc.

The make up of the book is good and it will be an asset in filling up the gaps in the West's knowledge of Ukraine.

Z. P.

The Press Echo of A.B.N.-Convention

Over 30 newspapers resp. press agencies sent representatives to the A.B.N. meeting in Munich June 3, 1951, among them **Associated Press, United Press, Reuter, D.P.A.** (Deutsche Presse Agentur) numerous German daily papers and weeklies, the German refugees press and the free press of the subjected nations abroad.

The Bavarian Radio reported it in the evening news on June 3, 1951. The weekly newsreels „Welt im Film“ and „Fox“ took pictures.

When this paper went to press, the following notices had been published.

„Die Neue Zeitung“ (American Newspaper in Germany) of June 4, 1951 under the headlines, **„East-European Refugees Protest against Oppression by the Soviets“**, makes special mention of the speeches by the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N. and the Chairman of the Military Committee of A.B.N. and gives the gist of the resolution demanding the dissolution of the Soviet Union's "dungeon of nations", the restoration of the independent national States and the restriction of the Russian State to its own ethnic borders, which was unanimously adopted.

„Süddeutsche Zeitung“, Munich, of June 4, 1951 stresses in its report the psychological measures proposed by the resolution, viz. a change in the trend of the programmes of the "Voice of America", "B.B.C." and "Free Europe" into one of "undiluted national will".

„Münchener Merkur“ of June 4, 1951 gives first place in its report to the Speech of the President of the Central Committee.

„Nürnberger Zeitung“ of June 4, 1951 places its exhaustive report on the front page of its Monday issue, under the heading "25 Eastern Peoples Demand Freedom".

„Basler Nachrichten“ published Reuter's report on the meeting on June 4, 1951.

The meeting had a special echo in the German expellee press "Volkshote", an independent weekly paper, which devoted the whole front page of the June 9, 1951 number to a report on the meeting, under a heading of the three letters A.B.N. Large sections of the speeches by the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N. and the addresses of the representatives of Croatia, the Czech National Group and Slovakia were given.

„Frankfurter Rundschau“, of June 4, 1951 underlines in its own report "the third power which will be decisive in the coming conflict, . . . the national liberation revolution of anti-Bolshevik peoples" and that the national liberation struggle is still going on under the "most difficult circumstances".

„Main Post“, Würzburg of June 4, 1951 points out in its report, in large type, that the underground struggle in Turkestan and the Caucasus is still being carried on, and draws attention to the extensive expeditions made by the U.P.A. in other subjected countries.

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Editorials

Mass Revolution against Bolshevism and Russian Imperialism

The friction between the U.S.S.R. and the Western Powers, and the growing possibility of a new world is of ever increasing importance for the development of the revolutionary movements in bolshevist controlled countries. Preparations for war, and still more, war itself will mean greater oppression and general distress; on the other hand the anti-Bolshevist attitude among the masses will be strengthened thereby.

The thought of war is always present with the Soviet people, overshadowing everything in their daily lives. It is not morbid or a passing mood, but a reality, arising from the whole trend of Bolshevism, and supported by the world situation.

The broad masses of the nations subjected by Bolshevism expect war, although they are fully conscious of its horror, suffering, destruction and the sacrifice it demands. It hangs like the sword of Damocles over these people, a fate that is destined for them by Russia's insatiable imperialism and the urge to conquer the world.

On the other hand the subjected peoples connect a war with their hopes of the collapse of Bolshevism and their liberation.

This idea encourages the development of a revolution for liberation, for it lights up the implacability of Bolshevist oppression and deepens the conviction that it cannot last for long. This conviction stiffens the resistance against cruel reality, allows no thought of the inevitability of serfdom to creep in, and counteracts resignation and passive obedience.

The Bolshevik are well aware of all that and fear the outcome of such an

attitude in case of war, which explains the ridiculous contradictions in Bolshevist policy and propaganda of late. On one side, they boast of fantastic rearmament and military strength against the alleged aggression and war potential of the West, on the other they issue Draconic laws against the spread of war talk. Everyone knows that this new wave of mass terrorism, under the cover of a love of freedom, is in reality, not directed against material and psychological preparations for war, which the Bolshevist regime is pushing at high speed, but solely to keep the revolutionary spirit and hopes, cherished by the masses, in check.

The hope of a war waged by the Western Powers against the U.S.S.R. is a real factor which might neutralize the effect of the propaganda that Bolshevism is all powerful and Russian imperialism invulnerable. This factor

must be recognized and properly estimated by the revolutionaries, in order to make the best use of it and fit it into the plans for an active war; for the effect of permanent terrorism, and propaganda as to the invincibility of the Russian imperium, is not to be under-rated. The suggestion, drummed into the people, that resistance is madness and that all the sacrifice is in vain and that it would be so much more reasonable to submit and adapt oneself, in order to live at all, is all too insidious and persuasive. Resignation, however, would be the greatest obstacle in a liberation revolt. That stone wall must be overthrown first of all, so that the revolutionary potential, strengthened by the hatred of the ruling powers and the longing to abolish them, may break through, to fill the minds and strengthen the wills of those suffering under the present re-

Tokayev speaks of Western Ignorance

The well-known Soviet military expert, Colonel Tokayev, who recently "chose freedom" and is living at present in the West, wrote an article for the New York emigrant paper, "Sozialistichesky Wyestnik", published in the No. 3, 1951 number, on the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R., from which we quote the following.

"... We are now rapidly approaching a third world catastrophe and that enjoins upon us the duty of realizing the value of the teeth we possess, before they are knocked out. A former correspondent of the "Völkischer Beobachter" made the statement that the Hitler government only grasped the fact in 1944 that the U.S.S.R., was not Russia, and that it was not populated only with Russians, but with 200 different peoples, with their own historical destiny, their own traditions, psychology and geographical position, as well as their own national development, religion and language. Each of them has its historical name given by the State Constitution and anchored in the laws ...

In reality there is no "Russia", nor are there "Russians", nor a "Russian" people in the pre-revolution sense. In law, and as an actual fact, there is only a "Russian Federal Republic" of

many peoples, the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Turkmenistanian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijanian, Tajikistanian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Karelo-Finland S.S.R. There is no collective "Russian people" or "Soviet people", there are only peoples: Russians, Ukrainians, Baskirs, Georgians, Tartars, Estonians, Byelorussians etc.

When certain emigré circles, statesmen, journalists or the radio, continually talk of Russia, the Russians or the Russian people in this general sense, it only shows their ignorance of the elementary reality that 65% of the population in the U.S.S.R. is not Russian at all and does not feel concerned when the word Russian is used ...

Tokayev then quotes the words of a speaker who said at a meeting in 1936, "Comrades, no Stalin, or Molotow, will ever succeed in depriving the non-Russian people of their State, land and regional administration. To-day that is less possible than ever".

After giving a number of examples of the awakening of different peoples in U.S.S.R. to a sense of nationality, Tokayev continues, "A number of similar examples and other symptoms of growing activity among the national liberation movements enable one to

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game. If the subjugated peoples were conscious, only for a moment, of this strength and would rise spontaneously against the tyrants, instead of obeying the regime's orders of self-destruction, that same regime would be blotted out.

The first duty of the revolutionary leaders is to bring this realization home to the oppressed peoples. That is our present object. We must make these people conscious of their own strength and fighting powers to achieve their own liberation, independent of the world situation or outside help. Hand in hand with the conviction of the inevitability of war, belief in the imminent overthrow of Bolshevism must be awakened, especially in places not reached by revolutionary propaganda, or where the ground has not been fertile enough.

Hope of a war to come can also have a negative effect, in that help will be expected from outside, so that people merely wait to be liberated. Revolutionary political propaganda must be directed so that it promotes revolutionary effort at home, turning passive waiting into active fighting.

The conception of a revolution for liberation in case of war must be put

Tokayev speaks...

state with some assurance that it is incorrect, politically harmful, and anti-Democratic, even tactically dangerous to label the national democratic elements in U.S.S.R. as stubborn anti-Russianists...

Tokayev then gives a report on the underground movements in the different Soviet Republics and stresses the fact that surprise attacks, shots fired from ambush at members of the occupation powers, are the order of the day. "Organized partisan battles often break out under the banner of the national liberation struggle and from what we know, with the support of the democratic elements in various parts of the imperium, as far as that is possible under Soviet conditions. In any case, no one desires the national liberation action to fail, except the incorrigible imperialists, and it is time that the Russian democrats in exile took this matter into account in their platform."

As an illustration of the real attitude of the non-Russian peoples towards Moscow, Tokayev, cites, among others, the unambiguous remarks of a Byelorussian women teacher, who said to his face, in September 1947,

"Your know, Comrade Chief, whatever kind of war it may be, we Byelorussians and not you Muscovites who let others pull the chestnuts out of the fire, will be the first to suffer. It will not be Moscow that is plundered by the Germans or their own people, not your women that will be raped. It will not be you who are driven out of your bunker homes, or your houses that will be destroyed or burnt down. We have had enough of all that, and you had better leave us alone. Go and live in your Moscow, love your Stalin, we can manage without you..."

before the broad masses in an appeal formulated as follows:

All subjected and oppressed peoples must rise in a common revolt against Bolshevism, at the very beginning of war, without waiting for its end. Revolution is the end of Bolshevism and the end of its war. Revolution means freedom and peace.

The revolutionary fight should be started by the organized insurgent forces, underground organizations, army detachments and in workers' circles. This struggle will then be joined by the masses at the actual front, as well as in the rear. Success depends on the support of the masses and the suddenness of the outbreak at all focal points. The revolution must not be allowed to develop into small engagements, or become a war of entrenchment, it must run like wildfire and consume the whole State apparatus, thus bringing the entire war machinery to a standstill. The burning torch of the revolution must be carried everywhere, and at once, and the revolutionary slogans must be lucid and stirring, deepening the belief in victory and intensifying the readiness to fight. By propagating the aims of the revolution, the whole nation and each individual, will be prepared for the fight and a psychological atmosphere will be created which will guarantee the execution of all the directives issued by the revolutionary leaders.

After the collapse of Hitler-Germany, when the great Soviet masses still possessed their arms, would have been the most favourable moment to get these masses to join the fight for freedom which was already being carried on against Moscow by our insurgent formations. Instead of which, the weapons were laid down and men returned to their hated yoke, to live under the oppression of the regime they had fought to preserve. The illusory hopes of improvement and some evolution in the Bolshevik system, obviously played its part then, but is that all to be repeated now?

Apart from that, war alone, no matter how it ends, cannot bring liberation. Foreign powers waging war have their own aims and objects and do not fight for the freedom of other nations. Without taking an active part against Bolshevism it is not to be expected that the victors will meet us half way, so no more is to be hoped for from a war, than that it offers the subjugated peoples the opportunity to free themselves by their own efforts.

The anti-Bolshevik revolution in a war would not only mean the end of serfdom and the foundation, of personal and national freedom, with the least possible sacrifice, but it could mean the sudden ending of the war itself and the saving of millions of soldiers' and civilians' lives, as well as villages, towns and whole nations, from further destruction and from atomic warfare. If the broad masses, conscious of the justness of their national cause, ranged themselves on the side of the revolution, then only the worst enemies of individual and national freedom would remain to defend Bolshevism, namely, the N.K.V.D.

M.V.D. criminals and upholders of Russian imperialism.

The revolutionary uprising must not be put off to the end of the war. The sacrifices required to carry out a revolution victoriously, are often made in a few days, in a war. It would be a mistake too, to watch for failures and crises in Bolshevik strategy. To weaken the Bolshevik war machinery by drawing out the war, would cause useless bloodshed for our own peoples and the destruction of our own countries.

The adversaries of the U.S.S.R. might apply the strategy of systematic and slow exhaustion and delay pitched battles, in order to create a crisis in the Bolshevik conduct of war. In that case, however, Bolshevik destruction and use of man-power would be of the utmost importance for our peoples.

Probably two sorts of troops would be disposed of, those made up of reliable elements, especially M.V.D. units, would not be sent to the front lines, but held in reserve for emergencies and used in the hinterland to checkmate the army.

Other detachments would be put in at the centres of attack where dams of human beings would be formed, composed of a sort of "refractory company" of elements hostile to the regime. This distribution would, of course, take national and territorial standpoints into account and be a matter of special selection. The Bolsheviks would methodically sacrifice the greatest number of subjugated peoples who might be the first to turn their weapons against them, while the Russians and convinced communists would be spared. After the same plan, the war burdens would be distributed so that those nations hostile to Russian-Bolshevik imperialism would be exhausted first. Thus the theory that the revolutionary forces would become stronger as the war went on, would be entirely erroneous.

Revolutionary propaganda must be directed at impressing upon the masses and every individual that the revolution must begin with the war and that every one must take part in it, if freedom is to be won. Nor is the revolution to be kept a secret from the Bolsheviks. They may learn and know of its reach and importance. We are not planning a conspiracy like a coup d'etat aimed at the seizure of power. That kind of revolution is hardly possible in the Bolshevik world, nor could it produce a general upheaval among the masses. It would only be an episode. Potentiality and permanent success lies, in our case, solely with the masses.

Propaganda must be directed towards awakening the consciousness and the inner conviction of everyone, and point the way each one is expected to follow. All then must prepare silently and inconspicuously to be ready when the call comes.

The wider the circles in this process of preparation, the greater the difficulty for the enemy in preventing the uprising, the more intricate the distinc-

Joseph Caligula

By Dr. D. Donzow

I say **Joseph Caligula** in order to distinguish the Caligula of our days from the Caligula painted by Suetonius. Because he who reads the Suetonius history of that Emperor will doubtless agree that **Joseph Stalin** is his real reincarnation.

Before his death, Lenin warned the Party not to give full power to Stalin because of his viciousness and brutality. Before his death, the old Tiberius used to say now and then, that to allow Gaius to live would prove the ruin of all men and provide a viper for the people.

Gaius Caligula caused the death of his grand-mother Antonia. **Joseph Caligula** caused the death of his wife Aleluyeva. The first put his brother and all who helped him to the throne to death. The second also put to death all the "old guard of Bolsheviks", who helped him to the throne.

Others, **Gaius Caligula** secretly put to death, falsely asserting that they had committed suicide. **Joseph Caligula** compelled many of his friends, such as General Frunse, to undergo an operation which, unfortunately, was unsuccessful.

Wishing to have one of the senators torn to pieces, **Gaius Caligula** induced some of the senators to assail him suddenly on his entrance into the House, with the charge of being a public enemy. Wishing to have one of the Party men torn pieces, **Joseph Caligula** induced some other Party men or the Party press to assail him suddenly with the charge of being "the people's enemy".

Gaius Caligula, thinking that his exiles were praying for his death, sent his emissaries to butcher them all. The same was done by **Joseph Caligula**, who sent his assassins to butcher Pet-

elements; a fact which will create an atmosphere of tension in the army in war time, and in the communistic government apparatus as well. Besides which, the division of the Russians as reliable, and the other nationalities as "enemies of the people" would be a heavy burden for Soviet nationality policy in time of war. The Bolshevik regime would thus be involved in difficulties and contradictions and lose one position after the other. Just these facts, however, would make the way clear for a revolution with a definite aim and plan.

Our information must keep two alternatives in view, to be sure that each one decides for the active fight and does not persist in passive waiting. Not only must the proper realization of the situation be made clear, but the way out of it too. The will, and the feelings, of the masses must be so stirred that they take up the fight with enthusiasm.

lura, Trotzky, Kutypov and others, or to repatriate them.

Suetonius tells us that not all Caligula's punishments were for serious offences, but merely for criticizing one of his shows, or for never having sworn by his genius. The omission of the sacred name, **Joseph Caligula**, by some speaker or writer would entail suspicion of being a "counter-revolutionary", deserving the penalty of death.

When a Roman patrician on being thrown to the wild beasts, loudly protested his innocence, **Gaius Caligula** took him out, cut out his tongue and put him in again. When an enemy of **Joseph Caligula**, on being thrown to the wild beasts of the Soviet "Court of Justice", protested his innocence, **Joseph Caligula** imprisoned him again and brought him anew before the Tribunal, after he had been "persuaded" that he really deserved the sentence of death.

On signing the list of prisoners who were to be put to death every ten days, **Gaius Caligula** said that he was clearing his account. The same proceeding is called by **Joseph Caligula** the "clearing" or "purge".

Sometimes **Gaius Caligula** gave exhibitions in Greek and Latin oratory, in which the losers were forced to compose eulogies upon the victors, or ordered to efface their writings with a sponge or with their tongue, unless they elected rather to be beaten with rods or thrown into the river. **Joseph Caligula** also gave political exhibitions, in which the losers, too were forced to recite eulogies upon the victor, i. e. upon infallible Joe. The latter himself ordered the confiscation of their writings in all the libraries, and forced them to erase their written "mistakes" with their own tongues, revoking them.

Having had a great desire for popularity, **Gaius Caligula** had assumed various surnames, he was called "Pious", "Father of the Armies" and "Best of Caesars". The **Muscovite Caligula** assumed himself the surnames of "Father of the People" the "genial Leader", "the Sun of the Country" etc.

Gaius Caligula ordered that statues of the gods, including that of Jupiter of Olympia, should be brought from Greece in order to remove their heads and put his own in their place. The **Muscovite Caligula** had old history books of the Party so reprinted, that all "great achievements" of Party Leaders such as Trotzky, Lenin and others appeared as the achievements of Stalin.

Gaius Caligula thought of destroying the poems of Homer. He removed the writings of Virgil and of Titus Livius from all libraries, railing at the former as a man of no talent and very little learning, and the latter as a verbose and careless historian. Precisely the same was done by the **Muscovite Caligula** with many great authors of ancient Russia, who deviated from the "general Line" of the Party ideology.

Gaius Caligula frequently wore the dress of a triumphant general, precisely as **Joseph Caligula**, who possessed no more military genius than Hitler. In order to prevent the brains of Roman citizens from unnecessary strain, **Gaius Caligula** occupied them with gigantic public works. He had planned to dig a canal through the Isthmus in Greece, he built Liburian galleys with utter disregard of expense, built moles out into the deep and stormy sea, tunnelled rocks of hardest flint, raised plains to the height of mountains, and razed mountains to the level of plains, all with incredible dispatch, since the penalty for delay was death. **Joseph Caligula** did the same and for the same purpose in our days in U.S.S.R., also with utter disregard of expense and the lives of millions of labourers!

Having reduced the finances of the Republic, **Gaius Caligula** turned his attention to pillage, through a complicated and cunningly devised system of false accusations, auction sales and taxation. The system of false accusations of all classes in the country, the bourgeois, the "Kulaks", "rich", peasants, etc., was employed also by **Joseph Caligula** in order to pillage them and to enrich himself and his clique.

Why is this historical parallel so interesting to us? Because the case of **Joseph Caligula** is not a separate case, nor an exception, but a tendency of the political and social movement of our time, which necessarily leads to Caesarism. Our continent is full of greater and smaller, dead or living Caligulas. Such a one is Tito, is Thorez, is even Lewis of America, of whom one paper wrote that he or the other modern Communist leaders have a power over the masses which is more effective than was ever the power wielded by Louis XI, because they can thwart the will of the people in the name of democracy.

Where is the reason to be found for this movement towards Caesarism? In the driving of the masses towards the ideal of equality which excludes that of freedom; and, as in the time of the Roman Caesars, in the degeneration of the ruling classes of many countries of the Occident.

Suetonius wrote that the richest citizens of Rome used all their influence to secure the priesthoods of Caligula's cult and bid high for honours. There are many citizens of Europe to-day who do the same, with the difference that the name of Caligula is not Gaius but Joseph. Gaius forced parents to attend the execution of their children and take dinner with him immediately after witnessing their death. Half of the European nations attend the execution of the peoples of another half of Europe and their leaders take dinner with the delegates of **Joseph Caligula** simultaneously, while witnessing the death of those nations.

The same causes produce the same consequences.

The nations of Europe to-day — like Rome, at the time of later Caesars — need new leaders.

Azerbaijan Commemorates its Independence

(May 28, 1918—May 28, 1951)

After a rich historical past, during which Azerbaijan enjoyed independence, the country in the 19th century fell a victim to Russian imperialism. In spite of a series of revolts in 1802—1804, 1826, 1837, 1870, in which the Azerbaijan people fought heroically against Russian occupation, making every effort to burst the fetters of the conqueror, all its attempts at liberation proved in vain.

On May 28, 1918, after the fall of the Czarist regime in Russia the country's independence was at last proclaimed and our people were able to realize the longed for ideal. But even in the dawn of State independence, the horizon darkened and menacing clouds of red Russian imperialism rolled up which were to prove far more ruinous than Czarist tyranny.

The new imperialists in the Kremlin made use of every means to trick the peoples of the Russian empire, one of which was to assure them under the signatures of Lenin and Stalin, of "the right to self-determination, including the possibility of ceding from Russia". To lure our people into the trap, Lenin himself appealed to all Moslems in the east. In December 1917, with the words: "Listen, you Turko-Tartars of the Caucasus, whom Czarist Russia robbed of religious freedom and national existence. We declare your national, cultural institutions as free, and we will defend them... Organize your national life yourselves!" Lenin's special envoy, Shaumjan, who, first as president of the Soviet and later as "Sovnarkoms" in Baku, worked hard to conquer the Azerbaijanians and all the other Caucasus peoples, met with determined opposition and his special mission failed.

After that the Bolsheviks resorted to force. In April 1920, they had several units of the Red Army simply invade our country, and thus after hardly two years of independence, Azerbaijan once more came under the Russian yoke. This time it was accompanied by the well-known cruelty and unscrupulous, sanguinary terrorism. Our independent, national republic was overthrown and liquidated, our national elite destroyed and our cultural life, which was just beginning to blossom, was crushed. What followed was the establishment of the usual Soviet terrorism in Azerbaijan, carried out by the notorious "Ceka" led by that hangman Ponkratjew. Systematic murders, merciless depredations were the regular thing. A real campaign began against our economy, religion, national traditions, not even our mother-tongue was spared. A violent russification started in full force.

Victims of the boundless terrorist methods included: the Prime Minister of our national government, Fatali Chan Choj, with a whole series of leading men in public life, well-known professors, authors of world wide repute, poets and dramatists, such as Huessejn Dshawid, Jussif Tshemensemenli, Kafur Kantamira, S. M. Gani-

Sade, Seid Huessejn, Ahmed Dshad. Some 2000 mosques were turned into kolkhoz stables. 3000 clergy were liquidated, among them Sheik Gani, Kasi Mustafa Efendi, Sheik Achunda, Habib Efendi and others. More than half a Million Azerbaijanians were shot, exiled, and deported for no fault of their own.

On the economic side the plunder amounted to half a milliard tons of petroleum, millions of tons of cotton, silk and raw materials. Thus the Bolsheviks themselves have surpassed the ill-famed Ivan the Terrible in ferociousness, and realized Peter the Great's covetous plans, which the Romanov dynasty had not succeeded in doing in all the centuries.

Nothing of all, that was able to daunt our people or to throttle its will for freedom and independence, the Bolsheviks were not permitted to exercise their methods of violence in Azerbaijan, unpunished. A number of armed revolts broke out in 1920, 1922, 1925, 1929/30, 1933, and later, which gave the Bolsheviks a great deal of trouble. More than once they had to put heavily armed detachments, in greatly superior numbers, in action in order to crush these revolts, and so unmercifully was it done that our whole country was turned into a Katyn.

There is no better illustration of Moscow's despotic rule and its interest in Azerbaijan, than the following telegram from Stalin and Molotow to the sham government of the Soviet Azerbaijan "Republic" on the occasion of its 15th anniversary: "The U.S.S.R. exists thanks to mineral oil, — the black gold of Azerbaijan. The annually larger harvests gleaned from the cotton fields of Azerbaijan feed the textile industry of the U.S.S.R."

It is one of the deceitful practices of the Bolsheviks to mislead the world into believing that Azerbaijan is a "fully qualified" member of the "Sov-

iet family", or that our people had voluntarily joined the U.S.S.R., and that the red Russian troops had come into the country as liberators of the Azerbaijan proletariat. Such statements are mere inventions and bare-faced lies.

Were the Bolshevik assertions true, the Azerbaijan "proletariat" would not constantly rise against their "Liberators" and it would not have been necessary to liquidate the national Azerbaijan divisions of the indigenous "proletariat" and to import occupation forces and N.K.V.D. units from Russia, in their stead.

If the Bolshevik assertions are true, why then all the executions, arrests, deportations, which liquidated the Azerbaijan proletariat? Why the special courts and all the paraphernalia of ferocious Bolshevik terrorism? Where is the logic and where the truth?

In a certain sense Stalin is right when he declares "Bolsheviks are made of special material". They are only good enough to spread lies, provocation, death, terror. In the days when the Azerbaijan people gave the world real preceptors in the sphere of science and art, they had not only no literature of their own, but no standardized language. When Azerbaijan was independent and flourishing the Russians were living under alien domination.

The Bolshevik statement that Azerbaijan accepted serfdom under Moscow voluntarily, that the Russian people had contributed to raising our national culture, is just as untrue as the boast that broadcasting, telegraph, aviation, and all the achievements of the human mind were discovered and accomplished by Russians.

On the anniversary of Azerbaijan independence we wish to say to the Bolsheviks, "You may write and invent what you like, but history cannot be falsified. No power in the world can make the fact null and void, that 31 years ago our people were choked in blood and subjugated by you Bolsheviks, and have fought during all these years against oppressors and will not give up the fight until the sacred aim of national freedom is won. We shall be victorious because our cause is a just one.

With the help of our brothers of the Turko-Moslem world, allied with our subjected brothers, the peoples of Caucasus, Turkestan, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Idel-Ural, Crimea and the Baltic countries we shall achieve our ideal. We count, too, on the support of freedom loving peoples everywhere in the world, and especially that of the western democracies.

The day is approaching when the rising sun will no longer look down upon the graceless symbols of the hammer and sickle but on our blue-red-green-banner, the emblem of the freedom and independence our people.

A. Ismail

A.B.N. fights for:

the national and State independence of all nations subjected by Russia, true, unadulterated democracy, religious freedom, the return of all deportees and expellees to their home lands.

A.B.N. fights against:

the subjugation of nations, hatred between nations, and imperialism, — totalitarianism of every kind, — every sort of one party system, — racial discrimination.

Bolshevist Infiltration in West Germany

A Warning German Voice

The political life in the West German Federal Republic has been marked in the last few weeks by three features:

Indifference towards world and foreign politics, resulting from the occupation with personal, usually economic cares, and an almost naive confidence that the West, especially the U.S.A., will not leave Germany in the lurch; lassitude towards anti-Communist defence; and the comparatively effortless spread of camouflaged Communist relief organizations.

An inner connection between the two last symptoms may be supposed. To the same extent in which Communist propaganda seeps through and gains ground, the lack of resistance shown by constructive forces in the tension between East and West, increases, and so these forces succumb to the "national" bait dangled by the East.

The weakness of the so-called organizations of the right, their ideological uncertainty and vagueness and their splitting up, owing to rivalry, means, on the other hand, the special strength and danger of the Communist relief organization. Their number and their ambiguous national slogans facilitate their work of infiltration in the West, because they are guided by the will of a camouflaged centre.

When, in the course of the economic social recovery in West Germany, a political will began to come to the fore, kindled by the division of the people and their position between East and West, this "national" propaganda of the Communists set in and quickly created its special organization and tactics. They seized upon the terms used in German politics and turned them to suit their purpose, "a united Germany", "unity", "freedom", "peace". Besides the Communist party, working openly, "Freie Deutsche Jugend" (Free German Youth) and the Communist controlled V.V.N. "Verein der Verfolgten des Naziregimes" (Association of the persecutees of the Nazi regime), the so-called "Land Committees for Unity and a Just Peace", exists, which coordinates countless local organizations. A not complete list mentions the following organizations:

"Provisorischer Landesausschuss Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Einheit und Unabhängigkeit Deutschland" (Provisional Land Committee of Nordrhein-Westfalen for the Unity and Independence of Germany) — in Düsseldorf; "Dortmunder Kreis für ein einiges, unabhängiges Deutschland" (Dortmund Circle for a United Independent Germany); "Recklinghäuser Aktionsgruppe" (Action-Group of Recklinghausen); "Bund deutscher Einheit" (Alliance of German Unity) — in Oberhausen; "Ausschuss für ein einheitliches Deutschland" (Committee for an United Germany) — in Muenster; "Landesorganisation Freunde der deutschen Einheit" (Land Organization of

Friends of German Unity) — in Frankfurt; "Gesellschaft zum Kampf für die Einheit Deutschlands" (Association for the Fight for Germany Unity) — in Hamburg; "Karlsruher Kreis zur Wahrung der Deutschen Einheit" (Circle for Maintenance of Germany's Unity) — in Karlsruhe; "Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Deutsche Einheit" (Labour Community for German Unity) — in Württemberg-Baden; "Rhein-Ahr-Kreis für Einheit und Frieden" (Rhein-Ahr-Circle for Unity and Peace) — in Ahrweiler; "Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ost-West-Gespräche" (Labour Community for East-West Negotiation) — in Lübeck; "Ausschüsse für Einheit und Gerechten Frieden" (Committees for Unity and Just Peace) — in Munich and Bad Reichenhall; "Aktionsgemeinschaft für Frieden und Völkerverständigung" (Active Community for Peace and Understanding among Peoples) — in Nürnberg; "Landesausschuss für deutsche Einheit" (Land Committee for German Unity) — in Kassel; "Komitee der Kämpfer für den Frieden" (Committee of Fighters for Peace) — in Mannheim.

The localization of these foundations and their names show the wish to give an impression of a spontaneous voluntary organization and to deny connection with a superior, much less a Communist centre; therefore any mention of Communism or the Soviet Union is carefully avoided in the titles. In appeals to the parties, the Federal Government, the Federal Parliament, and in letters to different men in public life, these organizations urge that

the efforts of political representatives of the East Zone should be given a hearing and that every opportunity of an East-West discussion should be made use of, in the interest of Germany's "unity", as the phrase runs. The dependence of the groups on a centre may be recognized by the fact that their activities harmonize with those of the political representatives in the East Zone, both with regard to time and tactics.

Beside the above named there are other organizations which are not so shy about their Communist tendency, in spite of the disguise of their names: "Society for Study of the Soviet Union" which has branches in Munich, Stuttgart, Bochum, Hamburg, Hannover, Dortmund, Cassel, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Mainz, Aachen, Bielefeld, Solingen, Muenster. "Hamburger Arbeitskreis für gesamtdeutsche Fragen", "Nauheimer Kreis", "Bund der Kriegsgegner in Muenchen" (anti-war society), "Internationale Frauenliga in Hamburg und Stuttgart", "Aktionsgemeinschaft der Jugend für das einigende Deutschland" in 28 cities and towns of West Germany; parts of the European movement "Sammlung zur Tat", remnants of the "Schwarze Front", the "Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands" and groups against remilitarization, and peace organizations.

They are spinning a web around the West German Federal Republic, which is growing ever closer. Any one who supposes that these groups, with their motley names and their slogans, are only on paper, greatly under estimates the fanaticism of the functionaries who guarantee their activity.

Peter Shwarz (Germany)

„The Voice of America“

From a long criticism of the programme of the "Voice of America" from the view point of the subjugated peoples, we give below some extracts:

"Americans who wish to make broadcasting a success in the psychological war against Moscow must acquaint themselves with the history of Muscovite despotism, as well as with the present relations between the Muscovite people and the subjected nations. It is quite wrong to say the same thing to the oppressors and the oppressed. If the managers of the "Voice of America" do not wish to do more harm than good, or have the enormous sums which the U.S.A. government is spending for the radio wasted, they must from committees from the various nations the transmissions are intended to reach, to study the matter. Among the citizens of U.S.A. there are plenty of people from those nations now suffering under Muscovite rule who would be competent for the purpose.

First and foremost, these nations want their national independence from Moscow recognized. It is from that standpoint that they weigh everything that happens either side of the Iron

Curtain. Unfortunately they hear very little concerning that vital point. The "Voice of America" in the Ukrainian language, for instance, carefully avoids mentioning the former, or the present, heroic struggle going on in Ukraine against Muscovite occupation.

It would seem as if names of such heroes of the first world war, as General Simon Petliura and Colonel Eugene Konowalets were not allowed to be mentioned, nor even the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. General Taras Chuprynka, who was killed last year and is held in high esteem by all Ukrainians at home and abroad.

Reports in the American and European press of the fight of the U.P.A. and other militant organizations against the Muscovite occupation, are also passed over in silence.

The subjugated nations are the natural allies of the free nations in the common struggle against Muscovite despotism, but the former do not know, under the circumstances, what to think of the United States, the sponsor and guarantor of freedom for all the nations in the world."

The Significance of Turkey as a Neighbour

Turkey and, indirectly Iran (Persia), are the only neighbours of Ukraine and the Caucasian people which have remained outside the Soviet sphere of influence. They may be regarded as the only window to the free world, for it is only here in the south that a free country and a free people border ours. This fact is politically of the utmost importance. In Turkey the democratic spirit of the free world pulsates on the threshold of our country. Hitherto our political circles and press have given more attention to far away Australia, than to our close neighbours, Turkey, the Iran or Irak. It is easy to imagine that once we have succeeded in establishing our state independence we must turn to Turkey with more interest than i. e. Poland.

In a war the role played by Turkey would be of the greatest importance for the development of Ukraine, as it would be the centre of the operations of the West against Moscow. There can be no doubt whatever that Turkey, which has kept its army fully mobilized ever since 1939, whose military outlay is 50% of the whole budget (the highest percentage in the world), with 700,000 soldiers under arms, will have one of the most important tasks to fulfil in a future war. It may be forecast to-day, that the first soldier to enter Baku and to land at the Crimea, in Odessa, or Marupol, will be the Turkish soldier.

When we try to visualize the events of a third world war we must see the importance of familiarizing the troops who come to us with our history and our ideas of liberation. They must not be allowed to confuse us with their ideas of "Russians", and must be well-informed that we are Russia's enemies too, and desire its dissolution and the freedom of all nations. We must make them our friends and win their respect for our position.

Churchill was Right

That this strategic development is within the limits of possibility is clear, when we remember that Winston Churchill in World War II, tried to convince the Americans of the advantages of landing on the Balkans instead of in the Atlantic theatre. At that time operations from south to north, and not from west to east, were under discussion. The experiences of the last war have proved that Churchill's plan was right. If it had been realized then, the Bolsheviks would not be in Berlin, Prague and Vienna now. As the world looks to-day, this conception has more to it than at Hitler's time.

Importance of the South

As we have already mentioned the Allies are only directly at the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. in the south. It is only from Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan that they would be able to reach Soviet territory on the first day of the war. Besides, there are inestimable natural resources in the south, without

which the U.S.S.R. would hardly be able to carry on a war. Then again, the south is the weakest point in the Russian imperium, — Ukraine and the Caucasus region, — where the people are ready and waiting to pull their weight against Moscow. Finally, the strongest allied military forces are concentrated at the moment in the south.

It may be realized from the above that the only active front ready for war is south of the U.S.S.R. and not west. There are many signs that this strategy has been taken into account, as the journeys of military experts from U.S.A. and Great Britain to Turkey, important diplomatic conferences etc., indicate: Air bases are to be dis-

tributed along the north coast of Africa, over Tunis, Libya, Egypt to Irak and Iran. This plan would enable American B-29 bombers to drop their deadly loads at any point in the U.S.S.R. It seems likely that the roles the different western allies are to play, have already been cast, that the U.S.A. is to supply the air force and the British the land troops which are to occupy the Caucasus and the Crimea, in order to force a wedge in the Red Army positions and force it to retreat.

Let us, therefore, devote more attention to Turkey and the countries of the Near East and see that they are properly informed of our aims.

R. I. Horlenko (Ukraine)

The Language of Figures

The thirty-fifth volume of the revised complete works of Lenin appeared recently in Moscow. It is published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in an edition of about a hundred thousand. The State publishing houses of the various republics have been instructed, besides, to issue this work in their respective languages. The works of Stalin and other Party literature which the Politbureau considers important and necessary for the State to have circulated, will be handled in the same way. It is therefore not surprising that the editions of party literature run into such huge figures, to the detriment of the philosophical and other literature.

A survey of Soviet book production in the last thirty years shows a conspicuous number of these giant editions of party and propaganda literature, — in the first place the bolshevik "bible", that is a "Short Outline of the History of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks". On its eleventh anniversary, the end of 1949, it had an edition of almost 50 million copies. It has been translated into 38 languages. The German edition reached ten million copies. The works of Lenin and Stalin in three decades, appeared in some 11,500 editions with a total of over 685 million copies. Adding to these countless popular editions and the commentaries on the two "classics" of bolshevism, it does not require much imagination to realize with what the libraries in the Soviet Union are crammed. All that at a time when neither sociological nor political works of non-Communist origin are published at all.

These two figures alone will show under what pressure of propaganda the peoples of the Soviet Union have to live.

In comparison, how modest the figures are for world classics that have been translated into the respective languages and of course "edited" in the last three decades.

Schiller leads with 683,000 copies, then Cervantes with 650,000, Goethe 590,000 and Byron 499,000. During the

same period the not very important, but Communist French author, André Barbusse achieved 2,075,000 copies. In spite of the marked tendency to close the Union off from all Western influence, the desire of the non-Russian peoples of the imperium to become acquainted with western literature seems to be invincible, for in the period covered by the report, Victor Hugo was published in 41 languages of the Union, Shakespeare in 20, Romain Rolland in 19, Heine in 17, Maupassant in 16, Schiller and Dickens in 15. The Russian language dominates over all the other languages to such a degree that there is not a shimmer of equality as far as the languages of the different Soviet Republics are concerned. As an example: In 1946 in the whole Soviet Union 70,200,000 copies of polite literature were printed, 65.5 million copies were in Russian and the remaining 6.4 million were left for the others, though the number of Russians (Muscovites) is less than the total population of the other states. In other words the Muscovite State claims for itself, tenfold opportunity to extend its literary development over the "brother" peoples in the Soviet Union, — a test case for the trend of its cultural policy, showing it up in vivid colours. Another example: the works of the greatest poet of the second largest nation of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian, Taras Shevchenko, have only had an issue of 5.3 million copies in thirty years, while Gorki's works, in Russian and other languages, had an edition of 44.5 million copies. Even a still dubious figure like Ilje Ehrenburg has the honour of an edition of more than 6 million copies of his persiflage of Western culture.

In the report on "the thirty years of Soviet achievement" the figures for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are included. For Latvia, for instance, only three authors are mentioned; J. Rainis with 156,000, A. Uptis with 545,000 and W. Lazis with 159,000 copies. The figures for two Turkmenian writers are

Karaganda

Stalin's Shame and Symbol of Resistance

On March 24, the "Arbeiterzeitung", Vienna, published an interview with an Austrian returnee from the forced labour hell, Karaganda. Four days later the Communist "Oesterreichische Zeitung" had an article on the same Karaganda, according to which it was a paradise.

The Communist paper writes:

"Karaganda is the heart of Kazakhstan. The Karaganda area possesses fabulous riches. Everything, is found there, coal, lead, copper, zinc, nickel, petroleum, manganese ore, phosphorite, silver and gold. Under the Czarist yoke and the local feudal lords, the wealth of this tract of land lay neglected and it remained a backward colonial border district. Under Soviet rule, however, wonders have been worked. The Soviet government and the Communist party have spared neither means nor effort to put life into this country."

It is true, wonders have been worked and no effort has been spared, that is to say, human beings. The Soviets have succeeded in turning the whole province of Karaganda into a gigantic convict colony. The Austrian returnee says on the subject.

"There is no need of the barbed wire there, that is so typical of convict camps. The hundreds of miles of steppes in which there are only sand, stones and low-growing herbs, but no road, only one strongly guarded railway line, make escape impossible. Karaganda is primitive beyond words, no tools, no nails, no paper to write on. Fires are lit with two sticks and a bit

of wick, and the time is told by means of improvised sun-dials. Yet the land is immensely rich in minerals."

With incredible cynicism the Communist paper declares, "The Russian people have given the people of Kazakhstan every aid in building up the new life. On the vast territory of Karaganda the greatest building activity is under way. From all parts of the Soviet, people are streaming in, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Bas-kirs, Kirgiz, all filled with the one wish to wring the wealth from the ground for the service of man."

It is not only Soviet citizens who throng there "filled with the one wish", but Latvians, Estonians, Volga Germans, Poles, Austrians, Spanish republicans, and last but not least, Communists from all over Europe, whose blind faith in the Soviet Union is rewarded by banishment, populate this huge region. The doctor looking after the sick, the hospital nurse who helps him, the engineer managing the mines, all are prisoners.

The authority quoted by the "Arbeiterzeitung" apparently saw nothing of what the Communist paper then reports, during all the long years he spent at Karaganda.

"The workers of Karaganda, with justifiable pride in the work of their hands, now draw a profit from their enthusiastic toil. The miner receives the best pay. The hewer, B. Kotrashov, for instance, earned 72,000 roubles last year. There are sanatoriums, and rest homes for the miners, too. The State grants the miners long-term credits to build their own houses. There are hundreds of small villas of four to five rooms, with a garden each."

"There are few stone houses", reports the former prisoner of war, "and they are from the Czars' time. Most of the houses are built of clay, while hundreds of thousands of banished people exist in caves and holes."

The Communists are silent on the fact of the high rate of mortality which makes the returnee's description all the more moving.

"Around the town of Karaganda there is a broad girdle of common graves of the thousands of nameless victims of dystrophie which rages in the oppressively hot summer months, when swarms of insects spread the germs. Dystrophie has many causes, the utterly inadequate food supply for the hard work of the mines; the water merely trickles from the soil of the steppes; the climate, — in summer there are sand storms and unbearable heat, in winter at a temperature of 52° C. below Zero, heavy blizzards. — is beyond the endurance of any European in the long run. The coal dust that gets into the lungs and the vermin do their bit also.

When the Kazakhstan spring comes and the snow slowly melts, the steppes are transformed, into fairy-like blos-

soming fields. The banished, however, have no eye for the beauties of this hated land. Hunger, the sense of the uselessness of it all, and resignation are their constant companions."

The Communist article closes with the words,

"Karaganda to-day is a highly developed centre of the Soviet country, which has been created by Soviet hands in an unbelievably short time.

The near future, however, offers a still grander prospect."

So much for the conventional avowal of the Stalin slave system, in comparison with which the punitive measures of Czarist Russia fade away. But just as the strength came from the exiles in banishment, to which the Empire of the Czars succumbed, so Karaganda is not only the "Centre of the Soviet country" but it is also the symbol of the resistance of the peoples of U.S.S.R. under which, one day, Soviet Russian tyranny will succumb too.

Jews in U.S.S.R.

The unhappy lot of the Jews in the Russia of the Czars has gained worldwide notoriety. Since Ivan the Terrible who, upon seizing the city of Polotzk in Byelorussia in 1563 gave the Jews of this city the choice between submitting to baptism or being downed, anti-Semitism in Russia has continued unabated and resulted in a long series of cruel pogroms in the 19th and 20th centuries. Even after the proclamation of the Constitution, 1905, the Jews in Russia were massacred in thousands by notorious "Black hundreds".

The history of Soviet Russian domination is also full of anti-Semitic acts by the Soviet Government, although the Soviet Government was very careful not to issue laws disabling Jews as such. Moreover, the Soviet Government issued laws preventing all manifestations of anti-Semitism and thus was able to create the impression, the world over, that the Soviet Union is a sort of paradise for Jews. In fact, despite all these laws declaring that "the preaching of racial or national exclusiveness, or hatred, or contempt is punishable by law", the Jews were persecuted in the Soviet Union. The Jewish businessmen and shopkeepers were annihilated and their property "nationalized", the Jewish political parties were outlawed and their members banned to Siberia and even the Jewish religious practices were ridiculed and religious instruction to Jewish youth strictly prohibited. Instead of the Hebrew language and culture, which were banned the use of Hebrew being punished. Yiddish was imposed by force, as the language of the Jews in the Soviet Union, although it was only a dialect of the German Jews. All these acts, derogatory to the Jewish national dignity, cannot be classified otherwise than as a policy of anti-Semitism which attempted the assimilation of the Jews into Russian culture.

New repressions of the Jews by the

given, Machmut-Kuli 450,000 and W. Kerabayew, 950,000.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that from 1946—1949 altogether, some 4,500 children's books were published in editions reaching 140 million copies.

Finally something about the Soviet press, which, according to the latest figures, has a total of 33.5 m. copies. The two leading papers "Pravda" and "Izvestiya" dispose of a million copies each. It must be remembered that the press in the Soviet Union is strictly party bound. The general line of the Politbureau which is to be followed is given by the two above-named papers, so that the press in the different Republics has no other material to dispose of than the Moscow newspapers, local news excepted, of course. What the Soviet people themselves think of these two newspapers is strikingly shown by a "bon mot" circulating in Moscow. It must be said beforehand that "Pravda" means truth and "Izvestiya" news, and so it is said that there is no truth in "Pravda".

The above mentioned publishing figures may contribute to showing up the legend, that equality prevails among all the "brother nations" in the U.S.S.R.

K. V. A.

The Grey War along the Baltic

Prof. Franklin Scott, the specialist for Scandinavia at the North West University, has coined the expression "grey war", for the situation on the Baltic Sea. In this he characterizes the existing campaign, which is a mixture of diplomacy, threats, espionage and violence, carried on by the Soviet in order to make the Baltic an enclosed Red Sea.

It needed a scientist to investigate this, as scientific forgery is one of the means used by Moscow in this "grey war" to give the political demands at least an appearance of right. Moscow aspires to the control of the straits leading to the Atlantic, as an open door for its fleet massed in the Baltic and its much enlarged submarine flotilla. To-day, the Soviet already controls the south east, from Leningrad almost to Lübeck, thus dangerously close to the straits, — a matter of about 100 miles in fact.

When the Kremlin proceeded to insist on the extension of its territorial waters from 3—4 nautical miles to 12, the Soviet scientific authorities were entrusted with the task of proving that this demand was justified. The crux of the matter is to prevent warships, not belonging to nations bordering on the Baltic, from passing through Ore Sound and the Belt. Members of the All Soviet Association for Cultural Relations

with Foreign Countries, as well as the specialist for international law, Prof. Korowin, and the young lawyer Molozow, came to the conclusion desired by the Politburo, that the principle that the Baltic was an open sea was incompatible with the protection of the sovereignty and national independence of States lying along its coasts. Finally, the Soviet Academy of Science declared openly in a bulletin that the time had come for the Baltic States to make an agreement to exercise a collective control in Ore Sound and the Belt.

It is obvious that Moscow means that control to lead to the establishment of Russian bases at the Baltic Straits. The parallel with the Dardanelles is perfectly clear. There is no use in going into the arguments brought forward by the Moscow authorities, who unearthed the treaties of the 17th century, which had hardly ever come into force, in order to prop up Moscow's demands both historically and legally. In practice, the Soviets and the Poles bring in all the vessels approaching their coasts within 12 miles. There is no sea where shipping and fishing are so much interfered with as the Baltic Sea. Fishing boats continually disappear, their crews are held often for months in Polish or Soviet prisons.

Moscow's protest against the U.N. guarantee of the Autonomy Statute for the Aaland Islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, is a part of the same chapter. Here too, the Russians are out to eliminate the influence of any State not adjacent with their territory.

The most dangerous weapon in the Soviet arsenal for the grey war is espionage. Moscow has spread a net of spies all over the Baltic countries. Its centre is Stockholm and the leading strings are held by the Soviet Military Attaché there. Agents passing themselves off as "political refugees", and

the crews of Polish ships running regularly into Swedish harbours play an important part in this work. These Polish ships, according to observations made by Polish emigrants, have unusually large crews. The extra "seamen" generally go ashore at once on landing, exchange their papers with other agents and go to earth somewhere, while the agent who has been "relieved" goes on board with all the material he has collected. The so-called "political refugee" then registers with the authorities, receiving from them by reason of his forged documents and other data, identification cards and perfect freedom to go where he will, all of which he makes use of for his nefarious business.

Besides this activity in the sphere of law, seafaring and espionage, an intense propaganda campaign is carried on, aiming at keeping the Scandinavians in a state of uncertainty and nervousness. By diplomatic steps, radio broadcasts, threats in the Soviet press, the attempt is made to discredit the governments in the eyes of their own people, while, at the same time, they are warned that political commitments with the West will be followed by dire consequences.

Quite recently, "Pravda" pointed out, in connection with Norway's participation in the Atlantic Pact, that the Norwegian government was following a course that would involve "dangerous consequences for Norway and might lead to disaster". A few days later, radio Moscow declared that high ranking Swedish officers had discussed military collaboration against the Soviet Union with Finnish politicians. Similar and repeated threats are served out to Denmark too. Until now, however, this blackmailing manoeuvre has failed. Still, Moscow continues with unabated tenacity. Academies, professors, diplomats, the army, radio and press, spies and agents bear the arms in this campaign which the American Professor Franklin Scott has named the "grey war".

Soviet Government after World War II are registering a fresh wave of the traditional Russian anti-Semitism. For months there have been reports of an intense anti-Semitic trend in the Soviet Union. According to responsible Jewish sources, the newest anti-Semitic development has all the signs of being officially approved and directed. But even now the Soviet are careful enough not to discriminate the Jews as such. It is "cosmopolitanism" which has suddenly become dangerous to the Soviet regime. This new "crime" of cosmopolitanism is being described as "a fruit of the American imperialist reaction", but the "cosmopolitans" are found mostly among the Jews who, therefore, have to be arrested and deported immediately.

In his article: "Popular Changes behind the Iron Curtain" (The Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Sciences for September, 1950), Eugene Kolisher, demographer of the Library of Congress handles the tragedy of the Jews in the Soviet Union. "Before the war, he writes, this was the largest concentration of Jews in the world. Of the 4,300,000 Jews in Ukraine, Poland and Byelorussia there have been left no more than 640,000 or 15%. The rest were exterminated by Hitler. Now the Soviets are transporting these survivors, to Asia and have removed from the one city of Lviv 35,000."

We have nothing to add to this statement. The tragedy of the ancient people is in full swing. The Humans in the Kremlin are responsible for it.

O. M.

On the Anniversary of Croat Independence

(10. 4. 1941 — 10. 4. 1951)

The Croatians rejected, and still reject, the "Yugoslavian idea", because it is not compatible with, and therefore unbearable to the Croatian mind and heart. Forsaken by the West, Croatia fought a war to the knife for her national and State independence. All that sacrifice of life and limb, however, was in vain. To-day when our country has become a victim to Tito-bolshevism, it must be emphasized that Croatia never was fertile ground for Marxist-Leninist ideas.

It was to ward off the Communist-Bolshevist danger that the Croats fought so desperately in the second World War. For us Croats it was by no means a war of aggression, but of defence, to preserve our national existence and the sovereignty we regained in 1941. White and red "Yugoslavs", however, began a guerilla war against

us, to destroy our young Croatian State. Unfortunately they found allies in the West as well as in the East, and Croatia found herself left to her fate.

We Croatians are often dubbed "Fascists" by the West. But this slander will be shown up by the light of history. Our struggle for freedom and independence began long before there was either Fascism or National Socialism. Anyone who respects truth will admit that two facts cannot be denied. First that the Croatian soldiers fought whole-heartedly against Bolshevism in the second World War, but not against the Western democracies. The high command of the Croatian army issued explicit orders that in case the Allies landed, the troops were to offer no resistance to Anglo-American forces; second, the guerilla detachments and communist Yugoslav leaders had

„Russian Liberation Revolution“

Fantasy and Reality

The fact that there has been little or no definite U.S.A. policy regarding the Soviet Union, caused certain American circles to seek new ways and means to solve the problem. Some people were naive enough to believe the fairy tales told by Russian emigrants, that for a few hundred million dollars they could start a "national Russian revolution", and get the power into their own hands. And it was imagined that this object could be attained without either a "hot" or a "cold" war, and the world given a peaceful life by the wave of a wand.

The 34 years of Bolshevism, however, has taught us how illusory that all is. The West must know by now that the Russian people never seriously resisted Bolshevism, on the contrary it was the Russians who lent it motive power and who carried its totalitarian principles abroad. The Bolsheviks were only able to seize power through the support of the broad masses in Russia proper, who sympathized with Communistic ideas and aims. These Russian masses were then mobilized to nip the awakening freedom movements among the non-Russian peoples, in the bud. Again it was the Russian masses who helped the Bolsheviks to drive the nations who had freed themselves from their yoke, into the dungeon of nations.

While in 1917-1920 the broad masses in Russia proper were the support of the regime of oppression, all non-Russian peoples resisted stubbornly for three years and were silenced in a sea of blood.

Resistance in Byelorussia, Ukraine,

secret orders to offer stubborn resistance should Anglo-American forces land.

The end of the war was by no means the end of the fight of the Croatian nation against Communism and "Yugoslavism". There is a ramified and well established resistance movement going on against that double tyranny. The leader of the guerilla war, General Rafel Boban enjoys the reputation of a hero of legend.

No communist terrorism is able to break down or overcome this resistance. In this struggle all the Croatian exiles are heart and soul with their heroic brothers at home and are straining every effort to contribute to their support. Enlightening the general public in the West on the Croatian national problem, is one of the most important items in our task.

When the hour strikes, the whole Croatian people will rise to a man and fight. They will be as brave and as ready for sacrifice as they were of old in the sea battle of Lepanto, in the blazing ruins of Siget, on the outer walls of Mohac, or in the trenches at Stalin-grad, because they will know they are fighting for state independence and freedom.

From an article by Dr. Andrija Ilic.

Caucasus, Cossackia, Turkestan and wherever non-Russian peoples lived, have become popular uprisings.

Now all these nations are held under the Bolshevik yoke by Muscovite stadtholders, who are, above all, Russians and who hold the key positions in the government of the non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R.

It is a mistake to count Marshal Tukhatschewskyj's conspiracy as a sign of an anti-Bolshevist attitude among the Russian people, for in reality it was merely a plot by a military clique, to gain power. The Russian people showed no interest in it at all.

In the second World War it was clearly shown that the Russian masses were for Bolshevism and ready to strengthen its power, as Stalin himself

pointed out. Russian soldiers would not surrender, even when Hitler and his accomplices, assured them that they would leave Russia undivided. They did not even crowd into General Vlassow's army, although his programme was drawn up in the spirit of Great Russia. They preferred to die in German camps rather than go over to Vlassow, who, at the end of the war, actually had only one division under his command and in the end, that proved Moscow inclined. When the German collapse came in Prague, these men attacked their allies from the rear.

Moscow's nationalist-Russia propaganda, the eulogies to the Russian people and the privileges they enjoy at the hands of the Bolsheviks, are the best proof that the Russians were and are the driving power behind Bolshevism. It is the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. who rise again and again against the tyrants in Moscow and who can hardly wait for their national liberation movement.

W. Glaskow (Cossackia)

Universary of Georgia's Independence

The 26, May is the 33rd anniversary, of the declaration of Georgia's independence in 1918. It was declared, after 117 years of oppression and subjection, at a solemn meeting at Tbilisi, presided over by President Noc Shardania.

Once again the national flag flew from the Parliament building, announcing Georgia's freedom.

At the time, England, France, Germany, Belgium, Turkey, Argentine and a number of other states acknowledged Georgia's independence.

Sad to say, the State was but short lived. From the north came a great wave of Bolshevism and overflowed the land. In an unequal and desperate fight our people struggled hard to protect their freedom from the mighty Russian imperium and only succumbed after seas of blood had been shed, and our best sons had been killed. Our brave men under General Masnjashwili and the national guard were unable to stem the flood.

Like their predecessors of Czarist times, the Bolshevik robbed us of

our country, our freedom and our wealth.

For 4,000 years the Georgians had lived in the Caucasus. The ground of our country is soaked in the blood of our ancestors, for we have had to fight again and again to free ourselves.

In all the past 117 years Georgias has only felt politically bound to the Russian empire, otherwise she led her own national life, and every Georgian knows to-day that it is an honour to be a Georgian.

May 26, remains as a symbol of the unflagging spirit of the Georgians and a pledge for Georgia's regeneration. That day is the pole-star for our independence, — the symbol of hope that the Prometheus bound to the Caucasian rock will be released and live a life to which a history of 4,000 years gives a right.

The spirit of our forefathers and of the present generation too, never lose sight of this ideal. The fight will go on until all Georgians are able to live in a free and independent national State.

Is there any Resistance in Russia?

In connection with the sensational statements by the Russian solidarity group of the T.S. under the leadership of K. Boldyreff, that they have organized a Russian anti-Bolshevist movement in their ethnic territories, the editor of the "Sozialisticheskoy Wyestnik" and chairman of the R.S.D.R.P. (Russian Social Democrat Workers Party), R. A. Abramowich, in an article in the "Forward" declares that that is all fantasy.

Abramowich writes: I am sorry to be obliged to say at the very beginning, that there is no illegal underground organization at all in Russia proper

which could carry on active anti-Communist propaganda.

Sometimes the activity of real partisan armies (chiefly Ukrainian) is reported, waging war against Stalin's regime and led by their own generals. Two years ago the magazine "Look" which has a circulation of over 2,000,000, published an article by the Russian emigrant Boldyreff, in which he reports wonders of his revolutionary organization in Russia . . .

The Russian press at the time branded Boldyreff as liar and swindler . . . Every Russian emigré knows that all these sensational announcements are a fiction of the brain."

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

A Secret Wireless Station in Bulgaria

Leaflets Call All to be Ready to Fight

We have received reports that a secret wireless sender was working in Bulgaria under the name of "Gorjanin". Transmission are at 20.30 hours. Listeners are instructed how to listen in without peril to themselves.

At the same time, great quantities of leaflets were circulated all over the country bearing the following words: "Bulgarians! Unite! Prepare for the fight against the murderers of our home country!" The population is called upon to boycott all Communist undertakings and resist Moscow's yoke in every sphere of life.

London (U.P.) an active member in the guerilla war against Bolshevism in the Balkans, who arrived here recently, states that the underground movements there have grown so strong lately that, communist functionaries in many cases dare not carry out the government's instructions concerning industry and Koghoj economy. Last year alone 1000 communist functionaries were killed by guerillas. To protect the oil fields from sabotage, the troops in Rumania had to be reinforced by 50,000 men last year. 10 oil trains from Rumania were blown up on Bulgarian territory.

Many of us, said the guerilla fighter, "have been executed and many innocent people have had to suffer, but in spite of that our forces are increasing and we shall not cease fighting till we are free again."

HUNGARY

The Hungarian Reader under Guardianship

Hungary is "enjoying" two significant experiences at present. Firstly, it has become startlingly clear how much totalitarian governments resemble one another and how consistently their measures follow, one after the other. Whether the dictator is a fascist or a stalinist, — the Hungarian libraries and publisher are "purged". On the other hand, the occasion shows plainly how extremely difficult it is, even for a communist, to keep his balance in every rope-dance called for by party lines. For the over-zealous elimination of "harmful" literature broke the necks of those responsible for it. In their haste, they forbade books that Moscow is still allowed to read, among them Andersen's and Grimm's Fairy Tales; besides they erred in "historical and ideological" matters.

Altogether the Hungarian index contains 10,000 "bourgeois" books, among them those by Thornton Wilder, Gab-

riel D'Annunzio, Marcel Proust, Rudyard Kipling and the Tarzan stories — Walt Disney's "Snowwhite" had to go, because the Prince was not a people's Stakhanow worker, or a "hero of the Soviet Union".

It is still not certain whether the "Good Soldier Schwejk", from the neighbouring Czech literature, will fall under the red ban, as such plays as Molnar's have. The bad example of the sly "Imperial and Royal" soldier might seriously upset the discipline of the people's armoured division.

The confiscated books, by the way, are to be turned into pulp to get material for valuable Marxist literature. But, please note, only carefully edited issues of works by Lenin and Marx, not Marx quotations by any chance, which might undermine confidence in the Soviet Union, such as the following, which Marx wrote in 1835 in the "New York Tribune": "When the western nations have given more care to juster social conditions, worthy of a human being; when they have abolished castes and privileges and have created free political institutions; when they have unfettered industry and emancipated their thinking, then they, too, will regain their power and greatness. The Russian giant, on the contrary, will crush the explosive force of ideas and progress in the masses."

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Youthful Martyrs

Prague. According to an announcement in the official Communist paper, "Rude Pravo" 7 young people were condemned to prison sentences of up to 25 years, because they destroyed pictures of Stalin and burnt communist party documents. Beside which, they were accused of blowing up a car belonging to the Security Police, with dynamite.

To justify these disgraceful sentences, passed on youthful fighters for country and freedom, the communist papers add the following commentary. These admirers of the American way of life were disguised as Ku-Klux-Klan, and disposed of arms and dynamite.

POLAND

New Oppression

In Stettin (Szczecin) the prisons in the Pomorzany and Mikulowska streets, for political prisoners serving long sentences, have been enlarged. In a Stettin suburb, at the end of the Gospodarcza street, a large concentration camp is being built.

On April 9, several hundred arrested persons were taken to Stettin prisons. A Soviet officer, the worse for drink, shot down a workman because he happened to jostle him in the crowd. As

the crowd became menacing, the officer had to hide in a Soviet office in the Square of July 22. The enraged populace threw stones at the building and broke all the windows. The K.B.W. (Corps for Home Security) surrounded the square and arrested all the people there. The officer in question has been entrusted with the investigations.

The Russian language as compulsory subject has been introduced in all Polish elementary schools from the 4th form upwards. In the army, too, recruits have two Russian lessons a week.

TURKESTAN

Armed Resistance

The struggle for the independence of Turkestan is still going on. In Western and Eastern Turkestan i. e. in the whole of Turkestan our compatriots are fighting under the symbols of national unity against the Russian and Chinese oppressors.

According to news we have received in the last few days the Ourbashi Rakhmankul with his armed groups is fighting in the Pamir mountains against the enemies. Our enemies the red Russians and red Chinese, attempt by every method to suppress this national resistance. Some Afghans, hired by the Russian government, undertook to persuade the group of Rakhmanoul to give up the fight. A man from Badakhshan brought the Afghan proposals to Rakhmankul. The proposals were: to give up the struggle in the Pamir mountains and to come for negotiations to Kabul. Rakhmankul however rejected these proposals and decided to continue his fight.

Moslem World Conference

On the occasion of the Moslem World Congress held on the 2nd February 1951 at the capital of Pakistan, Karachi, the branch of the National Turkestan United Committee in Pakistan, transmitted their greetings to the congress and gave a report on the situation in Turkestan.

From our representatives we have received particulars of this congress of which we will give some details in our next number.

Assassination of the Minister

According to radio Urumuchi the minister of the Eastern Turkestanian government, Djanim-Khan was arrested and shot on the 5th February 1951 by order of the red Chinese government. Djanim-Khan was known as man of great religious and national feeling who by every means strove for the independence of his country. The news of his death has caused great mourning among our compatriots in all parts of the world. In Rawalpindi, in his commemoration, a divine service was held. At the same time that we received news of the death of Djanim-Khan, we were also informed that some

of our compatriots had succeeded in escaping their Chinese persecutors and have arrived in the free world.

„Nationatist Authors“

During recent times purges have taken place in the Turkestanian writer's Union against "unreliable young authors".

The Soviet newspapers of Aug. 1950 make mention in a series of articles on bourgeois nationalist influence in Turkestanian literature and of hidden representatives of the bourgeois in the ranks of authors. For example H. Tokombaj, K. Janats, K. Esmambet, A. Uteke and Uitali and others have deviated from Bolshevik ideology, and have given full expression in their school books to nationalist ideas. A number of other authors i. e. Samanchin, Baichi and Bekten have purposely "misrepresented" books on literature when proof reading.

Punishment of Allah Worshippers

According to recent information received from Turkestan, a new attack is being launched against national customs, and the Islamic religion. The Soviet newspapers severely criticise the adherents of Islam, some of whom are even to be found amongst members of the Communist party and make mention of punishments meted out to them. Fazzullaoglu, a member of the Communist party was dismissed from his post and punished, on instructions from the Party, for his negligence in the fight against the Nationalists. The Director of the secondary school in the district of Kaganovichabad was dismissed for the same reasons.

UKRAINE

From Reports of the U.P.A.

The Martyrdom of the Peasants. The Ukrainian peasant is being squeezed of all the products of his hard toil by the enormous forced deliveries he has to make. According to decree every peasant in the possession of 1 hectare of ground is obliged to deliver 132 lbs. of meat, approx 250 quarts of milk per cow, and 150 eggs per hen. Aside from all the mal-treatment and blackmail, countless peasants are sent to prison while the distress at home increases more and more. To compel them to go to the collective farms, the peasants are beaten with iron rods, the are tied to horses and dragged to the village hall. A peasant woman of the village of Nebyliw had her leg broken, a peasant from Topilsk an arm, and a woman of Nowytja died after inhuman torture, while another woman from Berlogy went mad; In this way the collectivization was carried out "successfully" in 15 villages.

The peasants of the village of Bolo-chiwty (Drohobych) refused to thresh on Sunday and therefore the work was to be done by "voluntary" trippers from Truskawetz. The peasants, how-

ever, damaged the machines which led to intervention by drunken M.V.D. agents. When they began to swear at the "trippers" the peasants attacked and disarmed the M.V.D. agents and beat them up.

Ukrainian peasants are living on starvation rations, and the worst time is the spring. They have only potatoes, cornbread, cabbage and root vegetables. They have to make their clothes themselves out of flax and hemp. Footwear they have to cobble together out



U.P.A fighters resting

of leather they have tanned themselves. Rubber boots are produced from old tyres.

The entertainments organized for propaganda purposes- such as cinemas, exhibitions, dances etc. are boycotted by the peasants, unless their atten-

dance is forced. Nevertheless their morale is high and the spirit of resistance is strong. The Ukrainian peasants are prepared to endure everything, deportation to Siberia, imprisonment and torture; they will not give way. Mass arrests and deportation have only strengthened their national feeling. In each peasant the consciousness that he is Ukrainian born and must stand by his nation at all cost is very much alive.

Although the churches are closed and services may not be held, the people gather round their church on Sundays and holidays to pray together. The ideals of our liberation movement are warmly welcomed by the peasants, as they point the way to a free Ukrainian State which is the only salvation from the misery of to-day.

The country school teachers are familiar with our ideals and always read our illegal literature. They often give us their aid, for they are in full sympathy with the liberation movement. Their task of education is sometimes sketchily fulfilled and then only under the threat of terrorism. They are, not infrequently, in hot water with the government for their "inadequate" work in promoting the Communist spirit.

The village priests live in great material need. The villagers support them as far as possible. Priests belonging to the Ukrainian Catholic Church are forced by arrest and imprisonment to go over to the "Kremlin Orthodox Church".

From the Soviet Press

The Kremlin as the Elder Brother of Hungary

The character of the celebrations on the occasion of the sixteenth anniversary of the "liberation" of Hungary by the Soviet Army, reveals the fact that Hungary is on the way to becoming a Soviet Republic. The Soviet press is careful not to draw too much attention to this event. The speeches held by the Hungarian "dignitaries" at the festive assembly at the municipal theatre of Budapest were all the more flamboyant.

They were, of course filled with glowing thanks to Stalin and the band of U.S.S.R. described as Hungary's "elder brother".

This outburst of "loyalty" may, to a certain extent be regarded as an answer to the intention of the Western Powers to place the question of peace treaties with former Balkan enemies in World War II on the agenda of the planned conference of the four Foreign Ministers, respectively to revise them.

A Branch of the Kyiv Academy of Science at Lviv

The Kyiv Radio with the usual demagogic to do, announced on April 3, the inauguration of a branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Lviv. From the address held by the prize-winner, a Ukrainian "scientist" named Yosyp Shtykalo, it is to be learned

that Muscovite "science" in Lviv is following a thoroughly practical aim, viz. to raise the inadequate productive activity of the area of Lviv to the greater glory of Muscovite imperialism.

It is true, the President of the Academy Paladin, as well as the local professors M. Woznyak, M. Rudnitsky, Parashchuk, Kozij, Slobodyan, and others, declared at the inauguration that the task of the branch was to promote the cultural work of West Ukraine, united for ever and always, with its bother country (sic!) . . .

The choice of the Institutes organized in Lviv, show however, that that branch of the Academy is meant to exploit the West Ukrainian population more and more. The Michurin Agrobiology has apparently the task of enclosing the refractory West Ukrainian peasants in "kolkhozes" and force them to work there for the Kremlin despots, in fulfilling the annual plans drawn up in Moscow.

The "productive" friendship between professors and workers has the same time task in the newly founded industrial enterprises. The comparisons drawn by Y. Shtykalo between the dark past under Austrian and Polish dominion and the present "blissful" state are the usual order of the day, followed by humble subjects. As a matter of fact, hundreds of thousands of West Ukrainian workers are being deported beyond the Urals.

Significant Awards

The Moscow paper "Pravda" of February 15, 1951, had an announcement on "awards conferred on officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the frontier troops, as well as members of the kolkhoz in the frontier districts", "The Lenin Medal" and the "Red Banner" medals and others, were awarded. Among the 20 M.V.D. officials thus distinguished, were 5 generals, 10 colonels, 2 captains.

As is generally known, the Soviet "frontier troops" are in reality M.V.D. troops doing police duty. It is their task to watch the population in a strip of land 180 km wide along a frontier, to terrorize them, to evict them, to break all resistance and finally to furnish the Soviet secret service with information, even from beyond the U.S.S.R. borders.

The medals conferred leave no shadow of doubt as to the "great achievements" of these special units in the "frontier district", respectively what they have to achieve. Their chief concern is to keep down the wide-spread resistance in Ukraine. The members of the kolkhoz mentioned in the same breath, are nothing but spies employed by, or members of the M.V.D. troops working against the population.

It is most significant, too, that these lists which according to the "Pravda" were to be continued, suddenly stopped. Apparently it was a slip or indiscretion, for which the person responsible has probably had to pay dearly.

Russification in Vassal Countries too

From the leading article in the "Pravda" of April 11, 1951 we quote the following:

"In the countries of the 'Peoples' Democracies' most favourable conditions have been created for intellectual work . . . At all universities, lectures on Marxism, Leninism, dialectic materialism and social economy are held. . . . Scientists are learning more and more thoroughly the only right creative methods . . . By discussions on all questions of literature and art . . . the influence of the directives from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the development of the cultural and artistic life in these Democracies, is guaranteed."

This article is proof enough that russification is going on at pressure in all the vassal states.

Nomen est Omen

The official Soviet paper "Pravda" of February 22, 1951, publishes the results of the elections for the "Supreme Soviet" and gives the names of the elected candidates. In the Ukrainian Krasnodar district (Kuban) only 4 of the 20 members elected, bear Ukrainian names, while the other 16 are out and out Russians. The ratio is the same in the Altai region (Siberia) where Ukrainian settlers are preponderant. In all the so-called "autonomous" Soviet Republics and government districts the deputies, almost without exception, bear Russian names, there are very

Mechanized Forestry



"What do you need a horse for in such mechanized forestry?"

"Well, what do you think! To transport the wood, of course."

(„Krokodil", Moscow, 10. 3. 1951)

few belonging to the nation they represent. These names speak for themselves and make all further commentary superfluous.

The Wish and Reality

The communist press reports as follows, on the "elections" in Lithuania.

"Vilnius. Comrade Stalin was the candidate here. The electorate swarmed from all sides to the polls. At 6 a. m. the booth was surrounded by a closely packed crowd, by 8 a. m. all had voted. 98,9% of the electorate were at the polls and Comrade Stalin received 100% of the votes.

A Lithuanian who recently fled to the West, tells how the "elections" were carried out in Bolshevik occupied Lithuania. "In our village on election day there were bands playing, and dances were arranged. Special premiums were announced for the first at the polls. R., a peasant, distributed hand-written leaflets saying: "Rather cut off your right hand than give your vote to our traitors and oppressors.

At least 50% remained away from the polls. The ballot boxes were driven through the villages to rouse some enthusiasm. When they appeared in our village with the ballot box, many people fled from the place and the convassers found only empty houses. My grandmother said "I would rather vote for the cemetery". When it became perfectly clear that, in spite of everything, there would be no success, the commissioners folded the papers themselves and stuck them into the box. The doyen of our village, who, for form's sake, was allowed to attend the

counting of the votes, was threatened with 20 years imprisonment if he dared to hint at how things were done. The ceremony ended with a festive entertainment for the election committee, after they had officially declared that more than 90% had attended the election and voted for the Communist Party candidate . . .!"

„The All-Canadian Peace Congress"

(from our own correspondent)

The communist branch in Canada, the so-called "Canadian Peace Congress", convened a meeting, April 7, and 8, 1951, of all Communist and pro-Communist organizations in all parts of Canada.

At the initiative of the A.B.N. in Canada, a counter-demonstration was prepared and carried out in front of the Messianic Hall, where the Congress was held. On Saturday and Sunday leaflets were circulated all over Toronto, giving the real aims of the "Peace Congress" the "fifth column" of Communism. Some 3000 persons of different national groups took part in the demonstration. They carried signs and slogans in English.

The press here, reported the anti-Communist demonstration, and the wireless also broadcast a report.

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Editorials

Washington's Blunder in Psychological Warfare

The Ukrainian newspaper "Ukrainez Chas", published in Paris, reports that of late there have been several official statements concerning the fundamental problems of our peoples, which appear very strange and which may be regarded as real errors of judgement in the psychological war against Moscow. Below we give a short summary of the facts leading up to this regrettable occurrence as well as our comments thereto.

On the occasion of the traditional memorial ceremonies in Moscow on the 27th anniversary of Lenin's death, the official speaker, Peter Pospyelow, head of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, in his address before the leading personages of the Politbureau, with Stalin at their head, made a sharp attack against America, President Truman and the U.S. Government.

Alluding to the intervention of the Western Allies during the so-called civil war in Russia, the speaker declared: "The Russian people will never forget that American hands are stained with Russian blood". Pospyelow threatened further that, should the U.S.A. provoke a third world war against Soviet Russia it would end for America with the same catastrophe with which World War II ended for Hitler. Finally with an allusion to President Wilson's policy towards Russia in 1919, the speaker accused the Truman government of holding to-day the same conception of destroying and dividing the Soviet Union.

This well-thought out and prepared speech of intimidation did not miss its

mark. A perfect storm of indignation and violent opposition arose in Washington. It was not enough to reject Pospyelow's attack and threats as provocation against the U.S.A., but beyond that, people went so far in their efforts at appeasement as to declare that the U.S.A. today, as before, upheld the indivisibility of the historical territory of the old Russian Empire. Thus the American reaction to this Pospyelow speech shot far wide of the mark and smashed, — as was intended by the

speaker, — much precious porcelain needed in the psychological war against Moscow.

The upshot of this American reaction was an over-zealous speech by Senator McMahon (Democrat) on January 22nd i.e. the very next day after Pospyelow's address, at the plenary meeting of the Senate introducing a motion to assure the great Russian people of America's sincere friendship. At the same time an exhaustive "positive programme for a peace with Russia" was submitted, which may perhaps not seem so very extraordinary. What does strike one as most unusual, however, was that Senator McMahon went still further: writing to State Secretary Acheson he suggested an "authoritative official in-

(Continued on Page 8)

Marching Orders against Tito Imminent?

By Major-General Hinko Alabanda (Croatia)

The eventuality of marching orders against Tito being given by Stalin to his vassals in the south-east, is an ever more frequently discussed subject in the western press of late.

The whole question, which is of no less significance for the politicians than for the army, is illuminated in the following two questions

1. What motives could move Stalin to take such a step, or in how far does this seem probable?

2. Could Tito's thirty-two divisions withstand an attack by the Soviet satellite states?

Even to the uninitiated it must be perfectly clear to-day that Bolshevism is only a means for the realization of Russian imperialistic plans. In Europe it follows the identical plans laid down in the testament of Peter the Great, viz. control of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, conquest of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The outcome of Constantinople and the Dardanelles being in the hands of Russia would be control of the sea-route Gibraltar-Suez, and then, a firm hold of North Africa would menace all the other Mediterranean countries. Before long the Continent of Europe would be in Russian

pincers and become a colony at the mercy of Russia.

Keeping in mind the present expansion of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence in south-east Europe, one cannot fail to realize that Stalin's diplomacy has systematically and consistently worked for the execution of just this plan. Western statesmen and diplomats, until recently, still saw in Stalin the "ally", let him go his own way and even sacrificed, in good faith, the vital interests of their own countries and peoples. It is true, the great statesman Churchill was one of the few who saw in time, and rather clearly, through Stalin's intentions. His well-meant warnings, however, were disregarded and met with little understanding. Thus Stalin succeeded through his then exponent Tito, who was being actively supported by the Western Powers, in getting Croatia, with its ideally articulated Adriatic coast from Trieste to Spizza, its excellent commercial and naval ports, temporarily into his hands. In this way Stalin had procured for himself a maritime base, and the only proper one for his far-reaching aims, for the control of the Mediterranean. By its geopolitical and strategic position Croatia was be-

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sides, a key position for the domination of the whole hinterland in the basin of the Danube. The way to Constantinople, the Dardanelles, and the Mediterranean Sea, would thus be open by land and sea. Had Tito not deserted Stalin, the Croatian Adriatic coast would have been built by now into an impregnable Russian maritime base.

But Tito has allegedly deserted Stalin. The Croatian Adriatic coast has not been turned into a Russian base, the sea-route to the Mediterranean is not open for Russian plans. Tito with his thirty-two divisions stands in the way. But Stalin's policy is going its way consistently and ruthlessly by all conceivable means to realize his plans.

For the time Stalin has to put up with the narrow strip of coast belonging to his Albanian satellite, which is most inadequate for Moscow's maritime plans in the Mediterranean basin. Besides there is no direct overland connection with Albania. Since Tito's defection cut it off from the eastern bloc, it stands more or less forlorn. For all these reasons Stalin will probably seek access to the Albanian Adriatic coast via Sofia-Skopje-Tirana; which would necessitate a "liberation action", after the Korean sample, from Bulgaria against Tito's "Macedonian People's Republic", taking possession of the Croatian Adriatic coast at the same time (in the "war of liberation" against Tito), with the help of Hungarian and Rumanian satellite troops. Should, however, Tito's defection from Moscow prove to be merely a manoeuvre, or become one, this prognosis would of course not hold good.

The issue of marching orders to the vassal states, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, to achieve this cardinal goal is thus only a question of the most favourable moment. There is no shadow of doubt but that Stalin will give them.

As to the second question mentioned at the beginning of this article, the resistance Tito could offer against an assault by his neighbours, we must consider that the present Yugoslavia, like its monarchist predecessor, is a conglomeration of peoples with different standards, different religions and ideals, which, against their will, have been forced into an unnatural political state and held there by brute force and terrorism.

6.5 million Croats, 5 million Serbs, 1.5 million Slovenians, 1 million Montenegrins, 1 million Macedonian Bulgarians or more, all completely different peoples. The Croats with their tradition of state independence, of over a thousand years, all are held together by the despotic regime of Communism, their countries resemble huge concentration camps, their men are pressed into compulsory military service for their communist masters.

National liberty movements operate in the various countries, in Croatia the "Crusaders", and the "Young Muslims" under the command of Croatia's great national hero, General Ritter Boban, in Slovenia, the "White Guards", in Serbia, the "Chetniks".

Each country is striving for freedom, for a national sovereign State of its own within its ethnic borders, and insists on its right of self-determination, laid down in Wilson's fourteen points, the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the fundamental basis upon which the U.N. has been built up.

The question then arises, can Tito rely on his thirty-two divisions under these circumstances? Recruited, as they are, from different parts of Yugoslavia, would these soldiers, who, for the greater part, are anticommunist, be ready to die, so that Tito and his communist government is preserved and a handful of despots may continue to terrorize and enslave the country?

Is it not more likely that these troops will take the first opportunity of joining their comrades in the national liberation movements, taking their arms and equipment with them, and fighting everyone standing between them and national independence?

Do people really underestimate the strength and importance of the existing resistance movements? Do they really believe that nations can be forced to fight and die for their oppressors?

Are the examples from Finland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Far East and even from pre-war Yugoslavia not clear enough? In the war, the Yugoslav army in which the West had invested enormous sums, and of which so much was expected, disintegrated after 6 days in 1941, chiefly because the Croats would not fight and die for Yugoslavia; they would do it, however for a free, independent Croatia as they proved in 1941 up to 1945, with heroic self-sacrifice with, no less than 20 mountain divisions. The Croatian Legion under their own com-

mander refused to surrender at Stalin-grad even when the situation was hopeless. In the fight against bolshevism the Croat volunteers died to the last man with the words "let Croatia be free" on their lips.

It would be unwise to ignore the teaching of history; for what happened in 1941 will happen again with the communist-Yugoslavian army; at the first attack on Tito, it will break up in a few days. National units will be formed of Croats, Slovenians, Serbs, Macedonian Bulgarians, Montenegrins; they will join existing resistance movements to fight on their own soil against national oppression and for liberation from the communist yoke.

Thus Tito's thirty-two divisions will melt away. Stalin will try to play one national group against the other and then, in the general chaos, take possession of Yugoslavia and the Adriatic coast. The West ought to look at things as they really are, and not give way to wishful thinking. The only sensible thing for the Western Powers, considering the conflict looming in the south-east, would be to support national liberty movements, prevent fights among the peoples of Yugoslavia by determining their borders, — first and foremost the Drina as a frontier between Serbia and Croatia, within which the national units would have to operate.

But they must act before it is too late. To-day Tito seeks the support of the West and the West is ready to help.

Now is the time to undertake proper preparations and see that the support is not given in vain and that the peoples of Yugoslavia become active, reliable allies of the West.

State of Alarm among the Despots

in Moscow's Vassal States

"Makedonska Tribuna", the paper of the Macedonian political organization in U.S.A. and Canada, published an interesting article in its number of February 15, 1951, on the above subject, from which we take the following:

"The few travellers from the West who succeed in visiting Prague, Budapest, Bukarest, Sofia, or any other town behind the Iron Curtain, soon discover that a real state of war prevails, even though it is camouflaged. On all large squares, streets or crossroads heavily-armed militia sentries are met with, while behind many an out-of-the-way corner, rifles, pistols, hand-grenades and often light machine-guns peep out from concealment. All commissars, militiamen and communist agents carry revolvers or automatic pistols about with them. The question involuntarily arises, against whom do the powers that be want to defend themselves?

Is not all that a proof that the enemy is to be found in the country itself. How does this alarm tally with the election results when allegedly 99% of the population in all the so-called "people's democratic republics"

voted for their respective Communist governments? Why this exaggerated vigilance, why this militia, armed to the teeth, and how is this permanent fear of attack to be explained? . . .

In short, in all the countries behind the Iron Curtain an everlasting state of war prevails. No one trusts anybody. Each feels himself menaced and persecuted by the other. The Communists fear not only the future development of the international situation, but, above all, in their own countries. The conditions obtaining there which are marked by insecurity, restlessness and nervousness can hardly be imagined. By despicable judicial intrigues, even esteemed Communist functionaries are done away with whenever they fail in servility to Moscow, to say nothing of enemies of Communism . . .

. . . Finally it becomes clear that the subjected peoples in the east and south-east of Europe, despite terrorism and despotism, have not grown in the least reconciled to their present lot, but bear in their hearts the belief in a resuscitation of freedom. They are on the alert and their eyes are turned to the West."

Peter "the Great" and "the Great" Stalin

An Insane Testament and its Execution

It appears appropriate and instructive in our times to recall the last will of Peter "the Great", which, according to authentic documents ran as follows:

"In the name of the Holy Trinity We, Peter, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, leave this testament to all Our successors to the Throne and power in the Russian Empire.

We stand under the protection of the Almighty, to Whom We owed Our existence and by Whom We were enlightened. God has made known to Us that the Russian people is called to rule over the whole of Europe in the future. Our conclusion is based on the fact that the European people are senile and rapidly approaching utter ruin. The European nations must therefore be easy to conquer by a new, young nation, if the latter improves in development and strength.

We see the future invasion of the western and eastern countries from the north, from whence a decisive operation with all the signs of divine Providence will start, and by which Europe will be as refreshed as Rome was by the invasion of the barbarians. This stream of people from the north is to be compared with the flooding of the Nile which fructifies the barren soil of Egypt.

I found Russia like a small brook and have left it as a mighty river, and my successors will make of it a sea to strengthen impoverished Europe. The waves of that sea will pour forth, if my successors know how to direct their way, in spite of obstacles and dams and in spite of weary hands trying to resist their flow. For this reason I leave you the following directives and recommend them to your constant attention.

1. Keep the Russian nation in a continuous state of war, so that the soldier remains ever on the alert and ready to fight. Only allow a respite in order to improve State economy. The troops must always be armed, ready to attack at the proper moment. Thereby in the interest of Russia's enlargement and development war shall serve peace and peace war.

2. By every possible means the military men are to be drawn upon in war and the scholars in peace, so that Russia may adopt all the useful things emanating from foreign lands, without losing any of her own.

3. Every occasion for negotiation and all unrest, especially in Germany which lies nearest us and is therefore of the utmost interest for us, must be made use of.

4. Poland is to be divided by stirring up dissension and disturbances. Power is to be acquired by the power of gold, corruption is to be practised in order to assure our own liberty of action in the choice of kings, our friends are to be set up as candidates

and their election enforced by our troops marching in and staying there, until the time arrives to leave them there for ever. Should neighbour states make trouble, Poland must be divided up immediately, to make up our losses.

5. Everything possible is to be taken from Sweden, under the pretext that we have been attacked, which provides us with a reason for its subjection. In order to achieve that, Denmark must be separated from Sweden and the enmity between them stirred up.

6. German princesses have always to be taken in marriage to strengthen family ties. Our interests in Germany must be stabilized and through our increased influence the Germans must be won for our purposes.

7. Trade relations must be sought with England, as she needs us for her fleet which again is of importance for the development of ours. Our wood and our products must be exchanged for English gold and good relations kept up with English merchants and seamen in shipping and trade.

8. Expansion to the north along the Baltic Sea, and in the south along the Black Sea is to be steadily continued.

9. Constantinople and India must be approached as close as possible for he who rules India is the real ruler of the world. For that reason wars must be continually fomented, once in Turkey then in Persia. The Black Sea and the Baltic Sea must be conquered step by step. Persia's fall must be accelerated. The Persian Gulf must be reached and, if possible, the traditional trade with the Far East via Syria is to be revived, and pushed on to India — the latter possessing the greatest gold reserves in the world. If we succeed in that we can do without England's gold.

10. An alliance is to be sought and carefully maintained with Austria. The Austrian idea of dominating Germany is to be apparently supported, but in reality some German princes are to be incited against Austria. The matter must be handled in such a way that both parties call upon us for help, so that we can establish a protectorate in these countries as a preliminary to our future sovereign government.

11. Interest in driving the Turks out of Europe is to be roused in the Austrian Royal House, but its wish to conquer Constantinople must be neutralized.

12. Great attention is to be given to those members of the Greek Orthodox Church, living scattered through Turkey and south Poland. They must be brought together wherever they may be. We must be their central point and support and proclaim a universal Primate of the Orthodox Church. These people would then be our friends in the house of our enemies.

13. A dismembered Sweden, a defeated Persia and a subjected Poland, to-

gether with a conquered Turkey, our concentrated army and the protection of our fleet in the Black and Baltic Seas would put us in a position to propose, first to the Court of Versailles and then Vienna the sharing of the world. Should, these powers, however, be blinded by ambition, or led by political aims to reject our proposals, a conflict must be provoked between them and the surviving State overthrown. Our success would be assured if Russia were in possession of the whole East and part of Europe. Should our plans miscarry, Russia, at a suitable moment would go against Germany. Simultaneously, two large fleets, carrying Asiatic hordes, one from the Sea of Asov, the other from Archangelsk, convoyed by the Black Sea and Baltic Sea fleets, would cross the ocean and the Mediterranean to attack France while, at the same time, our land troops would conquer Germany. The overthrow of these two powers would very soon mean the subjection of the remaining countries in Europe. Europe can and must be dominated in this way."

Thus centuries ago the notorious apostle of Russian messiahship and teacher of boundless Russian expansion, thought and spoke. With this memorable testament, which is so amazing to-day, he bequeathed to his descendants that manomania and insatiable greed for conquest lying at the root of Russian despotism, — nor have the crowned heads alone been seized by this obsession.

The craze for power and conquest, as the genuine driving force, has but been transferred in the last three decades to the Bolshevik despots in the Kremlin: for to-day through Stalin and a sham "proletarian" World Revolution, they menace not only Europe but the whole earth. Out of the different clauses of this testament all the motives, aims and methods of the brutal aggression guiding and inspiring Moscow's policy of world conquest, shoot forth in detail. Moreover, as the present Russian imperialism, in the garb of world-embracing Bolshevism, is not to be satisfied with Europe and Asia alone, but is stretching its tentacles towards the whole globe, it must be admitted that Stalin has outdone even his great teacher.

If ruthless domination and the extermination of alien people, the maintenance of an imperium by torrents of blood and tears, means "greatness" even in our century, then the author of this testament has honestly earned this title and his successor, Stalin, "the greater" can be sure of his distinction in history, as well.

The mask of the Bolshevik world renewers seated in the Kremlin has at least been torn off. They can no longer make the "workers of the world" believe that the Soviet Union is fighting

A Frank Message to the Russian People

The A.B.N. is a common fighting front comprising all nations that have been robbed of their independence by Moscow, recently and in the past. From the end of the 15th century, the principality of Moscow, originally small, has expanded at the expense of peaceable independent nations on a higher level of culture. These nations defended their independence with much courage and with their life-blood, but the aggressor in Moscow, with the help of traitors from other nations, succeeded in subjugating these free peoples. This was the origin of the Russian imperium, in which some 50 nations are imprisoned. And it is still spreading today over Central Europe and to the shores of the Pacific. Yet it is not content . . .

Such is the position. That the bolsheviks are masters in the Kremlin today is of little account. From the very beginning, bolshevism took possession of the heritage of the Czars and has tried ruthlessly to realize their plans of conquest. From the point of view of our national independence, it does not matter whether it fell a prey to the Czar or the Politbureau. We believe that the still free nations of the earth are beginning to grasp this truth; that is why we emphasize that bolshevism is identical with Russian imperialism.

But what is Russia? We repeat that it is the prisonhouse of nations, who were driven into it by force. And who forced them? Firstly, the Russian people alone. Later various traitors from other nations helped. Non-Russian peoples have tried repeatedly to escape from this prison at enormous sacrifice of life and property. Every twenty years there was a rising in Russia. And today it is the same. While all non-Russian peoples are fighting courageously against bolshevism, the Russian people is praised by Stalin as being the sole, the most reliable support of his power.

In the fight waged by the A.B.N. against bolshevist tyranny, one people is absent from the community of na-

tions — the Russian. So it is of interest to point out here that bolshevist propaganda against the A.B.N. is identical with the propaganda of Russian organizations abroad. What is the reason of this touching harmony? Because they are, all of them, Russian imperialists, because all of them, whether communists, monarchists, socialists or whatever they like to call themselves, are opposed to the freedom and independence of the nations "united" by force in the Russian empire, the maintenance of which they hold to be their most sacred national duty. The chief reason for this is the Russian's strong feeling of superiority, which is developed in a man like Stalin to megalomania. The supremacy of Russia is also a result of history, as the bureaucracy that administered the subjugated nations was recruited almost exclusively from members of the Russian intelligentsia. This mass of officials and employees, of policemen and priests was the real basis of the Czar's power. They all felt themselves to be "representatives of culture", masters over the life and death of the non-Russian peoples whom they considered and treated as inferior. This "protective power" made it quite impossible to get any appeal through to authoritative persons. This explains the proverb: "God is too high, the Czar too far away." This feeling of superiority, this desire to rule, is still the mainspring of Russian imperialism, whether of Czars, democrats or bolsheviks. It is difficult to find an intelligent Russian without this feeling, no matter whether he is a monarchist, a socialist, a communist or a priest. It was and still is, therefore, for Kerenski and his like, more important to preserve the Russian imperium than the freedom of the peoples who have been subjugated by Moscow.

Once this has been understood, it is easy to grasp why the most radical Russian socialists have always been imperialists, why they refuse to join the subjugated nations in their fight against

bolshevism. For those little despots, freedom is a hundred times worse than bolshevism! They can be nothing but Russian imperialists, and that is why their "socialism", like Stalin's democracy, is only a lie. It is perhaps the tragedy of Russian history that the Russian people has never been able to evolve what the West considers to be an order of society worthy of human beings. We should like to point out here that we understand by the Russian people, only the Russians proper, of whom there are about 90 millions, and who, therefore, constitute a minority in the Russian imperium.

We should like also to point out the regrettable fact that wherever the Russians brought "liberation", they brought misery, famine and slavery, and that not only since 1944! But we have no intention of making the Russian people responsible for this, or even of laying the blame on them. It is in the nature of things and in the nature of leadership: the Russian Czars were rulers who thought only of the expansion and consolidation of their power, but not of the welfare of the people. And now? Misery, famine, slavery and fear are the instruments the Kremlin uses to make men blind, automatic tools for the execution of its plans. The Bolshevists intend not only to carry out the plans of the Czars, but to extend them — to conquer the world. That is why they need hungry animals always ready to plunder, to murder and to rape. In order to hang a mocking cloak of humanity round their intentions, they speak constantly of peace, freedom and democracy; the services of a willing church are engaged, and other such manoeuvres. But this does not help the individual. The Russian people must also suffer. Moscow's anti-Christian church cannot help. We alone can help the Russian people, we nations of the A.B.N., by means of our national liberation. And how is this to happen? Our liberation will destroy the layer of Russian imperialists who are hungry for power and bent on loot. Russian intellectuals will be forced to recognize that it is possible to live without conquest, slavery, lies and deception. That means that they will have to find possibilities of living a peaceful, really cultured life, worthy of human beings, and there are many such possibilities! The Church will reflect on Christ's teaching of grace, and the Russian people will have to learn that intellectual and material prosperity, blessed by God, can only be secured by peaceful relations with all neighbours.

That is why we send this message to the Russian people: You can and must be friends with us! You can and must join us! Your may be assured that we alone are your genuine friends! Throw your imperialists aside, for they bring you only disaster! We should like you, too, to be able to enjoy the honour of human dignity, that with your creative work, you may be a good neighbour and a worthy member of the community of nations. Put no faith in your imperialist seducers who proclaim that we wish to lay hands on your Russia! No, we want to leave Russia to you, we want, moreover, that you at long last

for peace, "progressive democracy" and "social justice". The experience of the last thirty years of domination by the Bolshevik system which has brought human society under the barbarous law "homo homini lupus est" must have opened the eyes of everyone. The machine of the old Russian imperialism, provided with a new engine, — bolshevist terrorism, — has written a whole chapter of history peppered with crime, oppression and violence.

Woe to the western politicians who still hope to be able to work with the Kremlin and to solve the problem of world peace with Russia! The unchanged tendency of Great-Russian policy as laid down in the above testament and manifested in history, shows that collaboration with a great Russian imperium, whether red or white, is bound to fail.

The idea of an orthodox "third Rome", as well as the idea of Pan-Slavism, let alone that of a Marxist World Re-

volution are, at bottom, only external adjustments of Russia's traditional imperialism, determined by the ambitious aims of Peter I. But while the Europe of the 19th century was politically alert and resolutely opposed Russian imperialism and expansion, by the Crimean war, forcing the Czar to give up Pan-Slavism, to-day, unfortunately, the necessary energy and determination is lacking. Although Soviet Russia, since the October Revolution, has changed Pan-Slavism for the Communist Manifesto, Russian imperialism exists to-day, faithful to the tradition of Peter I.

That is why the Ukrainians, like all the other nations subjugated by Moscow, as a geopolitical and cultural part of Europe, appeal to the Western Powers to be on the alert and to see Russian politics aright in their historical course. Peter I's political testament must be a warning to the whole world.

Mgr. A. L.

Competent Criticism of the "Voice of America"

We publish a comment by the head of the Information Office of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) behind the Iron Curtain, Major P. Poltowa, of the U.P.A., on the "Voice of America".

As these most instructive remarks by a leading member of the Ukrainian Underground Movement are an important contribution to the justified criticism of the transmission, we should like to mention their chief points. The author's view is all the more significant, considering the recent regrettable incident when the "Voice of America" in broadcasting the statement by Harold E. Stassen on the necessity of granting the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union their independence, omitted the word Ukraine, and, as we feel, not accidentally. Thereby the obvious trend of these transmissions once more comes to the fore, arousing surprise and indignation among Ukrainian circles, and not among them alone; which would seem anything else but appropriate for achieving the object aimed at by the "Voice of America".

An important means in this battle against Bolshevist tyrants is the "Voice of America" with its broadcasts for the Soviet Union. As soldiers in the fight for liberation behind the Iron Curtain, we know very well of what tremendous importance information which is true and free, is for the Soviet masses.

To assure the effect of such information it is essential that the psychology, the way of looking at things and the feelings of the Soviet masses are duly taken into account. That is a perfectly comprehensible and indispensable condition for every kind of informative propaganda.

In the case of the transmissions by the "Voice of America" for the Soviet Union, I am bound to say that the conditions above mentioned are not always fulfilled and for that reason the desired success is not forthcoming. As an active member of the armed forces in the Ukrainian fight for liberation, I regard it as my duty to put down some remarks, in order to show how these broadcasts should be han-

should be the sole rulers of Russia, as we should like to be our own masters in Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in the Baltic States, in Cossackia, in Poland, in Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania, Hungary, Turkestan, Caucasia and elsewhere!

We should then all take up our work like brothers and the Almighty will bless us. There will then be no more bloodshed, no hatred, no destruction, no more war. Then there will be peaceful, creative work, prosperity, democracy, freedom, happiness and joy!

If we worked together in peaceful brotherhood, we should not need an Iron Curtain to isolate our countries. With God's help we should really "conquer" the world, i. e. it would be open to all of us, for we should all be free to go wherever we liked. Everyone would be treated as a brother wherever he came with peaceable intentions. Join us then, and help to realize this blessed dream; You will be welcomed as our dearest brother, our comrade-in-arms,

A. Skalsky (Byelorussia)

dled, so that both in form as well as contents they might answer the requirements of those fighting behind the Iron Curtain and express the feelings of the Soviet people.

I. The Soviet masses must be roused from their apathy, from the thought that they stand isolated in the world, and the consciousness of their defenceless position in face of Bolshevist tyranny. The most characteristic feature met with in the Soviet masses is a kind of psychical paralysis caused by the utter terror of the all-embracing police supervision of the M.G.B.—M.V.D. and their horrible, inhuman and everlasting oppression. This state is also due, in no small part, to the success the regime has had in crushing all anti-bolshevist resistance, for the terrorism of the M.G.B.—M.V.D. has broken the heart of the Soviet citizen; he has lost all hope of any change, has gained the conviction that there is no use fighting against the regime, that the evil must be put up with and that he will have to end his days in that Bolshevik hell.

There are also other, outside reasons for this depression; for what reaches his ears through the broadcasts from the West? What impression must he get from the continual assurances given by the Western World in its propaganda for the Soviet Union, that Bolshevist order in the Soviet Union is an internal matter for its peoples and that the Western Powers, above all U.S.A., have no intention of interfering in internal affairs? Such an attitude deprives the Soviet citizen of his last tiny hope of an improvement in his lot and increases his feeling of isolation and defencelessness. No wonder that his apathy grows. His will to resist his oppressors, and his courage is undermined, for he cannot understand the Western attitude, nor the policy of the U.S.A. He asks himself why Western propaganda takes that line, a question which, in our opinion, is only too justified, considering the contrary tactics of the bolsheviks. It is true, they declare the principle of non-interference, but in reality they exercise scathing criticism on the internal conditions in U.S.A., openly calling the masses to rise and fight against their government.

The first and most important step to set the fight for freedom in motion behind the Iron Curtain, is to shake the Soviet masses out of their apathy, their feeling of isolation and hopelessness, which can only be accomplished if the American people are able to convince Soviet peoples that they sympathize with them and wish to be active allies and friends. It is a question of making the Soviet peoples realize that the Americans are against the Bolshevist rule of terrorism, wherever it may be, even in the Soviet Union itself, and that they are on the side of the Soviet peoples in their just, national and social struggle for liberation.

The theme of American propaganda must not be emphasis on the principle of non-interference in inner Soviet affairs, but, on the contrary, it must show active interest and the will to support these peoples in their struggle for freedom. As soon as the Soviet peoples feel that America is on their side, they will lose their feeling of isolation will throw off that deadening apathy which is engulfing them, and that will be the first important step on the way to rousing the Soviet masses to fight Bolshevist tyranny.

II. It is inexpedient, from the capitalist point of view, to criticize the Bolshevist regime. The Soviet masses hate the Bolshevist regime and Bolshevist "socialism", but they have no yearning for capitalism, which was abolished in the whole territory of the present Soviet Union in the period from 1917 to 1920. The Soviet Masses are, for the most part, decidedly against the return of capitalism, due to the outcome of the 1917—1920 revolution, which it would be a mistake to belittle. Reality demands real political expediency too. Every wise policy must look real facts in the face. American propaganda directed to the peoples in the Soviet Union must take that into account. Bolshevist rule must, above all, be criticized from the view point of the progressive elements among the peoples of the Soviet Union who do not wish to re-establish the old order when bolshevism is overthrown, but a new, just and progressive social order.

The Ukrainian Underground Movement in which U.P.A. is incorporated, is a part of the progressive element in the fight against Bolshevism. The Ukrainian liberation movement upholds national independence, co-operative property in industry and trade, the principle of private ownership for the peasant, and democratic government, in the real sense of the word.

III. Criticism of Bolshevism must therefore be based on the point of view of each individual non-Russian nation subjugated by Moscow, and must proclaim a re-organization of the Bolshevist imperium according to the principles of national independence for all peoples in the Soviet Union. The watchword must be the liberation of non-

Russian people. The importance and the actuality of the national impetus in the Soviet-Union of today is decidedly underestimated by the West, and that is a pity. The national sensibility within the individual Soviet peoples, and their struggle for independence represent a power which ought under no circumstances to be undervalued, much less disregarded. The policy of denationalization and russification, practised by Czarist and Bolshevik Moscow, — always with terrorism, — has perhaps swamped or suppressed the aspiration for freedom and independence in one nation or the other, but when the time comes, its tremendous power will be shown. The moment the Soviet Union begins to disintegrate, this aspiration will be one of the most important political factors; for the longing for nationhood is strong among the Soviet peoples, especially in Ukraine. It has merely been suppressed and therefore kept concealed, but it is alive and will have irresistible force once it is set in motion.

During the 1917—1920 revolution the non-Russian peoples were in a much more backward state in the question of nationalism than to-day and yet the revolutionary spark kindled the national idea, giving the whole movement a positively national sentiment and anti-bolshevik character. That is a generally known historical fact. To-day the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union are much more awake to their national and cultural possibilities and more alive to their subjection and exploitation, in spite of all the terrorization and the mendacity of Bolshevik national policy.

The American broadcasts must appeal directly to the individual non-Russian peoples, strengthen their national consciousness and make full use of the fact of their political and cultural history. In a word appeal to their patriotism.

IV. The "Voice of America" should make the most of the fact of an internal anti-Bolshevik struggle within the Soviet Union, and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

It is hard for us all to understand why, though the Bolsheviks never miss an opportunity of reporting the least dissatisfaction, disturbance or fight in any workers' organization in the U.S.A., the Philippines or anywhere else, American propaganda almost entirely overlooks the anti-bolshevik struggle in Ukraine and in other non-Russian territories. This attitude makes it extremely easy for the Bolsheviks; for it allows them to convince the world that a national political unity, hitherto never experienced, prevails between the regime and the public.

In democratic countries a campaign against the government can be carried on by legal and peaceful means, whereas in the Soviet Union that is an impossibility. There the most suitable and only possible means is guerilla warfare. It is wrong of the West to criticize the fight of the underground movements by the standards recognized in democratic countries. Information about the Ukrainian struggle for liberation, for

Connections, Strange but True

A Byelorussian on the Events of the Day

Two events of the greatest importance are taking place in Korea and in Czechoslovakia. In Korea thousands of the best men in the democratic world are giving their lives for freedom and justice, in the conflict against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. We stress the words Russian-Bolshevik especially, because it is clear to every thinking person that the supreme command of the Communist troops in Korea is neither there, nor in Peking, but in Moscow, and that the organizers of this war are to be found in the Politburo with Stalin at its head.

It appears that the free democratic world is now beginning to realize that fact and we are glad that it is so, although our pleasure is shadowed by

knowledge that nations in the free world are fighting likewise against tyranny. In this sense the freedom-loving Byelorussians have a part, also in the Korean war.

The latest events in Czechoslovakia have aroused a good deal of attention. Hundreds of more or less prominent stars and starlets are disappearing from the Soviet Czechoslovakian sky. For us that is nothing new; stars and starlets disappeared from the Byelorussian Soviet sky in 1928—35—37. Among them there were even naive scientists, academicians, professors, writers, artists and theatre people, who believed that it was possible to work with the Bolsheviks, to say nothing of the real Communists of Byelorussian nationality as, for instance, "President" Cherwyakov, Prime Minister Haladsied, the president of the Academy of Science, Prof. Ihnatousky, or other leaders. They have all been sacrificed by the tyrants, so that there is not one single Byelorussian in any leading position in the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. Russian imperialism in its present form of Bolshevism, does not tolerate anyone with any other thought but that of world revolution and conquest. Millions can die of starvation and perish as slaves if they only cry morning and evening "long live the Kremlin, our great leader and the great Russian people!" Everyone must forget his own language and adopt that of the Kremlin, not only in political life but also in the literal sense of the word. Everyone must learn Russian, and if the great stars in the Communist sky of the subjected peoples will not adapt themselves, then they are simply put away. That has been happening with us and other enslaved peoples for years. In their place only faithful Kremlin robots are set. Now it is the turn of the peoples who were later enslaved, Clementis and Co. are only the beginning. The others will come; the Czech Cherwyakov — Gottwald and Haladsied and Zapototzki, as well as the Slovak Bortnyansky, and all the others who are doing away with their own predecessors at the moment. Russian imperialism has no heart, no mercy, practises no indulgence and follows only one aim which is to Bolshevize and Russianize the world at any cost . . .

It is beginning to dawn on the world that it is facing a maniac. Like all maniacs he is crafty and powerful and it will take strength and courage to lock him up. Cowardice and folly only further his aggressiveness. Heaven be thanked that the free world is beginning to mobilize its strength and there is some hope that this terrible monster will soon be under control.

Then, at last, every people, the Byelorussian too, even the Russians themselves, might live in its own state, go quietly about its work and live in peace with the rest of the world.

A. Sorkin (Byelorussia)

A.B.N. fights against Bolshevism and every form of Russian Imperialism!

the thought of the millions of Byelorussian martyrs who have perished in the struggle against the same imperialism.

The Byelorussians were the first victims in 1918—20 in this struggle for freedom and independence, especially in the great revolution in the Slukz area in November 1920, then in Welischki 1925, and later during the great purges in 1933, 1937—38—41. Even official Bolshevik statistics give the losses as some three million. For a people of 18 millions that is almost 20% of the whole population. Besides, we know very well that Soviet statistics have no claim to veracity.

And in spite of that, the Byelorussian people are fighting shoulder to shoulder with all the other subjugated peoples. The European press has often reported about the Byelorussian partisans under the lead of General Witushka. These partisans with the Ukrainian, Baltic, Cossack, Caucasian, Turkestanian and those of the satellite states are the second front in the Korean War. The Moscow High Command in working out further plans for aggression, must take this second front into account.

All our partisans are glad to know that they are no longer alone in their struggle against this, the worst tyranny the world has ever experienced, and that they may even count on allies. Our peoples, too, are happy in the

instance, given by "the Voice of America", would be of value for the rest of the world, by exposing the real conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia and revealing the true face of bolshevism. Such information, too, would not remain without influence on the resistance offered by the masses in Russia against the despotism and terrorism of the Moscow regime" . . .

American Friends of A.B.N.

Extract from their Aims

The American Friends of Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations, Inc. was newly established, with the City of New-York as its center. The principal aim of this Organization is to fight Russian Communism — Bolshevism and its fifth columns in the U. S. A.

The free democratic world is uniting and preparing for the great crusade against Bolshevist Russian imperialism. It becomes an obligation of the U. S. A. to do its utmost in leading the free and good forces of the world to liberation from evil forces of Bolshevism. We must devote our full energy to strengthening our own forces in the country and making the freedom loving peoples behind the Iron Curtain our faithful and reliable friends. Winning their confidence means to the A. B. N. and its peoples coming as a PARTNER, with a clear and just idea of mutual UNDERSTANDING, which is often more effective than arms. This is the purpose of the American Friends of A. B. N.:

The earlier this sympathy and confidence are won, the sooner these two partners, — the Western World and the A. B. N. forces — will come into closer collaboration; such policy will bring better results for both sides and less sacrifice; the quicker Bolshevist imperialism is annihilated, the sooner real freedom and real peace will be established.

Believing in the principles of freedom, human rights, protected by the Constitution of the U. S. A.;

supporting religious efforts in the psychological offensive against Communism — Bolshevism; the Organization of the American Friends of ABN. will endeavour: to unmask the real aims of Communism — Bolshevism and point at its immediate danger for the free world;

to reveal the savage inhumanity of the Russian Communist system and propagate a true democratic order for all the peoples behind the Iron Curtain;

to enlighten the American people on the danger of the infiltration of Communism into the United States,

to aid all forces fighting against Communist — Bolshevist aggression and infiltration in the U. S. A.;

to enlist support for the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations on the religious, social, political and economic fronts.

The Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.), created in 1943, is an alliance of the national liberation centres and organizations of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia, enslaved by Russian Bolshevism. The purpose of the A. B. N. is the establishment of just order in Central and Eastern Europe as well as in Asia, based on the principle of self-determination of nations; on the idea of independence — sovereignty of national states within ethnic borders and on the idea of social justice and prosperity. This is possible — in the opinion of the A. B. N. — only by annihilating Russian Bolshevism and overcoming Muscovite imperialism by revolutionary uprisings of the peoples within the U. S. S. R. The strongest external blows, resulting from a war against the Soviet Russian imperialists, without simultaneous cooperation of A. B. N. forces, cannot be sufficient or decisive for the liberation of the world from the threat of Russian aggression.

We — the American Friends of A. B. N. — are of the opinion that the war, which is inevitable can only be won with the help of the A. B. N., this Third Power, the peoples who are fighting for freedom against Russia. The A. B. N. is the only organization which doesn't forget any nation or people in its struggle for freedom against Bolshevist Russian domination, holding that every one has the same God-given right to be free. That is the highest merit of the A. B. N. and that is why we deem it just and wise to create our organization, the American Friends of A. B. N.; We are firmly convinced that ONLY A. B. N. is capable, in case of war, to form and organize the SECOND FRONT; ONLY A. B. N. is capable of bringing ALL SUBJUGATED NATIONS into this Second Front; ONLY A. B. N. is capable of assisting the United States and the Western World effectively in the "global struggle for freedom's eternal survival."

We feel that through our efforts we shall help preserve our democracy and secure for all nations and individuals the freedom that we so dearly cherish. The American Friends of A. B. N. are confident to find full understanding by all, for their noble task and firmly believe that Almighty God will grant His abundant support.

For the Executiv Council of A. F. A. B. N.:

Chairman: Géza Erényi

Secretary General: Dr. Nestor Procyk

Girdle of Security, or the Heel of Achilles?

Moscow and its Satellites

The arrest of the Czech Foreign Minister, Vladimir Clementis, and the new purge in Czechoslovakia, have brought the problem of Moscow's satellites into the news again. As we know, the West looked on, almost appreciatively, after World War II, while Russia set to work to draw a girdle of security from Poland to Bulgaria around the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that Russia hoped greatly to strengthen her power by a close bond with east European satellite states.

During the first years, the satellite system appeared to function as desired, as the peoples in the east were hard hit by the war and its economic aftermath, and they grasped at help where it was to be had quickly.

As realists the Russians were well aware that, in the long run, a Communist regime in the satellite states was only to be maintained by ruthless terrorism. And indeed without Moscow's intervention the Communist regime in these states would probably have been swept away in the first days after the war. The repeated purges prove that the Communist regime, subject to Moscow's beck and call, has not been able to conquer the hearts of the people.

This girdle of countries created by the Soviet Union for the sake of security is now proving a fatal burden.

Politically the Satellite States are anything but reliable. A well known European newspaper reports that the Hungarian government, to show its sympathy, fitted out an ambulance train, complete with doctors and nurses, and sent it to North Korea. At the very first opportunity the whole personnel went over to the Americans. That kind of thing would be a common occurrence should a European conflict break out. It may be presumed, without exaggeration, that whole detachments, with flags flying would go over to the West when opportunity offered. There is no shadow of doubt that such occurrences would have a demoralizing effect on their Russian comrades.

Economically the Satellite States were very soon exploited. Moscow's refusal to permit them to have a part in the Marshall plan — as originally proposed — the partial loss of their western markets, and the utterly inadequate supply of raw materials and industrial products by the Russians, have produced an economic situation in Eastern Europe which make pre-war conditions look like the "golden age".

What is Russia to do in case of war? Either she must place weapons in the hands of unreliable satellite soldiers who will one day turn them against their oppressors, or she must send millions of able-bodied men to the interior, thereby increasing the number of her slaves, and take over the defence of the Satellite States herself. It is easy to imagine the attitude of the civilian population towards Russian soldiers

Appeal to the Free World

The Association of the Free Press of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and the Balkans, in Germany, resolved unanimously at the general meeting held in Munich, March 3, this year, to address the free world in a proclamation which we give below verbatim, though slightly abridged.

This proclamation, in the name of the press representatives living in freedom, of Byelorussia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia and Serbia, is an impressive document of public responsibility and is a warning which cannot easily be overheard by the world.

The document runs:

"As the few representatives living in freedom we voice the public opinion of our subjected peoples.

With dismay we realize that after thirty-three years of Bolshevik terrorism, the free world has not seen through this system and does not seem to care to.

We state that although the political errors are admitted to-day which made it possible for the Soviet government to enslave, first of all, the peoples of the old Russian empire and after World War II to occupy new states and deprive their people of freedom, the free world still refuses to draw the logical consequences for future policy towards the Soviet Union. The free world declares itself ready to-day to sit around a table with the Soviet despots, in order to reach some understanding.

We ask:

When has the Soviet government ever respected an international agreement?

What agreement entered upon have the Kremlin tyrants ever kept?

What does the free world expect in trying to make a compromise with its own enemy?

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that freedom and tyranny can live side by side . . .

. . . Freedom can only be preserved if tyranny is annihilated wherever it is met with.

The free world is deceiving itself in relying only on its material strength.

after their own men had been deported.

However one looks at things, and whatever solution the Kremlin is thinking of, if the worst should come to the worst, a solution favourable to the Bolsheviks is hardly possible.

Therein lie invaluable chances for the West, a far-sighted, wise policy followed by the West in those countries, and, beyond that, co-operation with the anti-Moscow elements there and in Russia itself, might change Moscow's security girdle into a security belt for West Europe, and, if things took a serious turn, be the means of building up a second front behind the Iron Curtain.

S-on

Material potential has no value, unless it is used to realize an ideal.

By pretending that the present war is only "a cold war" it is hoped that peace will be maintained.

The attempt is made to preserve freedom while it has actually long been given up, for **freedom is indivisible.**

The Kremlin tyrants have long pronounced the death sentence for the whole world. Now the western world seeks to postpone the execution. What price will be asked and paid? Who is the next victim?

Have the many nations which were sacrificed been forgotten? Does the still free world believe that it still has a right to live when it keeps silence about and tolerates the fate of countless millions languishing under Communist tyranny?

In the name of all these people and our enslaved nations we raise our voices.

If we are to remain slaves, you too will have the same fate!

If we regain peace and freedom you and your children will never become slaves!

There is only one goal: Human dignity, as Christianity teaches, is to be respected where it exists and to be brought back to the world where it has been lost through any kind of tyranny. — Stalinism, Leninism, Titoism etc. Freedom for nations must be upheld where it exists and re-instated where it has been abolished.

There is only one way: To make no compromise with the Soviet government, to cherish no suicidal idea of neutrality.

Our peoples are fighting alone. They are ready to fight with the free world, for in spite of all disappointment, they have not lost faith in justice or the hope of freedom.

Make the liberation of our peoples your objective.

Destroy the enemy from within.

We appeal to the press of the free world and emphasize the tremendous responsibility which will rest upon those who have the task of keeping public opinion on the right path.

Proclaim the truth. Show the danger of world-wide Bolshevik conspiracy.

Proclaim the fight for **freedom, peace and justice** for all oppressed people and nations.

Washington's Blunder...

(Continued from Page 1)

terpretation" by the State Department expressed in the following terms: "The U.S.A. has always cherished the greatest friendship, respect and sympathy for the great Russian people. The U.S.A. has always **opposed and still opposes the dividing up the Russian Imperium, or the separation of certain territories from it!**"

Simultaneously, the Deputy State Secretary, Jack K. McFall, indulged in loud protestations, saying, among other things, "In President Wilson's biography in the Soviet encyclopaedia of 1932 there is not a word to support Pospelov's reproach that the Versailles Peace Treaty aimed at annihilating the Soviet Republic and cutting up Russia. Facts prove the exact opposite. The Germans were forced to quash the "disgraceful" treaty of Brest Litovsk and to recognize the **inviolability of all territory belonging to Russia.** We must give the misled Russian peoples our friendship, our respect and our sympathy."

In face of this most surprising intermezzo in America's present political attitude towards this highly important problem we can only say that we cannot see what "friendship, respect and sympathy (which after all is due to every people, and to which every people has a certain right) for Russia," has to do with the indivisibility of the great Russian autocratic Empire. We cannot and will not believe that the freedom — loving, progressive democracy of the United States of America feels bound, out of love and sympathy for the Russian people, to grant a charter to-day and in future to the governing men in Moscow to hold over 100 million alien people under their brutal domination and go on exterminating them. We believe rather that the Russian people can only gain the "respect" of the world, and dignity, by turning away from the greed for power and conquest, from its boundless imperialism and by forming its future state according to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, with due regard to the sacred and immutable right of its neighbour nations.

Now what is the object at the present moment, of the official declaration, on the part of America, of the "inviolability" of all territory belonging to the Soviet Union? Appeasement of Moscow, the stirring up of Russian imperialistic elements against the Bolshevik regime, or both together?

We can assure the official American departments that they were ill-advised. Any "success" that they may have expected would be too ephemeral and would in no way counter-balance the devastating effect of such statements on the hearts of the 160 millions of ensla-

Nations Await the Signal

It is easy to imagine the hopes and desires with which the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain accompanied Eisenhower's tour of Europe. From the Baltic to the shores of the Black Sea and the peaks of the Caucasus, throughout the entire Russian empire, held together by force, everyone listened, putting the anxious question: "When shall we be free again? And when will we be called to arms to win our freedom back?"

The second front behind the Iron Curtain is ready to throw off the yoke of the oppressors whenever the first front of the West is set up.

Everywhere in the Russian empire there are enemies of the regime, even in the offices of bolshevist terrorist administration and even in the Red Army. The future will show the importance of this second front of internal resistance.

Napoleon's and Hitler's campaigns against Russia demonstrated that she could not be conquered for good without the help of the subjugated nations, and these nations desire their freedom today, as they have always done; when the West advances, the second front will rise in the country and Stalin will not be able to proclaim a national war of liberation. The West will conquer only by means of strategic and political cooperation with this front. The West has not at its disposal as many armies as are necessary to occupy the entire extent of the gigantic Russian empire. But the second front will break the power of the Russian colossus. The Second World War showed what partisans could do in the East; the most glorious name in the history of guerilla warfare is that of the U.P.A. The desire of the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain is invincible and the Russian lust for power will be checked by this desire for freedom, once the West gives the signal to start.

In his report to Washington, Eisenhower said that he would like to fight only with soldiers who joined the army of their own free will. Well, hundreds of thousands of members of subjugated nations who have the good fortune to live in the West, agree joyfully with General Eisenhower and millions behind the Iron Curtain are waiting only for the battle signal.

These millions and millions, it is true, would fight for the liberation of their country and their independence. They would never fight and bleed for a restoration of a "Great" Russia under

ved people, whose power of resistance and readiness to fight against bolshevism will lose incentive if the only prospect before them is to be left in the clutches of the Moscow despots.

From the standpoint of psychological warfare it is in truth a serious mistake, the consequences of which will certainly be no less regretted in the future by the Americans than the fact itself is to-day by our peoples.

Kerenski or for any other imperialist Russian aim. And these nations behind the Iron Curtain declare that they claim the realization of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. If the West is clear about this, nothing can separate us; our union is perfect in our common love of freedom and justice.

But cooperation must come quickly. Invaluable services can be rendered to the cause of Freedom by members of our nations in the West, with their great political, geographical and ethnic knowledge. Their couriers bring news of living conditions and events behind the Iron Curtain. In the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states, organizations of resistance seek to maintain close contact with important Western agencies. Eminent military leaders are to be found among those anti-communist organizations.

United Workers in Exile

There will be a conference in Paris of delegates of the emigrant workers from the subjugated peoples of East and South-East Europe who are members of Christian Trade Unions. The conference will begin on March 31st, and is the first of its kind.

This unusual event is to demonstrate the unity of the workers from subjugated countries with those of the free world, and, at the same time, the inauguration of a mutual labour front is proposed. Steps will be taken to further the idea of Christian Trade Unions among workers in exile and to prepare, for the future, directives for spreading the programme and ideological aims of Christian Trade Unions in countries now under subjection.

The free delegates in Paris will not only speak for the workers in exile, but for millions in subjugated countries who are deprived of any possibility of organizing and leading a free life, owing to conditions prevailing in those countries and the inhuman treatment meted out to the workers. These delegates will be fulfilling a sacred duty towards their comrades at home, in stating their case. They will uphold the interests of their countrymen before the free world and do everything in their power for their liberation.

Under the patronage of the International Federation of Christian Syndicates, the representatives of Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Croats, Czechs and others, will meet the delegates of the free world and proclaim the aspiration of their peoples for national freedom, a state of their own and social justice.

The Reverse Side of a Calumny

The staged trial of the Slovak Bishops Jan Vojtassak and Michael Buzalka and the Ukrainian Bishop Pavlo Hordych, held recently at Pressburg, has caused the Bolshevik press

If we have understood the signs of the times aright, the period of appeasement, of trying to reach an understanding with Moscow, is over. Korea has shown the entire free world what the Kremlin's desire for peace is worth! No understanding can be reached with bolshevism and Russian imperialism, for Moscow's first principle is brute force. This, in our opinion, does away with all considerations and diplomatic practices.

The hour calls for UNITY, unity in battle against Russian bolshevist aggression.

When it is attacked from without and combated from within, the Russian despotic system will collapse. A Russia that is divided into its separate independent states within the ethnic frontiers of the nations now subjugated, will never be a danger for the rest of the world.

The subjugated nations await the signal!!!

to acknowledged officially and confirm again, that behind the Iron Curtain an armed anti-Bolshevist fight for freedom is going on.

The Bishops, as the prosecution, stated among other things, were in close connection with the **Ukrainian Resistance** and had assisted **Ukrainian Insurgent** couriers to reach West Europe.

That respected and influential Fathers of the Church in the Soviet sphere of influence behind the Iron Curtain, are systematically prosecuted in order to silence them, is one of the old, approved methods of Russian-Bolshevist terrorism in all subjected countries, and in this respect the trial at Pressburg was nothing out of the way, but what was remarkable was the admission that is stamped on the reverse side of this slanderous accusation, namely the official confirmation by the Soviets of the existence of an underground organization which is in a position to get its couriers through to west Europe and keep in constant touch with the exiles and their organizations there.

It is, however, not the imprisoned Bishops alone who support the underground movement and help to maintain communications, but here in Slovakia, as well as in all other areas where the U.P.A. operates, the resistance meets with the active support of the broad masses in our subjugated countries.

Ukrainian Insurgents in Upper Silesia

Through the failure of the Polish police in their conflict with Ukrainian Independents who are operating in groups in Upper Silesia, the Polish government has been compelled to organize fighting detachments in Upper Silesia. Hitherto fighting against the well-armed Insurgents has ended with the defeat of the Poles, as recent eyewitnesses report. Polish losses have been considerable.

U.P.A. Expeditions in Rumania

Editor's note: This report is taken from "Oseredok Propahandy i Informaciyi" (Centre for Propaganda and Information), No. 4, 3rd year, May 1950. These sheets appear illegally in Ukraine and are published by the Ukrainian Underground Movement. The report below is an extract from notes made by Captain Khmara, Commandant of a U.P.A. detachment.

U.P.A. expeditions outside the frontiers of the Soviet-Union, through the territory of the so-called People's Democratic Republics, occupy a special place in the history of the Ukrainian Underground Movement. The inhabitants of these Republics, who are actually under the domination of the Kremlin, are to-day the natural allies of the Ukrainian people, also subjugated by Moscow.

Between 1945 and 47, detachments of the U.P.A. went on expeditions outside the Soviet Union, through Czechoslovakian and Polish, as well as through Byelorussian territory. These expeditions strengthened the friendship with other subjugated peoples and awakened their interest and sympathy for the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle for liberation. They also spread the idea that revolutionary underground methods were indispensable in the fight against Bolshevik oppressors.

In 1949, in summer, a U.P.A. detachment, under the command of Captain Khmara was sent by General Taras Chuprynka, C.-I.-C. of the U.P.A., on a propaganda expedition through some areas of the so-called Rumanian Democratic Republic. The glorious tradition of U.P.A. was to be upheld by these expeditions.

The object was to enlighten the Rumanian population as to the aims and methods of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, and the spoliatory character of bolshevist despotism, and finally to call up the Rumanian and Ukrainian populations beyond the frontiers for a revolutionary fight against Bolshevik imperialists and their agents.

Before they marched off, the U.P.A. detachment was supplied with the necessary number of leaflets and revolutionary literature in the Rumanian and Ukrainian languages. Lieutenant Perebyjnis was attached to the expedition as Captain Khmara's political adviser.

On June 17, 1949, the detachment set off from their headquarters for the Rumanian frontier. In the Zhabje area, the other side of mount Pip Iwan, they halted to reconnoitre. Up on an alpine pasture, a U.P.A. patrol encountered a Bolshevik frontier unit, which they dispersed after a short engagement. Two frontier guards were killed, the insurgents captured arms and equipment.

At noon the same day the detachment crossed over into Rumanian territory. At the alpine hamlet of Herscht, the detachment halted again and got into contact with the Rumanian peasants. The insurgents were well received and aroused much interest; the necessary information was readily volunteered and food supplies given. Soon afterwards, they left the mountains and continued their march

through Rumanian-Ukrainian villages. They passed through the district around the towns of Vichev and Siget. In some villages a halt of two or three days was made. The Rumanian mili-



A district commander of the U.P.A. with his staff in the woods of the subjected native country.

tia was afraid to leave the towns, while guards at the bridges retreated without resisting. Everywhere the detachment was made welcome. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in villages and

towns. Innumerable discussions were held to enlighten the people on political subjects, some meetings were also arranged. Lieutenant Perebyjnis, who speaks Rumanian, was able to answer the numerous questions put to him by the Rumanian people. Efforts were also made to get into touch with the Rumanian underground. The insurgent remained on Rumanian territory for two weeks.

When the Rumanian government heard of the presence of the U.P.A. detachment, they sent troops armed with guns and mine-throwers against them. Thanks to information received through the population, the insurgents were able to withdraw to the mountains in time. The shells sent after them into the woods missed their target.

Although the frontier guards had been reinforced on both sides. Captain Khmara was able to lead his men by devious paths back to their quarters. They were in safety on July 27, 1949.

The news of this expedition spread like wild fire through the whole of Rumanian and contributed in no small measure to strengthening the anti-Soviet attitude there.

The Fate of the Turko-Tartar Peoples

What is the social political life of the Turko-Tatar peoples in the Idel-Ural area like, under bolshevist rule? Before answering this question it must be said that the Turko-Tatars have been deprived of all rights as masters in their own country, under the Bolshevik system. In the Idel-Ural area Russian Bolsheviks rule just as they like. After subjecting these Tatar areas, Moscow divided up the territory of Idel-Ural into separate autonomous puppet republics and special governmental districts, in spite of the desperate resistance of the Turko-Tatars and Ugro-Finns. Their number and borders have been changed from year to year. To-day in the Idel-Ural area there are the following autonomous republics: Tatar A.S.S., Bashkir A.S.S.R., Chuwash A.S.S.R., Mari A.S.S.R., Udmud A.S.S.R., Mordwin A.S.S.R. The A.S.S.R. of the Volga-Germans was liquidated in 1941.

It must not be forgotten, however, that Moscow included only one third of the Idel-Ural territory in these autonomous republics, the rest was formed into different governmental districts having no political or administrative connection with the autonomous republics. The districts of Astrakhan,

Kujbyshev, Orenburg, Swerdlowsk, Chelabinsk and others are among these. In dividing up this area the bolsheviks followed the principle of divide et impera. It is true, the Turko-Tatar autonomous republics possess their "own national governments", on paper. The puppet governments, however, are merely the executive organs for Moscow's instructions. In no case in the Bolshevik imperium, have either the autonomous governments or their people any right of decision; vital problems, such as the construction of new industrial plants, the economic exploitation of important natural resources of the countries in question, or the choice of certain economic forms of development, lie no longer within the competency of the peoples, but alone with Moscow. In the Bolshevik system of administration the national governments have a minimum of importance. In each republic Moscow has a sleuth whose official title sounds quite innocent: Secretary of the District Committee of the K.P. A European, not knowing the secrets of Bolshevik tactics, could never imagine that a man with such a title had anything else to do but write party reports or propa-

Resistance in Slovakia

"Die Neue Wiener Tageszeitung", a paper which is said to have good connections with Slovak nationalists, writes on February 24, 1951, of sharp fighting between Czechoslovakian government troops and the Slovakian partisans in the Tatra mountains. The paper has also learned that the Czechoslovakian Minister of the Interior, Nosek, has been ordered by the Soviets to put a stop to partisan activity and sabotage by the middle of March.

The Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Igor Bazovsky, who is just now in London, addressed the following letter to the editor of the "Daily Telegraph":

"Sir — May I comment on your report of the fighting by partisans in Slovakia? Slovak Partisans are by no means "national Communists"; they are anti-Communist nationalists. Their activity goes back as far as 1946 and 1947, when the closest ties were established with Ukrainian Insurgents.

This Slovak National Insurgent Movement has been organised and led by the Slovak Liberation Committee in collaboration with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the anti-Bolshevik group of nations."

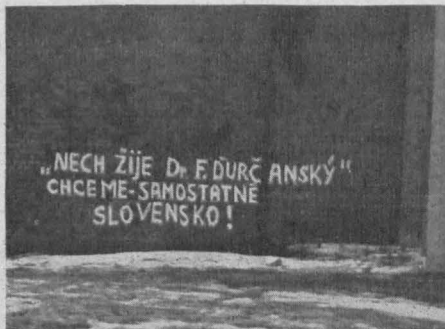
In the last few weeks Slovakian Resistance has received a new impetus. Armed groups are carrying on a real guerilla war against Communist police units. Most of the leaders and numerous fighters in these groups belonged to former partisan units operating during the war in the Banská Bystrica area. Today again they have their hiding-places in the Tatra and Fatra mountains.

ganda circulars. In reality he has quite other tasks, to fulfil he actually has all the power; for all the orders from Moscow to the autonomous republics go through his hands. The "heads" of these "governments" tremble before him. For example; in the Tatar autonomous republic, up to World war II, the Russian Bolshevik, Alekssandrov, was secretary of the district committee of the K.P. He lived in Kazan with his family, in a castle surrounded by a stonewall and guarded day and night by N.K.V.D. units, while the head of the government with his family had to put up with two rooms in an old house belonging to the municipal housing office. Although the Moscow Bolsheviks have the power, still they fear the subjugated Turko-Tatars and for this reason will not allow them to establish their own national army units or their own police and administrative offices. Strong detachments of the Soviet army, mostly N.K.V.D. troops, are posted in this area, on which Moscow builds its hopes of "re-educating" the Turko-Tatar population.

Ing. A. Batu (Idel-Ural)

As the London "Daily Telegraph" learns the various detachments are armed with light automatic weapons and portable radio transmitters. According to some accounts their number is about 5,000.

The chief operations are against the strategically important east-west com-



From enslaved Slovakia

Inscription on a wall:
„Long live Dr. F. Durcansky" / We want an independent Slovakia!

munications, for instance, the railway line between Ruzomberok and Poprad in the valley of the Waag, along which the Czechoslovakian goods for the Soviet Union are conveyed. At least three attacks are said to have been made inside a week on this line. Moreover, the partisans undertake reprisals against villages with notorious Communist mayors, where the population has been cruelly treated. In one or two villages the mayors responsible for such happenings have been killed or dragged off to the mountains.

Partisan groups are being continually reinforced, generally by deserters from the army or evicted landowners and peasants. Some of these deserters are said to have brought with them the only existing map with the mine-fields marked.

The Anniversary of Byelorussian's Independence

On March 25, the Byelorussian people are celebrating the 33rd anniversary of the day, — in 1918, — they declared the independence of their republic, after a national revolution.

The free Byelorussian state was but short-lived, for the West at that time had not comprehended the historical moment which had come with the dissolution of the old Russian Empire. The importance of the newly arisen national republics in the territory of the Russian prison of nations was not recognized, and so the opportunity was lost to stop the continuation of Russian imperialism which was beginning to show its head under the Soviet System.

Since then thirty-three years have passed, but the freedom-loving Byelorussians have never ceased struggling for their freedom and independence, in spite of the blood and tears of Bolshevik terrorism. On the occasion of this 33rd. anniversary of Byelorussia's declaration of independence, we of the common front of the A.B.N. greet our Byelorussian comrades and the whole people, confident that Eastertide in which this day falls will be a promise for the resuscitation of Byelorussia's liberty, in the near future.

For the Anniversary of the Independence of the Croatia

April 10, will be the 10th anniversary of the day on which Croatia restored its independent national State. A State which can look back on a thousand-year-old tradition.

For this occasion we have received an article specially written by Prof. Andrija Ilić, who is at present in London. We much regret that lack of space prevents us from publishing the article in this issue.

We reserve the right, however, of publishing the article in our next number in view of the importance of Croatia's great day.

From the Ukrainian Representatives in the A.B.N. we have received the following dementi:

According to Reuter, part of the world press reported that discussions had taken place between leading Ukrainian, Polish, Turkestanian, Aserbaijanian, Georgian, Cossack, Czech, Croat, Slovak politicians and British anti-Communists.

Among other things, the report alleges that an agreement has been concluded between the Ukrainians and the Poles, by which a joint administration is to be set up in West Ukraine ("Polish Ukraine"? — Ed.) and a plebiscite held on the question of a local government...

- 1) The Ukrainian delegates have had no discussions with Poles on the question of West Ukraine, thus no agreement could have been concluded.
- 2) The Poles did not take part in this conference.
- 3) There is no question of the integrity of West Ukraine. West Ukraine was, is and will remain an inseparable part of Ukraine.
- 4) There is no foundation either, for the statement about the possibility of a plebiscite.

Ukrainian Representatives
in the A.B.N.

From the Soviet Press:

It would be nice if...

The Right Words in the Wrong Place

The Kiev newspaper, "Radyanska Ukrayina", a paper of the Central committee of the Communist-Party and the government of Soviet Ukraine, published a noteworthy article January 30, 1951, from which we quote the following:

"The great Russian people has helped the Ukrainian people to rid itself of the yoke of social and national oppression, to acquire its sovereignty and defend it in heavy fighting against its enemies.

Thanks alone to the indestructible friendship and ready help of the great Russian people and other brother nations, the dreams and hopes of the Ukrainian people for a free life, its own State and independence, for the reuniting of all Ukrainian territory in a single State, have been realized. Under the Soviet star, re-united Ukraine blossoms in the family of Soviet peoples for ever and ever."

Attempted Revolution in Prague

The Soviet press acknowledges that an attempt has been made in the Czechoslovakian "People's Republic". An article on the subject in the Moscow paper "Isvestija", of March 1, 1951, runs as follows.

"In his communication, Kopetsky has revealed the contents of documents which illustrate the espionage of Otto Shling, the old agent of western imperialists. From these documents, too, the pernicious activity of M. Shvermova is made evident. She was the head of a widespread conspiracy aiming at overthrowing the Party and State, detaching Czechoslovakia from the peace group directed by the Soviet Union, and re-introducing capitalism...

Stefan Bashtowskij revealed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the espionage carried out by Vlado Clementis and the hostile policy of the bourgeois-nationalist wing of the Communist Party in Slovakia. The Central Committee unanimously accepted a motion to expel V. Clementis, G. Gussak and L. Novomesky from the Central Committee and the Party, and to deprive them of their seats in parliament."

Russian Messiahship

For centuries the Russians have been making inroads upon one country after the other; for centuries they have enslaved one people after the other, and always they have tried to persuade the victims of their imperialism that they are fortunate in being allowed to live under Russian rule, for Russia alone is in a position to bring them the "light of civilization". What Russian messiahship looks like in its modern form, may be gathered from a leading article in

the Moscow paper "Isvestija" of January 18, 1950.

At first the paper declares that the cry "We want to learn from the collective peasants and workers" has become the motto for the peasants in all the People's Democracies in Europe, then continues word for word:

"There is no sphere in the People's Democracy in which the application of Soviet experience has not led to excellent results; has not opened new perspectives and brought forth hero-workers... In Czechoslovakia, and Poland, in Hungary and Rumania, in Bulgaria and Albania, in the Chinese People's Republic and in the German Democratic Republic more and more workers are fighting to improve the quality of their production after the methods of Alexander Tschutkin; take over the rapid working of metals after Pawel Bykow's method; organize their collective work after the Nikolai Rossijskij method; save raw and other materials by the Lidija Korabelnikowa method etc. ... The best workers, men and women, of science and art, come to the Soviet Union from these lands, as to a great university of modern life. They come to learn how to build, how to overcome difficulties and make the splendid, illustrious edifice of the new world, and they return to their homes rich in experience and knowledge."

Anyone with some knowledge of Russian history knows that Russian messianic propaganda was the same in the 18th and 19th centuries, when lousy Russian conquerors enslaved cultural countries like Ukraine, Georgia etc. and brought the "light of civilization and culture" from Russia.

Welfare of the Population

A fortnight ago the Statistical Board of the Latvian S.S.R. published its report on the realization of the economic plan in 1950. To stress the "great achievements of the Soviet Regime" the report maintains that "as regards total output in 1950 the plan has been accomplished 108 per cent."

Even admitting that the report is truthful, it is amazing to observe how little the Soviet government cares for the needs of the local inhabitants.

Since the turnover for 1950 only reached 96% of the amount estimated in the plan, the population has not even received the small quantity of goods which was not to be shipped to the U.S.S.R., but was reserved for local consumers. It is not only chance that "Sovietskaia Latvia" of January "published the complimentary letter of a Muscovite, on the quality of Latvian goods. This letter says, inter alia: "The Muscovite knows that textiles from Riga are attractive, wear well and do not bleach."

The picture is more gloomy still when one sees that the transport of firewood in 1950 was only 81%. Firewood is the principal fuel in Latvia today, for the cost of importing coal from Ukraine is exorbitant. Falling short of the target here means that the urban population of Latvia was cold this winter and is so still, for industry and the innumerable

Soviet institutions have first priority. The report also shows that domestic building only reached 52% of the plan for the year. Most of the Latvian workers have lived in crowded barracks since the war — 1950 did not bring them any relief.

The health of the population is not among the things that worry the Soviet regime: the Ministry for Public Health has fulfilled only 75% of its plan. Every fourth hospital, policlinic, sanatorium etc. of those promised for 1950, failed to be built. Solicitude for invalids and the aged is feeble still: the Ministry for Social Insurance has fulfilled only 38 per cent of its plan for "capital investments". The population of the occupied countries is fed with planned figures, and sees none of the benefits which the Soviet regime promised them. At the same time they are daily made to curse the time of their independence, when they lived happily and prosperously, and to thank Stalin for favours which exist only on paper.

The Burden of Collective Farming in Estonia

The "Rahawa Hääl", the official communist paper of Soviet Estonia, published the following report recently.

Unheard-of cases of peasants secretly leaving Soviet collective farms have occurred more than once. Most of such cases are reported from Abja, in the district of Viljandi where, for instance, members of the Raja colchase tried to run away in a body. The peasant J. Hail, was made responsible for this "monstrous crime", as he was alleged to have been the ringleader and incited the others to rebel.

The paper is proud to report that, on investigation by the authorities, he was proved to be a "Kulak" and "removed". Nothing is said about what happened to the others. The paper merely points out that "it is not permissible to leave a collective farm on a member's own initiative".

The same bad management in other places has led to hostility towards collective farming, for instance in the case of "Koiti" the colchase in Lohsüu. There, most of the field-work was left undone and the peasants were reduced to abject poverty. Party inspectors maintained that L. Kiik, the leader of the field-workers and his son, Meinhard Kiik, were to blame for all shortcomings. But when M. Sild, the Party's Commissar mentioned this in a members' meeting, he was much surprised when the peasants contradicted saying that it was not the two Kiiks, but the system that was to blame. They even threatened him, shouting: "Don't you dare come here again!"

J. Kiik and his son are reported to have been "removed".

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Editorials

Harold E. Stassen Shows the Way!

After a tour through the capitals of the world including a visit to Stalin in the Kremlin, Harold E. Stassen, the well-known American statesman, the Republican Party's candidate for presidency, broadcast a remarkable speech on January 1951. In it he proclaimed the program of what he called a "counter revolutionary" policy which must be pursued by the U.S.A. and which would incite nations beyond the Iron Curtain to revolt against their tyrants. The seven main points of this program are:

1. The independance of Ukraine, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary;
2. The release of the millions of political prisoners condemned to hard labour as convicts in Soviet concentration camps;
3. The restoration of land to peasants for private management;
4. The right of the workers of the world to organize and to make collective treaties with employers;
5. The right of religious liberty for all people in the world;
6. The reconstruction of a free, democratic and united Germany with a responsible government and humane laws for the entire people in east and west;
7. The restitution of Manchuria to a democratic China.

It is a welcome sign of the recovery of world opinion that more and more eminent politicians and publicists are finding the courage to present the situation of the world in all its seriousness and to point the way to a proper and just solution of its problems. The A.B.N. may claim credit for having contributed to the increasing enlightenment of public opinion in the West, as a result of its difficult and indefatigable information services.

Among the voices that have been heard lately in the West, we would draw particular attention to Harold Stassen's words. As a leading representative of the Republican Party, a former, Governor of the State of Minnesota, at present

President of Pennsylvania University, Stassen belongs to the political élite of the U.S.A. His voice has always carried weight and commanded attention and respect both in Washington and abroad. The seven points of the program he announced, the brevity and clarity of which testify to political acumen and vast experience, will be received with great satisfaction and gratitude especially by all oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain. We are grateful to Mr. Stassen for the determination he here proclaims to go to the bottom of the problems that cause the present world crisis, and we hope that he speaks for the great majority of the American people. (Continued on Page 11)

Stalin Ante Portas...

To be, or not to be, the Choice of the Civilized World
Offensive, not Defensive Strategy Demanded

When the Belgian Marshall Ligne was discussing the French Revolution with the Duke of Windischgraetz at the Congress of Vienna 135 years ago, he made the following significant remark which applies to our situation today:

"The battle of the Revolution was not fought against the Bourbons or the aristocracy of France, but against the 'Zeitgeist' of absolutism. The Revolution aimed at undermining and destroying the entire ancient structure of Europe. And it knew that its achievements could be secured for all time only if it managed to inspire the souls of all Europeans. A revolution always wants to upset everything. If ever one nation abolished private property, it would compel all the nations in the world to do likewise. A revolution expects islands to be swallowed up by the sea. That is why it wants to flood the globe; sometimes it succeeds in so doing."

Could anyone today doubt the truth of those words uttered by Marshall Ligne, one of the outstanding figures of the Congress of Vienna? The aptness of the prophecy becomes evident when we think of bolshevist world aggression which is but another form of Russian power politics and All-Russian imperialism.

But the western World is slow to draw obvious conclusions. Mediocre politicians are still considering illusory possi-

bilities of choosing between war and peace. And yet the existence of whole countries and cultures is at stake. The question is whether Europe and the rest of the free world is ready to defend the heritage of its ancestors and the future of its children, or whether they intend to abandon them without a struggle. For no compromise is possible.

It is true that the historical life of peoples and nations is determined by human reason and free will; it is, however, at the same time influenced by higher natural laws. We deceive ourselves if we arrogantly assume that the decision between war and peace is in our hands alone. The national forces that lie deep-rooted in nations refuse to be suppressed and they suffer no compromise. To deny the will for self-preservation in the life of the individual means death, just as it does in the life of nations. The continuance of Europe's life and the fate of the world that is still free depend on the intelligence and the self-sacrifice of their inhabitants.

It is of the utmost importance today to be quite clear about the extent of the coming world war in space and time (the strategical position) and also about the belligerents' intentions (political and military aims). The countries be-

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longing to the western system of alliances which are in the continent of Europe are most exposed to the danger of Russian imperialism. As often before in its history, Western Europe and Christian culture are threatened by advancing barbarism. The key to the defence of Europe against attack from the East still lies in the basin of the Danube. If the tide of attack can be held here, the peace and security of the West would be assured; if not, Europe will certainly become a war-theatre. In the intoxication of victory after World War II, this natural bulwark of the strategic unity of Europe was destroyed by the eastern Allies themselves and its ruins handed over thoughtlessly to the red imperialism of Moscow. A very curious prologue to this process may be found in the minutes of the Peace Conference at Trianon in 1919 when certain "scientists" made the suggestion to "re-settle" in Asia the Hungarian nation which had controlled the Carpathians for thousands of years, as it would disturb the "liberation" of Europe.

One does not require any particular training in strategy to recognize after a glance at the map of Europe, that the first natural, solid line of defence in Western Europe now lies in the Pyrenees, and that the hundred odd armored cars and four hundred infantry divisions could easily advance to that line whenever Stalin gives the signal.

That is the reason for our title, Stalin ante portas!

The continued existence of Europe, as we already said, depends on its intelligence, its will to fight and its readiness to bring sacrifices voluntarily. Intelligence, however, says that all available forces must be mobilized, but also that all strategic advantages on the side of the West and the weaknesses of the bolshevist regime and of the Soviet Union must be utilized to the full.

A military decision can only be realized by an offensive campaign. But the problem of all offensives is above all the problem of supplies and transport. If we compare the possibilities of transport of the two sides, it is obvious that the West is strategically superior and that the enormous numerical superiority of the combined forces of Russia and China is not decisive, at least for the present. A really effective cooperation between those two teeming nations cannot be realized as long as means of transport are so inadequate.

As long as the communist giant cannot reach the main arteries of the West, namely the economic and industrial resources of the U.S.A. it could only disturb, but not destroy American production. But the road to the heart of the Russian empire is open to the Western Allies who have sufficient supplies of the necessary means of transport.

It is true that practically all Europe could be overrun, but there is the possibility of saving its fighting forces from destruction by the enemy by withdrawing them to North Africa, where they could be organized without disturbance.

The position of the Balkans, however, is decisive. In consequence of Tito's attitude there are chances for both opponents here. The present situation is

partly unfavourable for the Russians. Railway communications for the Soviets to Bulgaria are inadequate. Only one bridge, at Cernavoda, spans the Danube. There is a tendency to attribute undue importance to Tito. Serbia cannot be defended on the north. By using the valley of the Morawa and the railway line Belgrade-Nisch-Sofia, the superior armored forces stationed in Hungary could reach the Bulgarian frontier in a few days. Tito would then retreat to the hills and would scarcely be prepared to die for "capitalists". The railway line just mentioned would therefore be the main artery of operations in this campaign.

Geographical, or ethnic-national conditions mean for the Soviets a loss of no fewer than a hundred fighting divisions. Communism, it is true has swallowed many nations, but it cannot digest them. The very existence of underground movements and liberation fronts in the A.B.N. nations is a great danger for the Kremlin. If all those oppressed nations were to rise at once, they would secure the West decisive superiority.

The Kremlin is well aware of the inevitability of the final settling of accounts between the two sides with their opposing ideals; that is why it is already resorting to preventive war by launching attacks with limited aims.

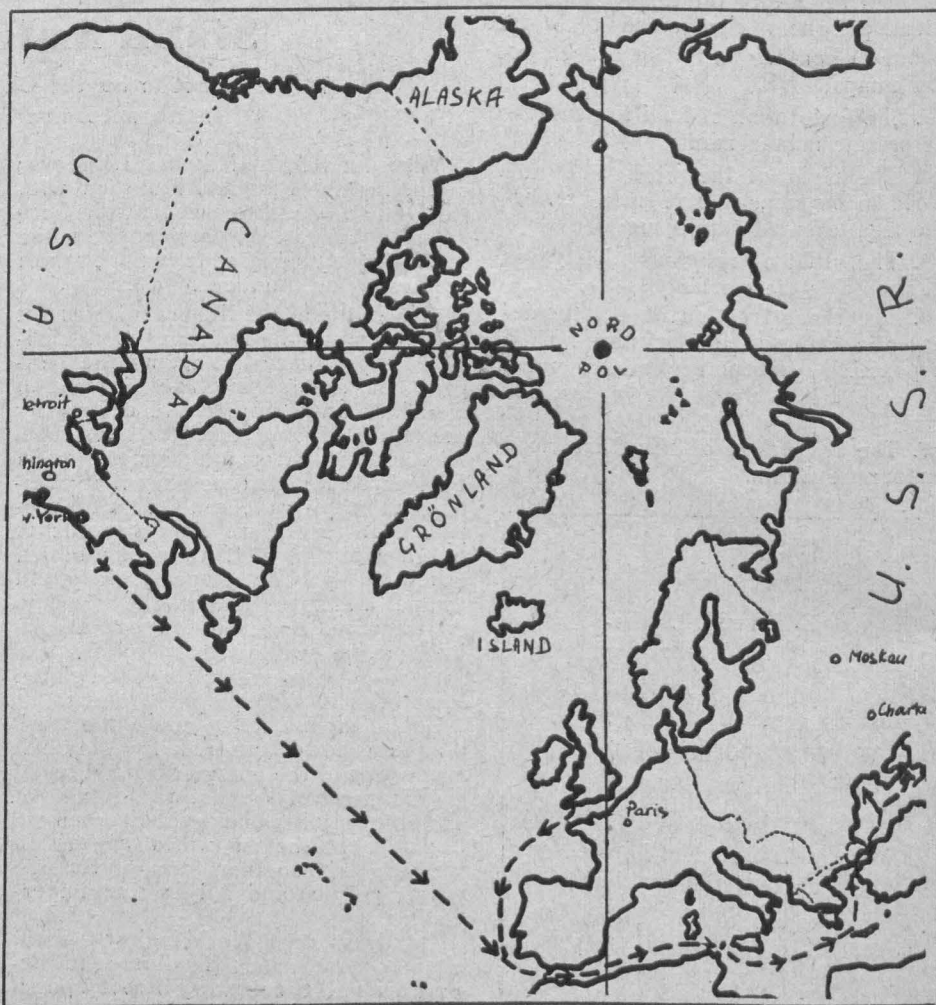
It is hardly possible that the main attack of the Soviets should be directed towards Central Europe. Moscow's pri-

Thomas E. Dewey Prophesies the Day of Liberation

In the course of an important speech celebrating the 142nd anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday, Thomas Dewey, leader of the Republican Party and Governor of New York State, said:

"Even now I see the day coming when slaves of Soviet Russia in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, Rumania and China and also in Soviet Russia itself will be freed from their fetters by a new proclamation of emancipation from slavery. When this day dawns, the Kremlin will no longer be able to offer its dictators any security."

"New York Herald Tribune" published the following comment on Dewey's speech: "Last night Dewey described not only the great difficulties of our present age, but also the great possibilities it holds, and that in such clear language that no one could misunderstand. If words and ideas have any influence at all on the soul of man, the United States must draw from this speech a fund of fresh decision, fresh courage and fresh readiness for defence."



The First Anniversary of a Hero's Death

March 5, is the first anniversary of the death of Lt. General Taras Chuprynka the commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). He fell fighting against Russian bolshevist tyranny and for the freedom of his native land and all other peoples oppressed by Moscow.

Not only does Chuprynka belong to those fortunate heroes who will live in the history of their own people, but is one of whom posterity can justly say that they have not lived or died in vain.

Supported solely by his faithful Ukrainians, quite without help from outside, he stirred up revolution for the liberation of Ukraine for years, in spite of bitter persecution and terrorism on the part of Russian bolsheviks; invisible, elusive, he commanded the heroic resistance of his invincible U.P.A. which won legendary fame throughout the world under his leadership.

And yet Chuprynka will live not only as a hero of national Ukrainian history. By founding the Anti-bolshevist Bloc of Nation (A.B.N.) which was called to



(From the archives of the U.H.V.R.)

life on Soviet territory as early as 1943 on his initiative and consolidated as the union of all armed fighters for liberty, members of several nations oppressed by Moscow, Taras Chuprynka has become the symbol of an idea which will be realized in the future when the world becomes fully conscious of it.

The news of the heroic death of the great Ukrainian leader of liberty was scarcely noticed by the free world, entangled as it is in the confusion of these tense, anxious days. The same fate may await this tribute to his memory in the noise of world politics and news of ominous events. But we see the day coming when the blessed task will be ended for which Chuprynka and innumerable fighters have fallen and will

continue to fall. For only when the clouds of tyranny flee before the light of freedom for all nations and individuals in the world will Chuprynka's name appear in its full radiance, to be held in grateful honour by posterity.

mary military task is surely to occupy the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, or at least to destroy them and put them out of use for a long time. If it were to succeed in doing this, the decisive battle for world hegemony would be won for Moscow. The first victim to fall would certainly be Tito, the second, Turkey. To prevent this would demand the lives of very many soldiers in the free world. The turn of Western Europe would probably come later: or it might be attacked simultaneously, but as a side-line. The bolshevisation of India would then have priority as one of the Kremlin's aims. 'The power that controls India also controls Europe', as Peter the Great said 250 years ago. The Soviets reckon that, when things have reached this stage, America will no longer have sufficient reserves at its disposal to master these enormous tasks its huge expenditure will have pushed it to economic ruin and with it, the entire free world left will be dragged into the abyss, and the way cleared for the long looked-for bolshevist world revolution.

It is true that the strategical position is more favourable for the free nations

of the world, but it demands that they should seize the initiative. The success of a bombardment is doubtful in the long run. The rocket fighter "Yak-21" is an excellent weapon of defence and so cheap that it can be produced in unlimited numbers.

The West can only achieve victory by means of an invasion with the following primary aims: 1. the liberation of Ukraine as the most important oppressed nation, from the point of view both of strategy and economy. 2. the neutralization of the oil-fields on the Caspian, 3. the liquidation of the industrial area in the Donetz basin.

THE WESTERN ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO LAND ON THE NORTHERN SHORE OF THE BLACK SEA, REGARDLESS OF WHAT IT COST THEM. This is the only way that makes final victory certain at the minimum cost for Europe and that would probably save that continent from being occupied by Russia.

The plan should be something like this:

I. The main force must advance towards Moscow from Berdjansk, Mariupol and Tangarog. But the condition for

this operation is the control of the road from Kertsch which means that the Russian fleet would have to be defeated first and the eastern section of Crimea occupied.

II. This operation by the main force must be preceded by the landing of the right wing at Tuaspe, Noworosijsk and Anapa, the aim being to conquer the oil area and neutralize it.

III. The third group of armies would have to advance from Odessa and Nikolajew and liberate Ukraine and Poland and so cut off oil supplies from Rumania and Poland.

It is not right to regard bolshevism merely as the instrument of Russian world imperialism. In spite of its deceptiveness and terrorism it is merely an ally. The unfathomable nature of bolshevist world revolution, which has allied itself with Russian despotism, pursues the same aim as Peter the Great's lust for conquest.

Stalin ante portas! The only way open to the West is — a preventive strategic offensive.

Ltn. A. Nagy
(Hungary)

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King Philipp an Athenians of our Day

By Dr. Dmytro Donzow

At the moment of the greatest danger to Athens, Demosthenes spoke to his countrymen: "Philipp always in movement, doing everything for himself, never letting slip an opportunity, prevailed over you, who merely talk, inquire, and vote without action. It would be wonderful, if under such circumstances he had not been the conqueror."

Demosthenes spoke to the Athenian Democracy. Would he speak otherwise, if he had to speak to our Western Democracy at the time of her conflict with "Philipp" of Moscow?

Demosthenes urged his fellow — citizens to provide active encouragement and material assistance to neighbour states, conquered by the King or those about to become so. The final result was the collapse of the independent Hellenic world. Were the methods inefficient? No, only those who applied them, the Athenian politicians of his time.

Philipp's foreign policy had a clear purpose namely the domination Greece. Did the Athenians possess such a clear purpose in their policy towards the aggressor? Certainly not.

Philipp had an ardent, fanatical wish to realize his plan by all means. On the other hand, the Athenians had an unconquerable repugnance to every effort required to counteract the blows of the aggressor.

Philipp knew what he wanted: to prepare a strong army for war against the Hellenic world and to support philomacedon party in the different states of Greece, to attack each of them separately. The Athenians did not know what they wanted, peace or war. If even they accepted an alliance, they took no active step to cooperate with their allies against a common enemy. They "could not see events in their beginning, to discern tendencies beforehand" (Demosthenes); gazing inactive on the fall of Chalkidikes, of Olynte, of the Phokions who watched over Thermophyles), until they were forced into the defensive for their own security at home... Is not this the case of Western democracies between the two wars and after? The blow has of Russian Philipp constrain them sometimes to counteract the far-reaching fancies of the Kremlin, but they do it like the Athenians against Philipp. Their resistance, said Demosthenes — "Like awkward pugilists, wanted Philipp to strike and then put up their hands to follow his blow": yesterday in Persia or in Greece, to-day in Korea, to-morrow in Turkey, always in the defensive.

The repugnance to the efforts, personal and pecuniary, required for prosecuting a hearty war against Philipp, aversion to a strenuous foreign policy, the incapacity to look forward to the consequences of inaction, lack of preventive vigilance in the citizens, absorbed in their property, family, and recreation, the comfort and all the peaceful refinement of the Athenian life, all that Demosthenes reproached

his careless countrymen with, did not allow them to look the aggressor in the face nor to anticipate him in offensive operation. This practice of waiting for Philipp to act offensively and then sending aid to the point attacked, was ruinous in the time of the Macedonian aggression, as much as at the time of Russian Imperialism.

And then the 5th Column of Philipp in Thessalian and other cities, always, did its work by laxity of public morality. Philipp always attained his aims by purchasing corrupt partisans among the leaders of his enemies such as Isokrates. Phokion, who sold their country to the enemy, or under the mask of peace-lovers discouraged public effort, forcing the Greeks to await passively the preponderance of the Macedonian arms, deceiving them with a tissue of false assurances as to the purpose of Philipp; the philippising factions were everywhere rising in arms or conspiring to seize the government for their own account under Philipp's auspices... Is it all not the true picture of our day in our conflict with the Russian Philipp?

The Athenians accepted the Olympian alliance, but took no active step to co-operate with Olympians in the war against Philipp. Demosthenes complained of the lukewarmness of his countrymen in a crisis which called aloud for instant action; reproached them with lack of apprehending the terrible consequences of this Olympian war, while as yet distant, unobserved by others; admonished them: "the aggressor" has aggrandised himself through your negligence and improvidence, by taking into pay corrupt partisans at Athens, by cheating successively Olympians, Thessalians and all his or her allies... If only you Athenians will do your duty! Yet here you are sitting still, doing nothing"... The prophetic prediction of Demosthenes — if the Athenians refused to carry on a strenuous war against Philip on his coasts, they would bring upon themselves the graver, evil of having to resist him on or near their own frontiers — fulfilled. Inactivity, lack of foresight, of courage, of idealism and great ideas corruptibility of the Athenian leaders led the great nation into slavery, to the downfall of a great civilization.

Is this picture of the irresolute Athenian Democracy of that time and of its inexorable enemy, not similar to the picture of Western Democracy and its enemy today?

Leading their war the, disciples of the Prophet Marx do not think in categories of "lebensraum", security, peace, prosperity, of being fed and housed, but in the faith which they will impose by the sword upon unbelievers. The essential conflict of our time is not the conflict between Right and Left, "Reaction" and "Progress", but between the adherents of positive Christian ideals of life and adherents of the devilish doctrine of materialism. The

"Freedom for all the Nations of the World"

The Voice of the American People.

According to a report of USIS, a message was broadcast on February 13 by the "Common Cause Society", an American union of citizens representing all professions and classes, which gave the assurance that the United States and the entire free world are in close association with the nations in the Soviet Union, in their fight for human liberty and against the tyranny of dictatorship. It declared that the American people has only one aim, namely:

"FREEDOM FOR ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, THE RIGHT TO ELECT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT FREELY AND THE RIGHT TO PERSONAL AND NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION."

Our commentary: at last the ice has been broken! The tissue of lies spread for imperialist purposes about the "indivisibility" of Russia has been torn. It is not only politicians and responsible statesmen in the West who begin to understand the basic problem of the present world crisis. Objective public opinion of all classes of the American people, as represented in the "Common Cause Society" mentioned above, also acknowledges the principle of the liberation of all peoples from the Russian dungeon of nations and bolshevist slavery, and supports the realization of the lofty aims and ideals for which the nations of the A.B.N. have been fighting and dying for years.

Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!

winners in this war will be those, who possess the strongest faith, wisdom, courage and fighting spirit of proselitism; whose ideology will appear sufficiently clear, attractive and firm to inflame the subjugated peoples as the spirit of newborn nationalism inflamed the peoples of Italy against Austria in the past, or the peoples of Greece and Balkan Slavs against the despotism of the Sultan or as the spirit of the Spanish people against Napoleon in the XIX century, and against Moscow in the XX century. Or as the spirit of those under Russian domination, which, — Ukraine leading — do not lay down their arms in their fight against the monstrous Empire.

Europe and the West in general need a New leadership, not the modern Isocrates and Aeschine, not lukewarm calculators, but men like Pitt and Burke, Cardinal Mercier, Clemenceau of Charles Martel and Aetius, the West needs Saints and Heroes.

Without such men, a new leadership, the West, will receive peace too, but that will be a new Pax Philippiana. Either all nations will be free or none. And the new Philipp seems to be great only for those who kneel down before him.

"He were no lion, were not Romans hinds" — said Shakespeare in "Julius Ceasar".

A Worth-While Task for Russian Political Emigrés

By Dr. Oskar Loorits

... It is not enough to get rid of the aggressive ideology of imperialism. This must be accompanied by a genuine desire to cooperate with the "enemies" of yesterday. The problems existing between France and Germany, Germany and Poland, Poland and Ukraine, Ukraine and Russia can only find a peaceful and friendly solution under certain conditions.

Conditions for a peaceful solution of differences

Aggressive nations must finally recognize the errors of their military leaders and do their best to eradicate them. Their nationalist ideology must be thoroughly revised. Their relations with other nations must be based, not on destructive egoism, on the lust for expansion and exploitation, but on a constructive, stable foundation of parity, tolerance and mutual respect.

Ideals of life and culture must attract the mass of the people to this new attitude, ideals which do not underrate the value of each individual member of the mass, but which at the same time aim at securing the happiness of all masses and nations by peaceful and friendly cooperation.

Dangerous Poisons

In Germany there are so many healthy cultural forces that we may hope for a speedy recovery of the people's soul. This psychic recovery seems much more hopeless and difficult in the case of the Russian people. Their soul has been poisoned, not only by a fanatic communism, but also by a romantic Panslavism and mystic illusion of their mission, till they have fallen a victim to the fixed idea of their duty to conquer the world.

Political Exiles and a New Ideology

It would surely be a noble duty for the many Russian politicians in exile to work out a new ideology to take the place of this pseudopatriotic, hypnotized Russian spirit, an ideology that would be no longer directed to the open or disguised aim of russifying the "dungeon of nations" that has been proclaimed as "indivisible"; this new ideology should acknowledge and support the right of other peoples to self-determination. By adopting such ideals and spreading them, Russian exiles would render the cause of world peace a far greater service than by formulating empty phrases about the union of communism and democracy, or with Catholicism, à la Berdiajew, not to mention ancient and ever recurring Utopias based on the mystic mission of the Russian soul to ennoble or "redeem" humanity.

The Spiritual Re-education of Russia Essential

The spiritual re-education of Russia, particularly in regard to relations with foreign countries, is the minimum condition for genuine cooperation between

Russian fighters for freedom and other nations. As long as Russians regard other peoples as nations to be influenced, or as "minorities", to whom they are inclined at best to grant a purely theoretical autonomy in cultural matters, their policy will be regarded as a manoeuvre that guarantees nothing at all and that never can win any other people to fight for a federal Great Russia. *Mutatis mutandis* the same thing holds for the Poles, the Czechs, the Serbs etc. The solution of the problem of minorities or federations must not be to the interest of one single "ruling" people.

No Room for Expansionism

If a people is inclined to expand at the cost of others, if it is infected by the idea of a great empire and regards it as its mission to make other peoples happy by assimilating or liquidating them, such ideas must be evaluated as psychic diseases demanding careful treatment by re-educating the masses. The soul of the German people is not so much concerned with abstract considerations as the Russian which inclines to metaphysics more than to real politics; it is more apt to seek what is known as the "meaning of life" in castles in the air rather than in positive, creative work. It is therefore easier to treat the soul of the German people and that not by controlling it from without but by initiative from within.

The Importance of Personality

.... In order to rob the after effects of communism in the Russian people's soul of their poison, it is of the greatest importance to reform the lifeless masses living in the chaos of a Russia that is only kept in order by force, to be self-confident, independent personalities which would realize the cultural, social, political and economical independence of the Russian people and assure it for all time. If no educated personalities with a higher sense of values can be produced among the people, new leaders will soon appear who will first parody the democracy they pretend to represent by inducing anarchy, and ultimately replace it by terrorism and dictatorship. Just as impersonal mass mentality is enslaved by the cult of a leader, the spirit of the masses can and must be ennobled till they become solid and faithful supports of democracy. If the western world wishes to save itself, it must take up and carry out the spiritual transformation of the Russian people as part of its fight against world communism. This task is also the duty of Russians in exile and a condition for the avoidance of future conflicts.

Editor's note: Lack of space has compelled us to shorten this interesting article. We beg the author's pardon and thank him for his valuable contribution.

The "Committee for a Free Europe"

New Tasks

Recent changes in the leadership of the "Committee for a Free Europe" would seem to indicate that its program is to be more energetically pursued. Charles Douglas Jackson has been elected president. Jackson is 48 years old and is an important American publisher and publicist. He is the publisher of the wellknown magazine, "Fortune", and vice-president of the publishing society, "Time", which publishes the weeklies "Time" and "Life", with a circulation of millions. During the war, Jackson was the real chief of the division for psychological warfare in 1944 in General Eisenhower's Atlantic general staff. He had the entire propaganda of the Allies under him and was the chief figure in the huge workshop that shaped public opinion, rumours, hush-hush propaganda, broadcasts, films, pamphlets, papers and the policy of the press.

Jackson's appointment as president of the "Committee for a Free Europe" is generally regarded as a deliberate intensification of the psychological war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. It seems that from now on, America is going to wage psychological warfare against the U.S.S.R. with the same energy as it did in 1944 against the Dritte Reich. Jackson is said to have demanded 145 million dollars for his operative budget for the current year.

Radio broadcasts by "Radio Free Europe" are known to be the most important feature of this Committee. In the spring of this year, a broadcasting station with a strength of about 300 kilowatts is to be established at Holzkirchen, near Munich. It will broadcast over the European part of the Soviet Union, including the Urals and the Caucasus, the Near East and the whole of North-East Africa. Broadcasts will be given in the languages of the inhabitants of the so-called satellite states. It is strange that broadcasts have not yet been planned in the languages of the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R., whose countries are in the area served by this station. It is to be hoped that this omission will be made good in the future, and that the new chief of the R.F.E. will utilize the enormous possibilities offered here for an efficient, energetic support of resistance in all our countries.

It is also to be hoped that the "Committee for a Free Europe", being in such a favourable position, will develop to be a decisive factor in the psychological war against the danger to the world from Russian bolshevism and will cooperate with political emigrés from countries beyond the Iron Curtain, including representatives of subjugated nations. It is essential that

Hitler's Fatal Policy in the East

In the five years that have passed since the collapse of the nazi regime, a self-scrutiny has set in throughout Germany which is neither a concomitant nor a result of the process of "democratic re-education" imposed on the German people by their Anglo-American victors. It is only natural that a power which fell from dizzy heights — its expansion after the conquest and occupation of the entire continent, from North Africa to the Arctic Circle, from the Atlantic to the Volga seemed, even in 1942, to hold new and undreamt of possibilities — to depths lower than following the Thirty Years' War, should voluntarily study the causes of such a fall much more intensely than, say, after the German defeat in World War I.

The self-scrutiny which occupies Germans now has led to conclusions that will influence not only the future existence of the German people but the entire development of Europe. Cautious though we must be in forming judgments, we can nevertheless sum things up as follows:

The realization that Hitler came a cropper in the East is no longer confined to a small group of experts in Eastern questions. During the years that separated the glory of the German advance from the misery of retreat, hundreds of thousands of German soldiers became familiar not only with the country between the Warthe and the Volga, but with the far wider areas affected by Hitler's policy in the East, and these men are now trying to derive some conclusions from their experiences. They attribute a certain significance to their experience of the East because nazi doctrines taught them that in the East lay Germany's and Europe's destiny and future, though the words were used in another sense. The conflict between Germany, which assumed the rôle of the champion of Europe, seeking to support this assumption by engaging troops from all European states, in the Russian campaign, and bolshevism is for them a genuine conflict of the present, more, the inevitable conflict of Europe and our epoch. The great majority of these German soldiers were quite ready to leave the solution of this problem to their political leaders who

stricter to particular groups of exiles with one-sided interests, but that it should be extended to those organizations of political exiles who represent the fight of resistance against Russian bolshevist tyranny in their countries. It cannot be a matter of indifference for our subjugated peoples, and therefore, also for the success of the program of the "Committee for a Free Europe" whom this powerful organization supports — exiled politicians who are ready to compromise and who are partly to blame for the present state of our peoples, of fighters against Russian imperialism and bolshevism who know no compromise and who are regarded today as the core of underground resistance.

Z. P. W.

were to decide on what principles the "New Europe" was to be constructed after bolshevism was destroyed. Many of them were not surprised when Germany collapsed; the catastrophe merely confirmed their own vague feelings, their observation and fears; they could not avoid noting the great change in the attitude of the population in the East that occurred when German civilian administration took over, nor could they escape reflecting on the reasons for the change.

A review of the past shows that the wider the gap grew between German military and political leaders, above all in the East, the more rapidly was Europe plunged into a chaos that threatened to make it an easy prey for bolsheviks.

If we sum up the results up-to-date of German efforts to clarify the past, we find a few basic conclusions which are of importance for world opinion, especially now that the general situation calls for German participation in the defence of Europe against bolshevism. These conclusions are frequently expressed in the German press.

The first of these is the realization — also increasingly proclaimed by Sudeten German expellees — that the Bolshevist advance in Central Europe was greatly furthered by Masaryk's and Benesh's policy in Czecho-Slovakia, that in itself being ultimately due to errors in Hitler's policy of placing the interests of a powerful Germany above obligations to Europe as a whole. It became clear that, in spite of its fantastic expansion, the nazi party had not extended its political horizon, and felt no wider responsibility than at its foundation.

There is no doubt that the mass of the German people, dazzled by the victory of nazi policy over the democracies of the West at Munich completely overlooked the seriousness and the importance of the hour — namely the duty of Germany, once it had extended beyond its political frontiers, to establish a European order based on the self-determination of peoples, a duty that has been equally neglected by all post-war conferences, especially in Central and Eastern Europe.

It remains for us to examine more closely the reasons why Hitler and his leaders, who owed their own position to political struggle, should have neglected political processes in the East after having furthered them; they even tried to crush them by armed force in the Russian campaign, whenever they came in contact with the revolutionary anti-bolshevist underground movements of individual nations.

Intoxicated by their early victories, the Germans forgot their own aims and lost sight of the intellectual, religious and national interests of the population in Eastern Europe. They did not realize that the first great victories of military strategy were perhaps to an equal degree political triumphs. For

the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the German attack was a war of liberation from bolshevist tyranny which released powerful forces against the centralisation of Moscow that had long been restrained, thus seriously threatening the entire Soviet structure. This process of disintegration spread to the Red Army; tens of thousands of Soviet soldiers rushed into the "pocket" to prove their unwillingness to fight for Stalin any longer. But the moral powers which alone might have helped German arms to win a righteous victory were soon prostrated by the merciless treatment meted out to prisoners of war, the indignities suffered by civilian workers from the East, and the Hiwi units that were set up without any sense of responsibility. The German soldier, meanwhile, was far quicker to comprehend the consequences of such courses than his leaders, intoxicated by success as they were.

For the consequences of this policy of brute force, of the disregard for, the opposition to the desire of these non-Russian peoples for a national, independent life of their own were felt long after the events themselves, as is undisputably recognized in Germany today; for it was due to this policy only that Stalin was able to proclaim a patriotic war of defence against an alien occupying power and to attract even those who were hostile to bolshevism. We must give Hitler the credit for paving the way for this war for the Fatherland and for Soviet patriotism. To put it briefly, with the help of his blind policy of terrorism in the East, he weakened national, revolutionary forces in the oppressed nations in a costly war on two fronts against bolshevism and national socialism, and thereby strengthened the national, anti-cultural forces of bolshevist imperialism which constitute today a grave danger to the entire world.

Peter Shwarz

The Resistance Movement in Turkestan

According to the "Ukrainian Word" published in Buenos Aires (Argentina) on 24. 12. 50, the "Basmachi", a revolutionary, anti-communist organisation is active in Turkestan. From 1935-41 thousands of young Turkestanis who had been called up for active service in the Soviet army, fled to the hills and joined the "Basmachi".

During the Second World War the "Basmachi" in Turkestan caused the Soviets much trouble. Cases were reported of political Commissars and M.V.D. functionaries being stoned to death.

According to most recent reports from Turkestan, large units of the "Basmachi" are heroically continuing their bold fight for independence. A deep and extensive underground movement against Moscow's bolshevist oppressors is going on behind the apparent peace that prevails in Turkestan.

Malicious Attempts at Calumny

The more imperialist Russian propaganda in the West to preserve the dungeon of nations loses ground, and the more convincingly the ideas of the A.B.N. for the reconstruction of independent states for the subjugated nations are propagated, the more unscrupulous the campaign which organizations of imperialist Russian exiles have long been directing against us and our just cause. In their calumny of historical truth, Russian emigrés in America resort to the meanest lies. Their last invention, with which they hope to deal a blow to resistance movements and liberation organizations united in the A.B.N. is to maintain that the latter are antisemitic and should therefore not be supported by the U.S.A. In reply we should like to recall the following facts.

When the A.B.N. was founded in 1943 in Wolhynia and the armed delegates to the congress of 13 subjugated nations decided unanimously to wage war on two fronts, against both Russian and German imperialism, one of the main motives was Hitler's racial theory. Quite apart from this, the struggle for independence of the non-Russian peoples in the Russian empire has never been anti-semitic. The notorious pogroms were started in Ukrainian towns, they were intended to besmirch the cause of Ukraine in the eyes of the public and to sow hatred of the Ukrainian people. These pogroms, moreover, took place in towns only, where a large percentage of the inhabitants were Russians. In the country, where the population was almost purely Ukrainian, there were never any pogroms. On the contrary, when Jews fled in masses from these pogroms, they went to Ukrainian villages where they found protection and help. A pamphlet called "The Independence of the Ukraine as the Only Salvation from the Danger of Russia" published in 1915 by Dr. Karl Nötzel, a German scientist, contains the following facts: "We see, therefore that, in spite of all its trials through the centuries, the much-tried Ukrainian people has never ceased to resist the Russian evil, nor has its readiness diminished to make sacrifices for everything that serves the cause of humanity as a whole. We are filled with amazed admiration when we see that all the devilish machinations of Imperial Russia — and there was no lack of these here — failed to incite this marvellous people against the Jews. Ukrainians are always in the van of the fight for liberty; in thousands they eat their souls out in Russia's prisons, in thousands they have died on the frozen steppes of Siberia. We need never fear that a people that has preserved such liberty of soul, such courage for the right in the face of intolerable tyranny, will ever abuse the freedom it wins to subjugate other peoples" (pp 26—27).

We take the following comments on the spirit and attitude of the Ukrainian fight for liberty from a book published

in 1946 by M. Lebidj, a leader in the Ukrainian underground movement, under the title of "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)":



An ambulance "pill-box" of the U.P.A.
(From the archives of the U.H.V.R.)

"The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is the only armed power in Europe to be established and maintained solely by the efforts of the people. Throughout its long struggle, the Ukrainian people has never received a single cartridge

from anyone. It had to take everything off the enemy, either during military operations on Ukrainian territory when the front was on the move, or in open battle against the occupiers. No aeroplanes flew over areas where the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was active, to drop food and munitions (thanks to the Allies, Polish, Russian-bolshevist and Tito's partisans were supported from the air- Ed.); the only aeroplanes that flew over the Ukrainian Insurgents brought death and destruction. Resistance groups from other nations subjugated by Moscow were allowed to fight in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgents, and actually did so. The banner, "Freedom for nations, freedom for individuals" united them in a common battle. The majority of the doctors in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were Jews who had been saved from Hitler's mass destruction by the U.P.A. Jewish doctors were treated as fully privileged citizens of Ukraine and as officers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. We should like to emphasize here that they did their duty honestly and helped not only the Insurgents but also the people in general, organising field medical stations and hospitals. They did not leave their posts when situations became serious; not even when they had the opportunity of deserting to the enemy. Many of them fell as heroes in the defence of the ideals for which the entire Ukrainian people fights (M. Lebidj "U.P.A." pp 30, 32, 35, 36).

In all the illegal political literature published by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the years from 1943 to 1950, in all the publications of the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) there is not a single antisemitic passage. This is proof that the revolutionary fight for liberation waged by the subjugated peoples of the A.B.N. and their military organizations has nothing to do with anti-semitism, a fact which no amount of calumny on the part of imperialist Russian emigrés alter.

Legalized Slave-Labour in Bulgaria

"The old bourgeois legal system is no longer applicable today, as it is out-of-date and no longer corresponds to contemporary conditions in our era when socialism is being constructed", is the comment of the "Otechestwen Front", Sofia on the new labour law which is founded on Soviet law.

Article 1 reads: "The new labour law regulates labour contracts and duties, with the aim of constructing socialism, assuring the realization of state-planned economy and guaranteeing for every individual the citizen's right to work."

The right to work to the point of exhaustion is the only right the Bulgarians enjoy under this law. In many individual provisions for "the construction of socialism", people are forced

to work like slaves. Death, alone, releases them from the duty of working. No one forfeits the "right to work" by illness and incapacity; sick leave is granted only in the most urgent cases.

The law gives the state an entirely free hand to dispose of every citizen as if he were an inanimate object. At the discretion of the state, work is allocated to individuals or groups, regardless of personal interests and desires; workmen can be arbitrarily transferred from one place of work to another. Anything in the way of refusal is severely punished, from fines to hard labour for life. The right to change one's place of work according to the worker's wishes or plans is "out-of-date" and cannot be granted in a "progressive, socialist" state.

The Political Aspirations of Lithuania

By P. V. Gytis

Lithuania has an important strategic position, lying as it does right across the path between Russia and Germany. It bars Russia's access to the Baltic and holds up Germany's drive to the East; it even hampers Poland's advance to the Baltic. It has, therefore, always provided a barrier against imperialism, whether Slavonic or German. The strategic role of Lithuania is brought out by Mr. C. A. Manning, professor at Columbia University in his preface to the History of the Lithuanian Nation by C. R. Jurgela (New York, 1948), from which we quote:

"The Lithuanians had established a powerful and independent state in Europe during the Middle Ages. They were able to check the German drive to the east for centuries. They protected Europe against the Mongols and the Tatars. They furnished a power and a government behind which the Eastern Slavs could live in peace and safety with a freedom that was unknown in Muscovite Russia. They blessed their subjects with more freedom than in the neighbouring countries. They encouraged education and toleration, and they played their part in the general development of European civilisation."

Lithuania's Only Weapon Against Russia Today

Lithuanians today are aware that historical traditions cannot compete with modern weapons of warfare. Their only chance of attacking occupying Bolsheviks is to foster the idea of liberty and give active demonstrations that, however enslaved the nation may be, its spirit of independence is still alive.

This spirit is particularly strong in a country like Lithuania whose inhabitants, being mainly engaged in agriculture, have the peasant's fervent love of his native soil and traditional individualism. Class distinctions have practically never existed in Lithuania and the Communist Party there from 1918 to 1940 never was more than 1% of the population, and these were mainly Jews.

Russia's Annexation Of Lithuania

The Soviet-German Pact of 1939 meant annexation of Lithuania by Russia. A revealing sentence in that remarkable document runs: "Now the people (of Lithuania), helped by the mighty Red Army, have established Soviet government in their own country". This occupation, here blatantly stated to be the work of the Soviets, was not recognised by the great powers — the U.S.A., Great Britain etc. It is therefore a violation of international law.

Bolshevist Terrorism

During the year of the First Bolshevist Occupation (15. VI. 40—22. VI. 41) the state, with its administration, army, finances, economy and agriculture, was systematically ruined. In a short time, leaders of intellectual life in Lithuania were imprisoned, while thousands of

labourers and peasants were sent to labour camps in Siberia. During the last six years, when Lithuania has again been occupied by Soviet Russia, the majority of the people has been massacred, and their property plundered. Many have been deported to labour camps or obliged to work as slaves on colchoses. Refugees who have escaped report that life in Lithuania today is appalling.

The Russification of Lithuania

The Bolsheviks are carrying out the old plan of the Czars who always strove to make Lithuania a colony of Russia. Russian is the main language in the schools and Russian plays have a monopoly of the theatres. Russian workmen have been sent to replace Lithuanians in the towns and in the colchoses. There are pessimists who say that there will be no Lithuanians left in Lithuania if the Bolshevik occupation continues for five more years. Others point out that, if the Czars could not destroy the Lithuanian nation in 120 years, the Bolsheviks will not manage to do so in 10 years, especially as it is but one of 20 enslaved nations who are fighting for their freedom.

Lithuanian Fight For Freedom

Terrible though their fate has been, Lithuanians have not lost hope and faith in the restoration of the Lithuanian state. The various organizations of Lithuanians in exile are not idle. The Supreme Committee of Lithuanian Liberation, the Lithuanian A.B.N. orga-

nization, the Committee of Lithuania Minor and other bodies and more than a million Lithuanians are confident in the successful outcome of their struggle. Their aim is a separate and independent Lithuanian state within its ethnographic frontiers.

An End To All Imperialism

The Lithuanian nation knows that after Bolshevism has been defeated and the country freed from Soviet occupation, their struggle will not be over. A new Russian or other imperialism may emerge. Like their fellow members of the A.B.N., the Lithuanians are utterly against any imperialist aims and in favour of freedom for all European nations on a basis of democracy. As they wish this freedom for themselves, so they will fight that others get it. They are proud to count themselves members of the universal front against Bolshevism.

For Baltic nations, June is a month of mourning, as it recalls the deportation of thousands of their people to Siberia ten years ago. In Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Ukraine and other occupied nations, every day is a day of mourning as long as the occupation lasts.

The Menace Ahead

We Lithuanians know from bitter experience what a terrible menace Red totalitarianism is for the whole world. We appeal to all men and women to join the members of the A.B.N. in their fight against Bolshevism. We have heard speeches enough about genocide and terrorism; it takes more than words to prevent nations from being exterminated. All who love freedom and who wish others to have it must unite to combat the common foe.

Slovak day of Independence

(March, 14th 1939)

(SIS) National independence is universally considered as one of the fundamental rights of ethnical groups conscious of their specific individuality among the other peoples of the world.

Just as the idea of personal freedom triumphed over the enslavement of human individuals so the idea of the national freedom of single ethnical groups is progressing to complete victory. After the 19th century, full of struggles for national freedom, the 20th century, is more prone to recognize the right to national independence even of former colonies.

After long struggles the Slovaks too proclaimed their national independence on March 14th, 1939. This day became a true milestone in Slovak modern history and it cannot be deprived of its profound historical significance by any endeavour to blame the Slovaks for having made use of the international situation as it was in Europe in the spring of 1939. On this day the Slovaks only took what was their inalienable right. No Czech or other interests could prevail over the natural right of the Slovaks to self-government and by no means can the destruction of Slovak national independence after the last war be justified. According to universal

conviction and international documents, such as the Atlantic and United Nations Charters, only the people concerned may decide their own destiny. Thus, only the Slovaks ultimately can decide the destiny of Slovakia. Any suppression of the Slovak will is a violation of Natural Law and Democracy.

Even if the Slovak national independence has been destroyed by the tacit assistance of the victorious Powers, the Slovaks have not ceased to celebrate March 14th as their greatest historical day. Six years of brutal Communist oppression have taught the Slovaks to love their national independence more than ever. Blood is being shed by the occupators, but the Slovaks do not cease to manifest their desire for a Slovak Republic.

This year once again all Slovaks will celebrate the Day of Independence, even if secretly, because there is no force which could tear out of their hearts the love of freedom and national self-government. But the celebrations of this year will take place in the full belief that Slovak national independence will at last reward the free Slovakian liberated from Communist tyranny.

Moscow's Ambition to be the Rome of the Orthodox Church

Religion as a Weapon of Propaganda

According to a broadcast from the Vatican Radio, the Russian Orthodox Church by order of the Kremlin transformed 40,000 members of the secret police into "priests" last year. The 75 bishops of the Orthodox Church are said to be in reality employees of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior. The Orthodox Church, it seems, has become the tool of communists atheism (DAP).

For centuries the Russian church has been bound to the state; the rulers of the Church, in particular, suffered from this subordination to the state, a condition which promoted the growth of religious and philosophical movements and social currents outside of the church.

The Fetters of a State Church

Because it was bound so closely to the state, the Russian church has always been unable to assume any objective position towards the different political parties with their very different theories of social reform. As it was not free to teach itself, it had to leave the solution of social problems entirely to secular authorities, and to renounce all its natural rights of proclaiming principles. Socialists demanded the separation of church and state, anarchists, the destruction of the church.

Separation of Church and State

The fall of the monarchy in 1917 widened the gap between all non-monarchical parties from the official Russian church. After the Revolution, the church was separated entirely from the state and the schools. Religious instruction in schools was prohibited, all attempts to preserve it being severely punished. The official proclamation is based on an atheist and proletarian philosophy which regards every ecclesiastical organization as handicapping what is known as freedom of conscience, championed by bolsheviks. All open participation in church life was regarded as a violation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All employees who were members of the church were removed from town and village soviets and from all educational institutions. Church marriages were no longer valid. The word "family" was removed from the codex. Although the Russian church was progressive in outlook, it was at first reactionary in political matters, as it failed to grasp the social message of the revolution.

Result of Bolshevik Decrees

The execution by force of the bolshevik decrees cost the leaders of the church, priests and people many lives. When the church jewels and sacred vessels were taken away, allegedly to relieve the famine of 1923, the tension between church and state reached a climax. 1400 trials were carried out with all the brutality of a proletarian revolution. This did not alter the legal position of the faithful. The church had no right to acquire or own property, all churches having become the property of the state. They had no schools, no press, no means of defending themselves;

more than the half of all churches were closed; thousands of priests, monks, and church members were executed or sent to concentration camps. Moscow tried with all the means at its disposal to uproot religious feeling and thought everywhere. For this purpose, for instance, a large printing press was established to publish anti-religious, scurrilous pamphlets to be used as propaganda in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

Stalin's Need of the Church

In 1937, the zealous members of the Party wished to liquidate the church completely. But Stalin had still need of the church. In the new constitution he proclaimed liberty of conscience and gave priests the vote. It seemed as if the bolsheviks were going to retard religious prosecution. But this was not the case. Earlier Russian constitutions also contained a clause about liberty of conscience, even the Decree of 1918, which separated church and state, guaranteed liberty of conscience. The earlier constitution of the Soviet Union even granted liberty to make religious propaganda; its Article 4 runs: "Freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." In 1929 this was significantly amended. The Congress of Soviets of May 18, determined the following: "Freedom of religious creed and anti-religious propaganda is granted to all citizens." Atheists, therefore, could make propaganda of their views, while church members could not; they are allowed to practice their religious rites and ceremonies, but not to oppose atheism.

Atheism Guaranteed by Stalin's Constitution

Stalin, therefore, understood something quite different by liberty of conscience; for him it is not freedom of religion, but freedom from religion. Jaroslawski, the president of the atheist movement in the Soviet Union, commented on May 19, 1937 concerning the Papal encyclical message on atheist communism, that Stalin's constitution was the best guarantee of atheism. Stalin gave priests the vote, because he knew that they had no political importance whatsoever, and that they could not be a danger to him. The few priests still at liberty had to serve Stalin as dummies and help him to convince the world of the genuineness of the "most democratic" of all constitutions.

The Church's Role in War

Then the war came and the Soviet Union had great need of an appeal to the religious instincts and forces that slumbered deep in the Russians people's soul, in order to be "morally" armed, too, for the imminent conflict with the Western World. So the Orthodox Church, or rather its leaders, were granted certain concessions. These concessions were given solely for reasons of foreign policy — it was hoped that

by creating the legend of the renaissance of the church in the Soviet Union, people, might believe that bolshevism was developing.

What was the real object of these concessions? We must first point out that they were intended to be merely a measure of tactics, which was mainly for the purpose of winning over the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church, men who were docile creatures of the regime. It was thus possible to include the church in the mobilization of all powers against the enemy. The success of this measure was complete. Sergius, the Metropolitan appointed by the bolsheviks, in 1942 designated Stalin as the "leader appointed by God", and an apostolic letter issued by the convocation of Russian bishops in 1945 appealed to all the faithful "to serve obediently the soviet power appointed by God". Meantime, the Church Council in the Soviet government which had been newly created, organized a second convocation of bishops in 1945 who renewed the patriarchate and elected Alexei as Patriarch.

Plans for a Universal Orthodox Church

Encouraged by this success, Moscow seems to be planning the creation of a universal orthodox church — i. e. to assume the role of a third Rome — for the millions of adherents scattered throughout the world, above all in the Balkans, the Near East, the U.S.A., Canada, etc., and to put this church under the influence and control of a supreme head, the Patriarch in the Kremlin. But this Patriarch remains under the influence and control of the Kremlin, or of the Church Council which is under the leadership of Karpov, a tested Stalinist. . . . These imperialist church plans, as we said already, do not alter the general line of Soviet church policy.

Anti-religious Propaganda Continues

Anti-religious propaganda remains as before. The property of the church has not altered nor can religious life develop. Without the knowledge and the permission of the Church Council, neither Patriarch nor bishops can do anything at all independently. Schools continue to be operated as they were — without religious influence. According to the "Isvestija", the official organ of Moscow, "materialism and empirical criticism trains soviet citizens and all fighters for socialism and democracy in the spirit of active and decisive struggle against all the foes of marxism, whatever form they may assume. Lenin's deed acquires peculiar significance in these days when imperialist reaction is utilizing all the poisoned weapons at its disposal, such as cosmopolitanism, ideal philosophy and the clergy. Along with their God, they press the most varied reactionary philosophical movements into their service". The Soviets are, therefore, not only anti-Catholic and anti-Christian they are definitely anti-religious. Dr. G. P. v. Brody

From Reports of the U.P.A.

Bolshevists Create Janissaries

The more intensely Russia prepares for war, the more intolerable terrorism becomes. The power of the police has also taken possession of the people in the country, so that practically everyone is now under the control of some agency of bolshevism. Youth, in particular is exposed to Bolshevik propaganda. A further sinking of the general standard of life is obvious. Constant fear of the authority of the state produces a state of depression which, in turn causes ever-growing hatred of the bolshevists. There are two irreconcilable camps — on the one hand the bolshevists with their whole apparatus of oppression, and on the other, the people with their natural desire for freedom and prosperity. This contrast increases as time goes on.

The severity of sentences pronounced by what are known as People's Courts contribute much to the schism. Peasants on collective farms are sentenced because they are found gleaning stubble fields or because they hide a few sheaves from fear of famine, or because they are not punctual in delivering the required quantities of grain, or because their noses displease bolshevist overseers. Here are some examples: the thirty-year-old Wasylyna Jaroschuk in the village of K. in the district O., a widow with a boy of 8, was condemned by such a People's Court to 7 year's imprisonment, because she had refused to deliver up grain out of her own portion; the collective peasant, Semen Festshuk, in the village of J. in the same district, 40 years old, married, 3 children, was condemned to 5 years imprisonment because unthreshed corn was found in his barn in harvest time. Anton Wyschnyvatzky was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment because he hadn't delivered the required amount of wood in time etc. This list could be prolonged to infinity.

Meantime, bolshevist functionaries go scot-free, even if they are guilty of severe abuses and maltreatment of peasants. There are sufficient examples of this, too.

Many young peasants are forced to go to the mines in Dombas and are accompanied thither by police. Many flee and join the underground movement. If any one is caught, he must be prepared for severe punishment. School boys and girls are told that it is their duty to join the communist Komsomol. In this organisation they are trained in accordance with the laws and requirements of the communist party, i. e. against God, religion and family, for Stalin, the Party and world revolution. Bolshevist education aims at producing janissaries, blind, fanatic fighters for bolshevism. Bolshevist training begins in the lowest classes of the elementary school, in kindergartens even.

In the course of these ceaseless efforts to impose bolshevism on the peoples of the subjugated nations, and of Ukraine in particular, the dictators in the Kremlin constantly try to crush, the

people's desire for freedom and independence, it would even seem as if they were determined to achieve their aim over and beyond the physical death of



"Freedom" of science in the U.S.S.R.

national consciousness. One of the chief means of stamping out the people's life is to transport masses of them to other areas. They believe that if the people are transplanted to other districts in the immense empire, they will lose their power of resistance and their national consciousness. Western Ukraine, in particular, has suffered from

these mass transportations. Hardly a month passes without a transport of Ukrainian peasants to the East. Such transports are generally arranged to start in the night; they are carried out with the help of a strong police force. To mention only one of many examples, about 80 policemen were necessary to catch 67 people in the village of Oriv the district of Dohobytsch who were transported in the night. It is not necessary to add that this was accompanied by brutality and bloodshed. In place of these displaced Ukrainians, Russians or Mongols are brought to the Ukraine. It is not difficult to see the purpose of such a policy of transportation.

How Bulgaria is Being Looted

The "Basler Nationalzeitung" (No. 178, 1950) published an informative article on present conditions in Bulgaria, under the title of "The agents of Moscow rule in Sofia". We take the following extracts from it:

Ministerpräsident Cherwenkoff declared in the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party that the government's chief task was no longer to industrialize Bulgaria and provide electricity, but above all to adjust Bulgarian economy to the needs of the Soviet Union. The construction of power works which was begun in 1947/48 in order to increase electric current threefold has actually been halted. The enormous orders for machinery that were placed in Czechoslovakia have not been fulfilled . . . People in Bulgaria today realize that all the bombastic plans for Bulgarian factories for steel, machinery, cement, textiles and canned goods, which were to make the country independent of imports from abroad, have ended in the waste-paper basket.

This would be no great misfortune for Bulgaria if the country was free to export its natural products and agricultural produce as it used to, and thus be able to import essential industrial goods that cannot be made in the country. But the country is forbidden to do this by its Russian "protectors" and their Bulgarian tools. All Bulgarian exports are directed to the Soviet Union which floods the world market with the Bulgarian exports which it does not itself require.

Bulgarian iron, lead and zinc ores

are exploited to a great extent by the Russians and the entire produce of these industries goes to Soviet Russia and their produce is also transported to the port of Varna in sealed trucks, guarded by M.V.D. agents, whence they are shipped once a week to Odessa. The lion's share of the coal that is mined is also transported to the Soviet Union. The cloth manufactured by Bulgarian textile factories is made almost exclusively of Russian wool and cotton and must be sent back to Russia. It is intended to introduce the same procedure for agricultural produce.

Two-thirds of the tobacco harvest are put at the disposal of the Soviet export trade, and Bulgaria has difficulty in disposing of the remaining third, as the Russians cut prices on the world market by flooding it with quantities of Bulgarian tobacco which they have looted. The Russians also buy up the greater part of the produce of the Bulgarian attar industry at ridiculous prices which they themselves fix. When the Bulgarians try to sell what attar of roses they have left, to the United States, they find that the Russians have knocked the bottom out of the market there by their offers of Bulgarian attar.

It is obvious that the Soviet Union has a complete monopoly of Bulgarian foreign trade. While it has good use for all Bulgarian exports and sells them on world markets for hard currency, Bulgaria only gets articles which it cannot always use and at enormous prices. The Bulgarian people is thus condemned to slavery and to work for foreign masters.

A New Staged Trial

A new trial has been staged in Slovakia against three Slovakian bishops who are charged with the stereotyped Soviet "crimes" of high treason and espionage, for western powers, as well as the Vatican. This trial too has been broadcast for propaganda purposes. After three days the sentence was announced by the State Court in Pressburg (Bratislava) on January 15. Bishop, Hojdych of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and Bishop Buzalka were condemned to imprisonment for life and Bishop Wojteschak to twenty years dungeon.

Bishop Hojdych was also accused of being in connection with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Prague groups of Ukrainian Nationalists which were only recently condemned.

This trial of the three dignitaries of the Catholic Church is fresh proof of Communism's merciless fight against the Church and religion.

The Coast of Esthonia Now a Soviet Naval Base

The construction of Soviet naval bases in Baltic waters, which was started in the three Baltic states immediately after their occupation, was practically finished in 1950. Leningrad, before the war the most important naval base, has made way for Tallinn (Reval); Leningrad itself is an auxiliary base and still the largest centre of ship-building in the Baltic.

As a naval base, Tallinn is responsible for delivering current supplies and for smaller repairs, including the repair and exchange of naval guns. Big repairs cannot be executed here, as the dry docks of the Kopli Wharf can only take ships up to 2000 t. The Kopli Wharf has also a floating dock for ships of 5000—6000 t. But extensive repairs must still be taken to Leningrad.

The harbour of Tallinn was considerably increased by the addition of the Island of Plojessaar and the Kopli Peninsula.

Paldiski (Balticport) is now the most important naval base in the Baltic. Its limestone soil has proved a great asset. Storage cellars, electricity plant, repairs workshops and living quarters for employees were built below the surface; U-boats are also accommodated here in subterranean tunnels. The entrance to these tunnels is about 2 kilometers north-west of the old harbour. Paldiski is the headquarters of the permanent staff of the so-called operations division (*operatiwnaja chastij*) of the Red Fleet. Naval parades are held here.

Deportation of the Jews

In the "New Leader" a former member of the Hungarian parliament, Dr. Bela Fabian, declares that the cominform has declared war on Zionism. According to information at his disposal 35 000 Jews were deported to Siberia from Lemberg alone. Almost the whole Jewish population of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, and the Crimea met with the same fate. The anti-Jewish campaign began in Hungary in 1949.

Harold E. Stassen Shows the Way!

(Continued from Page 1)

The first point in his programme is of great historical significance. Here he demands that freedom and independence be restored to the nations behind the Iron Curtain, and not only to those who have recently come under the yoke of Soviet imperialism, but also to nations who have been subjugated by Moscow in the course of history. Stassen, therefore, sees through the fraud, the lies of the Russian slogan of the "unity and indivisibility of Russia" and has drawn the logical consequence therefrom and pointed to what could render immeasurable service in the coming world struggle for liberation from Moscow's bolshevist imperialism.

We are convinced that Stassen did not intend to restrict this freedom to Ukraine, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary and to deny it to the other nations in the Soviet Russian imperium — to the Aserbeidschani, the Georgians, the North Caucasians, the people of Idel-Ural etc. Nor do we suppose that Stassen intends to preserve for all time artificial formations like Czecho-Slovakia and to ignore the claim of the Slovaks to freedom and independence. For the Slovakian nation, in particular, has proclaimed its desire for national liberty and independence, not only in words and before the whole world, but with the sacrifices of the White Slovak partisans who have been fighting up to the present day, side by side with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and with the underground movements of all other nations oppressed by bolshevism; they struggle, not only against the

foreign yoke of bolshevism but for a free, Slovakian national state. This Slovakian ideal is acknowledged even by Czechs, and circles of national Czech emigrés round General Prchala are constantly and clearly pointing out that what is known as Czecho-Slovakia is an artificial creation, founded on a lie and upheld by force only. The so-called "Jugoslavian" state presents a similar problem, as it was constructed at the cost of the freedom and independence of Croats, Slovenes and Macedonian Bulgarians. Croatian resisters and martyrs round Stepinac collected in the underground movement known as the "Crusade", hope, like the Slovaks, that their heavy sacrifices will not only liberate them from the terrorism of communism but will also procure the reconstruction of a free, historically founded Croatia. If we cannot dwell here on a detailed consideration of the program proclaimed by Stassen, it is because the problems involved will be solved as a logical consequence of the principles he has enunciated and cannot be separated from the ideals for which we shall never cease to fight.

Finally, we should like to express our particular gratification that men like Stassen show such determination in the present world crisis. We should like to thank him for his sympathy with our long struggle for truth and justice, with the entire problems of the East which for centuries have been fatally interlinked with Russian imperialism and which have been fully comprehended by very few. Our peoples stand in constant readiness, prepared to make every sacrifice to realize the principles and ideals proclaimed by Stassen.

From the Soviet Press:

The National Policy of Russian Bolsheviks

The following extracts from the Soviet press throw significant light on the policy of Russian bolsheviks towards non-Russian peoples.

On February 1, 1951 the "Prawda" published an article by I. Rassakow the secretary of the central committee of the communist party of Kirghiz. He says:

"There has been a cultural revolution in Kirghiz in the years of Soviet supremacy. A nation that used to be an alphabetic has learned to read and write, and has created a national literature ... Our people now reads in its own tongue great works by the classical writers of Marxism and Leninism, and the best monuments of Russian and world literature."

On February 3, 1951, the "Prawda" wrote as follows:

"The brotherly help of the great Russian people — the first among the equal members of the soviet family of peoples — has been invaluable for the econo-

mic and intellectual life of the people of Aserbaijan."

On February 1951, the "Iswestija" published an article by the president of the Supreme Soviet of the Tadshik Soviet Republic, from which we take the following sentences:

"Before the victory of the great socialist October revolution, the Tadshik people had no state of their own. It owes its state to the Leninist and Stalinist policy of the bolshevist party."

On January 28, 1951 "Iswestija" published an article by the president of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Republic, where we read the following:

"Our people will always be grateful to the great Russian people for having helped to establish Soviet supremacy in Georgia, thus making it possible for the Georgian people to have a state of their own."

Contrary to their better knowledge, therefore, the Russian bolshevist press

maintains that the demand of all non-Russian peoples for national independence has been fulfilled, and that the various Soviet Republics are independent states.

We should like to add to these statements by Moscow the following extract from the leading article in the "Prawda" for February 1, 1951 which is particularly illuminating for the bolsheviks's "love of truth":

"For almost 200 years India, one of the largest countries in the world has been under the supremacy of English colonisers. Thanks to their constant plundering and shameless exploitation, English imperialists have reduced India, a country with enormous natural resources, to a ruined, impoverished country where millions of workers die every year of famine."

Every child knows that the British have given India her freedom and that is now an independent state. But Moscow maintains that even today India is under the yoke of England.

The Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Turkmenian peoples, the peoples of the Caucasus and many others have been subjugated by the Russian, some of them for centuries, by means of barbaric measures. Voltaire, in his "Histoire de Charles XII" wrote that the Muscovites (Russians) had enslaved the Ukraine as far as they could. This unspeakably heavy national yoke still exists today. But Moscow maintains that the bolshevism which was brought to all these countries from Russia has brought national and political independence to all the victims of Russian imperialism.

The most interesting thing is, however, that the English say nothing at all as they watch Moscow spreading abroad the lie that India is still under the yoke of Britain. The English do nothing at all to inform the world of the past and present sufferings of the victims of Russian imperialism, although it would not be at all difficult, seeing that there are about 2 million members of non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union living in exile.

Strange things happen in this world!

All who are interested in the fight for liberation being waged by subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain should read the new publications in English, of the Scottish League for European Freedom. They have had a favourable reception and are full of authentic information:

- 1) "Convention of Delegates of the Resistance Movements of the Anti-Bolshevik Nations" By John F. Stewart — price 6 d.;
- 2) "Red Russia and the Independence Movements in the U.S.S.R." By John F. Stewart — price 1 s.;
- 3) "The Russian Danger — Europe's Only Defence" By Yaroslav Stetzko — price 6 d.;
- 4) "The Workers in Soviet Russia" By John F. Stewart;
- 5) "The Strength and Weakness of Red Russia" (Congress of Delegates of Independence Movements within the U.S.S.R. Held in Edinburgh), Introduction By John F. Stewart; 145 pp.

These may be ordered either from the Office of the A.B.N. Correspondence or directly from Mr. Bohdan Tarnawsky, 6 Mansion House, Edinburgh 9, Great Britain.



A good friend of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations idea,
the President of the Estonian Parliament,

OTTO PUKK

died suddenly the age of 50, on February 14, 1951 in Stockholm,

We wish to express our deep sympathy to his family, the fighters in the Estonian Resistance Movement and the whole Estonian people on the death of their great son.

The Independence of the Byelorussian Nation

While Western public opinion, influenced by imperialist Russian and Polish propaganda, is sometimes apt to deny the right of the Byelorussian people to political independence, the "Iswestija", the official organ of the Kremlin, published an article on Byelorussia on February 2, 1951, from which we take the following extract:

"On February 25 there will be elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic. This significant event in the life of the Republic finds the Byelorussian people enjoying new and great triumphs in all provinces of economic and cultural reconstruction. ... All the peoples of our socialist native country, and above all, the great Russian people, have generously supported the Byelorussian Republic ..."

It certainly cannot be disputed that the Byelorussian nation has really very much to "thank" the bolshevik regime in Moscow for. But not for the advantages which the "Iswestija" hypocritically pretends to find. White Ruthenians have to thank the "great" Russian people for "gifts" like the following:

1. The subjugation of the independent Byelorussian Republic (B.N.R.) in 1920;
2. the complete destruction of independent Byelorussian peasantry and the transformation of free peasants, firmly rooted in the soil, into slaves of the soviet colchase system;
3. million loyal Byelorussian peasants, workers and members of the intelligentsia, sacrificed to the bolshevik regime;
4. slavery, misery and convict camps.

But the most significant thing about this publication of the official soviet newspaper is the fact that it here expressly admits that the Byelorussian nation is an independent people and quite different from the Russian people. So it is time that Western opinion realized that between the Polish and the Russian peoples there is another large, independent people with its own language and culture that has never renounced its right to independence. Although the Byelorussian state, which proclaimed its independence in 1918, was attacked in the years following by Russians and Poles and occupied by them, it has never ceased its fight for independence and it will renew this independence again.

Apology

In the last number of "A.B.N. Correspondence" 1/2, two errors unfortunately crept into the text of the article on "Byelorussia's Deperate Fight" which distorted the sense. We apologize to the author and our readers.

Page 10, line 5 should read "Byelorussia exported 100 million gold roubles worth of grain and tobacco", and not "Byelorussia produced" etc.

In col. 2 of the same page, line 20, a word was omitted from the title of the pamphlet mentioned which should run "I accuse the Kremlin of the Genocide of my nation".
Editor

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Editorial

We and the Others

Our Annual Balance

The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) had long been no secret for those behind the Iron Curtain. For the subjugated nations, the A.B.N. is cherished as a promise of freedom, by the despots in Moscow, it is feared as the most powerful hostile force directed against their tyranny; it is a political reality which cannot be overlooked and which causes the bolshevist regime constant anxiety. But, strange to say, the free Western world tries to ignore the A.B.N. There have even been some unconscious tools of the Kremlin who have put obstacles in our way. This can be the only explanation for the fact that an active united resistance of the nations that have been tortured by bolshevism, a community consecrated by blood and tears and supported by millions of human beings who have been driven west out of their homes, should up till recently have been neglected and even regarded with suspicion. If today, when we are entering the second half of our century, public opinion in the West is slowly beginning to recognize the importance of the A.B.N. and to take an interest in it, it is due above all to the lessons of the past year. Such lessons have forced the West to admit the historical significance of our ideals, the value of our potential powers and the rightness of our methods. It is true that the West is still far removed from a proper recognition of our potential, but we may state with a certain satisfaction at the beginning of this new year that the A.B.N. has

acquired meaning for western opinion and that more and more Western statesmen are acknowledging the truth of our ideas.

We were the first to maintain that **freedom and peace are indivisible**. It was we who first drew the attention of the West to the fact that it will never know peace or security as long as the monster of Russian bolshevism is allowed to continue destroying the subjugated nations unpunished, thus being enabled to advance to further aggression. When we proclaimed this truth, others shouted us down as disturbers of the peace and war-mongers who threaten "peace-loving" Russia. But now, after the lesson of Korea, even such pacific, trusting statesmen as Truman and Acheson have spoken frequently of the "indivisibility of freedom" and the "persistence of Soviet aggression". And not only that: John Foster Dulles, Adviser to the American State Department, stated clearly in a speech he held at the close of the year that the danger

for the world today is due to an "unholy alliance between marxist communism and Russian imperialism" and that, in the present situation of the world, the American people can help itself only by helping other nations who are threatened by bolshevist aggression.

But all these statements and declarations tally with what we have been long trying to hammer into the world. It gives us a certain satisfaction to see that Western politicians have at long last decided to touch the core spot. And yet we are astonished that they do not seem to draw the logical conclusions from this fact. Instead of openly declaring war on the tyranny of Moscow and immediately mobilizing all powers in the service of a total and implacable war of liberation, they allow the Kremlin to push them into the defensive. "Appeasement", it is true has officially been abandoned; but in actual practice this policy is being continued. "Re-

(Continued on Page 12)

The West Facing Inexorable Alternatives

What we want and have to do

The freedom- and peace-loving world is gradually recognizing that war with Moscow is inevitable. The intensity of Russia's preparation for aggression is increasing. Whether it likes or not, the Western world must draw conclusions from this fact. The present question is how to win the war and not how it can be avoided. All conditions for victory are present. In the first place, it was an error to believe that the nations subjugated by Russia are against war. They are against a war of plunder, but for a war of liberation. It is unwise of the West to spread pacifist propaganda in the East and to emphasize constantly that war means only horror, ruins, and catastrophe. The subjugated nations know this quite well, but their longing for freedom is still stronger and war gives them the opportunity to launch the national revolution of liberation within the Soviet Union. These nations are aware of the curse of war, but faced with the choice between slow death in slavery or the horrors of war,

which nevertheless might bring freedom, they choose the war of liberation.

This brings the western world the duty of solving the problem in such a way that it will be possible for subjugated nations to annihilate Bolshevism and the Russian Imperium with the minimum of loss. We must bear in mind that these nations desire war; they do not want to avoid it as the West does. The Western peoples are, of course, free, so they have everything to lose. But we subjugated nations can only shake off the fetters of slavery. That is why quite a different attitude is demanded towards subjugated nations as compared with free peoples, living in prosperity. Today it is a fact that both the bolshevist clique in the Kremlin and the nations it subjugates desire war, with the difference, however, that while the Kremlin wishes to subjugate the rest of the free world by means of war, the subjugated nations regard it as an opportunity for getting rid of their yoke, i. e. war is

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for them a weapon against Moscow's imperialists. It is therefore necessary to support movements among subjugated nations aiming at the destruction of the Russian Imperium, if there is to be any serious effort to frustrate the schemes of Bolshevik imperialists; for this is the only way by which such peoples can recover freedom. General W. Bedell Smith the outstanding expert on Russia, is absolutely right when he says in his book "My Three Years in Moscow": "When we study Soviet aims and intentions we must remember that communists today are nothing but All-Russians and Pan-Slavs."

It would however be an error to believe that the subjugated nations seek to recover their freedom by means of a foreign war. To the question whether subjugated nations would be able to liberate themselves; we reply, "Yes." But that would only happen if the whole of Europe were subjugated by Russia and were in the same position as we are today. Even before national revolutions were ready to break out, bolshevism, in consequence of the West's attitude to subjugated nations, would stretch out its hand for the Atlantic. Therefore it would be a mistake if the West were to throw the whole burden of battle on the subjugated nations in the hope that they would be able to deal successfully with bolshevism without any support from the West. The Russian danger is universal in extent, so the fight against it must also be world-wide. We must therefore win public opinion in the West for our cause, for the subjugated nation's fight for freedom; and we must coordinate the actions of the West with those of our resistance movements so that our ideas and aims be recognized. A united front of all the peace-loving nations in the world against the realm of slavery which already includes a third of the world must be formed.

How is this to happen? If the leaders of the West do not understand us and our ideas, we shall have to appeal to all uncompromising circles in the West who acknowledge nationality as one of the ruling principles in a well-ordered world and who champion social justice and a healthy, creative democracy, who see in religion a powerful factor for the regeneration of mankind and the counter-weight to godless materialism. We must appeal to men of the future, seeing that those of the present refuse to understand us. We must constantly raise the alarm. It is of no use to tackle this problem by halves, for this must stand out clear before us; who is not for us is against us. In the present struggle of the universe there is no middle way. For whoever is not with God, is with the devil!

But if the Western world wishes to be successful, in its fight against communism in its own ranks, it must do away once and for all with all social injustice. It is not right that many working people should regard communists as the protectors of their social interests. National circles in the West must attack with decision and energy social problems that have long awaited their solution. Communism must be opposed

by another faith which promises the alleviation of daily hardship. It must be opposed by a philosophy which has a clear answer to all burning national and social questions. All who imagine that they can stand between the two opposing forces will be crushed. In the present struggle not even the individual can stand aloof; a new conception of life is at stake, values which will make man once more a god-like being, or introduce a system which reduces him to being a wheel in the machine of totalitarianism and degrade him to being a slave without will and faith, a slave in a system of terror. In our native countries this alternative is obvious, for daily life shows what bolshevism is.

We do not believe that the West, in as far as it is attempting to overcome communism, seeks to avoid the solution of these problems. But this solution can only be attained in a spirit of social justice and national and religious idealism; for communism has become the belief of masses today and it can only be successfully combated by a new belief for the masses. In periods of doubt it is difficult even to overcome false belief. Belief alone is not sufficient. Belief in freedom is not everything. We must have faith in a higher truth, a higher justice, and a deeper meaning of life. Freedom is only a frame for realizing truth and justice. In France for instance there is almost unlimited freedom but it is not sufficient to eradicate bolshevism. On the contrary, bolshevism exploits this freedom for its own ends.

Freedom is only a frame for the realization of values, and the question to which we demand an answer is: what

values does the West claim as its own? Our duty must still be to show the West clearly what ideas inspire the East and to emphasize the necessity of a renewal of the West's ideas; for this alone will enable it to oppose communism successfully. But this enlightenment should not come only through publications. It should follow from the words of every political exile, in all circles and social classes in the West. Political mass action and demonstrations against bolshevism and Russian imperialism of every form and color must be organized. The mass of exiles must also participate actively in fighting bolshevism.

The most important problem is that of proving to the West that it is a false policy to underrate the front of the oppressed nations. We must create a center of coordination between the West and the oppressed nations in the fields of politics, military strategy and propaganda. Military formations of the various suppressed nations in exile must be set up, as soon as the Allies have acknowledged their aims. Nations that are fighting for their freedom, their underground movements and groups of political resistance must be supported. On the eve of war, agreement must finally be reached between the aims of the West and those of the oppressed nations; otherwise the victory of the West will be doubtful. If the Allies find no basis for common action with the oppressed this year, it will be too late.

Ceterum censeo: victory is only possible if the entire oppressed and peace-loving world forms a common front.

Z. K.

Draconic Laws in Bulgaria

The active and passive resistance of Bulgarians to the bolshevist system is causing the present regime much trouble. In particular, the absolute failure of the "harvest campaign" was a severe blow for the leaders of the People's Democracy; as was to be expected, they immediately took counter-measures to wipe the defeat out. The **anti-sabotage law** which has just been promulgated is to be the instrument for the population to obey.

The preliminary articles emphasize that this law is directed against enemies of the people.

The following will be punished:

1. Thefts of property belonging to the State or to cooperatives, up to 10 years' hard labour.
2. Theft of agricultural produce, machinery, stock etc. by "organized groups" who apply "force and threats" — up to 15 years hard labour (minimum, 10 years).
3. Officials who abuse their position as opportunity of stealing property belonging to the state or to cooperatives — up to 15 years hard labour.
4. Officials who attempt to conceal a crime — 5-15 years hard labour, in serious cases, death.

5. Destruction, damage or waste of property belonging to the state or cooperatives, up to 15 years hard labour.

6. Setting fire to buildings belonging to the state or to cooperatives or to agricultural produce, or machines, forests, bridges, mines, etc., — 5-15 years hard labour — in serious cases, death.

7. The property of anyone who has been found guilty may be totally or partially confiscated for the state. All previous laws, paragraphs etc. which guaranteed the inviolability of private property are declared invalid.

*

Even before the promulgation of the new "anti-sabotage law", the law courts in the whole country had their hands more than full with proceedings against "agricultural sabotage". The prisons and concentration camps are crowded with "Kulaks", "saboteurs" and "enemies of the people", guilty of all kinds of "lapses" concerning the Kolchos system, or the cultivation of the ground, or harvest, especially of failing in their compulsory deliveries.

The bitterness has grown immeasurably all over the country and the newly decreed "anti-sabotage law" is a sign of the increasing resistance offered by the peasants.

"We Can Win the Cold War — in Russia"

Yes, but how, and against which "Russia"?

(An answer to the article on that subject by Constantin W. Boldyreff in "Reader's Digest", November 1950 number).

We were much interested to read an article in the "Reader's Digest" (November, 1950), entitled "We Can Win the Cold War in Russia". It reminded us of similar articles by American, English, German, Ukrainian and other writers, but particularly of "The Coming Defeat of Communism", by James Burnham, an American sociologist and of the article in "Life" in December 1949 by Carroll, an excellent review of possibilities of strategy in psychological warfare.

We should like to point out similar and different ideas in those three authors.

In the first place, their aims are alike. Burnham and Carroll, both Americans, and Boldyreff, a Russian, all investigate ways and means of how the threatening Third World War is to be avoided without the abandonment by the West of its fundamental spiritual values and its political supremacy.

Our three writers also agree to a great extent that this high aim can be attained only by a firm, courageous policy, willing to take risks. Neither "containment" nor "appeasement" will bring the West any nearer its goal.

"All that remains for us is to pass from the defensive to attack. It is obvious how policy must be shaped if it is to be right and adequate... First comes the proper appreciation of the enemy's position, of his strength, his weakness and his aims. We know the enemy — world communism, sponsored by the Soviet Union. We know its aim, complete world mastery. If we analyze the material at our disposal, we find this situation: a constant war of a new type, a political, underground, ideological war of resistance, which is also to a limited extent an armed conflict and which may develop into an unlimited, shooting war.

That being the situation, our first need is for a proper plan of war, but not a plan according to military traditions (although that is included), but a plan for this new type of war. If a war is in progress, in which we participate, whether we want to or not, then, unless we capitulate, we must be ready for the effort to fight it to a victorious end.

The first essential step in this warfare is to recognize that it is war. The next is to define our own aim. If this definition is to be a useful guide, it must be short and accurate. It is dictated by the situation, by the nature of our enemy and his aims and it can only be — the destruction of communism sponsored by the Soviet Union... In the new type of war in which we are involved, the military aim must be subordinate to the dominating political aim. For once the political aim was attained, it would follow automatically that the Red Army, too, must be destroyed as the instrument of the Soviet Union or communism. If, on the contrary, we should regard the military aim as the chief aim of our strategy, we should conceal the fact that we should perhaps at the same time be able to destroy the Red Army by largely non-military means if we succeeded in destroying the political power of communism. In addition, we might put little weight on those non — or half-military means by which we could achieve our aim and which might at least simplify the usual military problem... If we do not destroy the power of the communists, we shall cease to exist as a state and a nation. A young man may regard it as the crown of his desires to become a natural science researcher; but if he has typhoid fever, he must first get better. Whatever the world that we desire for ourselves and our children may look like, we must first see

that we or they have the possibility of living in it." (Translation from German — Ed.; Thus it is that Prof. J. Burnham sizes up the situation.

Carroll, too, demands a similar determination from American statesmen.

"Many well-meaning people presume, as did Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, that if leaders of both sides will sit down together their differences can be settled by discussion and compromise. That is not true. Marxist Communism is a militant, proselyting doctrine, based upon struggle. It carries inspiring promises, it creates zealots. But it cannot permit liberty of thought or action, it cannot tolerate opposition. Therefore it can never be appeased. It must be defeated."

It is also interesting to learn the ways and means these men suggest for vanquishing communism, being largely the same in all three cases.

Prof. J. Burnham thinks that it is certainly not sufficient to apply usual, traditional methods. The new situation demands new methods that have not hitherto been tried. He writes:

"Many of these untraditional methods cost little, many even much money and they will not greatly appeal to the public. On the other hand, they demand much imagination, steadfastness, intelligence, and sometimes, courage. We have already shown that measures taken in the battle against world communism can only be evaluated according to their influence on the balance of power in the world. This balance of power will perhaps be less influenced by an action which has been launched with the help of millions of dollars and thousands of speeches and leading articles, than by another action undertaken by a handful of men with a few thousand dollars, not a line appearing about it in the press. Nay, where the grand action serves to support a false political decision, its consequences may be the more negative, the greater its extent.

Take an example: no matter whether we agree or not with the judgement of the State Department in its White Book on China in 1949, it is a fact that several milliard dollars were spent on Chinese affairs from 1945 to 1949. It is also a fact that these milliards were not only wasted, but that they contributed to the Chinese débâcle as a result of the way in which they were wasted. Take the following example as a contrast: In the early twenties, Moscow sent a number of agents with very little money to Albania. There they succeeded after much trouble in gathering a few native Albanians together, mostly discontented intellectuals from the towns. After 1940 the group under Moscow's leadership could be counted only by the dozen. At the end of 1944, although the material support they received from their lords and masters was still very small, they were able to take control of this strategically important country... To put it more plainly: it is more important for us to win one single member of the communist party to our side than to make a complicated treaty with a Great Power and spend milliards on it, if we cannot trust that power. If we support the French Atom Commission under the leadership of communist Juliet Curie, would it mean defeat and not victory. If we should succeed in keeping only one small unit of the Ukrainian Army of Insurgents alive, this an unqualified victory, whose effect on the final outcome cannot be foreseen. Traditional methods (armaments, diplomacy, trade policy) cannot bring about a decision. Recent history has proved that untraditional methods can produce a decision, while traditional methods may be able to do so only at the expense of total warfare." (Translation from German. — Ed.)

Carroll arrives at practically the same conclusions:

"If war came, we would seek simply to frustrate Soviet power outside its borders and release the forces within the country which

could destroy or cripple the regime. Then, having established safeguards against future aggression, we would leave the Soviet peoples to work out their future in their own way.

What do we need for such a war of limited objectives?

1. We must have an air force ready to deliver to any part of the Soviet Union any message which the American government may choose to send to the Soviet people. We must have an air force which will be ready at the very start of a war — and not two years later — to plaster the Soviet Union with leaflets bearing the pledges and promises of the American government and people. We must have an air force which will be able to deliver not only atomic bombs but anti-Soviet agents and guerrilla leaders to any Soviet hamlet.

2. We must be prepared at the very start, if war should come, to answer the prayers of the peasant millions. We must have a message to those millions — a slogan as simple as "Land for the Peasants" — which will set the steppes aflame.

3. We must have clear in our minds at the very start, and not after months of bungling, a way to meet the conflicting aspirations of the Great Russians and the minorities. Our proposals should be flexible, yet sufficiently concrete to carry evidence of our sincerity.

4. We must prepare to support guerilla warfare on such a scale as the world has never seen before. We must develop weapons such as guerrillas have never used before. We must train men to think guerilla warfare and to plan guerilla warfare.

5. We must set up a joint staff of civilian and military leaders to devise the plans and techniques which enable this nation — should the need arise — to bring to bear upon the Soviet Union all of the power of psychological fission."

We have given more consideration to the arguments of Burnham and Carroll because they coincide to a large extent with the views of politicians in the subjugated nations. These ideas are common property among free journalists living in exile.

C. W. Boldyreff offers us little that is new and original when he says:

"The masters of the Kremlin dread most a movement that will show their victims how to shake off Communist control. The Achilles' heel of Soviet rule has always been in Russia. Between 1922 and 1942 there were more than 50 revolts, rebellions and active plots against the Bolshevik regime. Most of these, spontaneous and disorganized, were doomed from the start. But they indicated unmistakably the hatred of the people for their oppressors.

When Hitler's armies invaded in 1941, the people greeted them as liberators. In less than five months millions of Russians surrendered to the Germans. By 1942 an organized anti-Bolshevik revolution under the leadership of Gen. Andrej Vlassov was on its way. But Nazi atrocities were more than even desperate anti-Communists could stomach, and the powerful force of Russian patriotism switched from combating the regime to defending the homeland. After the war, hundreds of thousands of Russian prisoners of war and displaced persons refused to return to the Soviet Union."

Boldyreff, therefore, like Burnham and Carroll, also demands "untraditional" methods for the conquest of communism. But there the similarity between the arguments of the three writers comes to an end. We on our part feel impelled to state that C. W. Boldyreff quotes facts that are historically false in order to prove that the area that is best prepared for such "untraditional" methods is in Russia proper. This is not so. On the contrary. The present situation in the U.S.S.R. proves

that ethnographic Russia is least prepared for such action.

As we shall see later, Prof. Burnham and Carroll judge the present situation in the Soviet Union in the light of historical facts and of an objective view of the present. They are Americans. C. W. Boldyreff, as a Russian, has only the interests of an All-Russian policy in mind, a policy that ignores historical developments within the Russian imperium. It is quite clear to Prof. Burnham and Carroll that Russia today is not inhabited by Russians alone. They therefore base their plans for the application of "untraditional" methods on the fact that all constructive policy in the East of Europe must take into consideration the natural desire for freedom and political independence that is cherished by the many nations comprised by the U.S.S.R.

In discussing the minimum demands which the U.S.A. must make of Soviet Russia as the basis of American foreign policy, he adds:

"The conditions of this bargain with Russia are nothing like what we desire, what we ought to desire in respect of Russia. This is true above all of the demand for internal changes. Should, for instance, measures be included in our bargain which guarantee a minimum of political freedom within Russia — i. e. the right to political opposition, to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, to inviolability of person etc.? Should provisions be included that refer not only to former vassal states, but to other areas within the Soviet Union, that would make them free to choose their own sovereignty, — areas, that is, which are inhabited by "subjugated peoples" — who up to the present day have preserved their national character and their efforts for independence, as Ukraine, in particular? Should we demand the cessation of all forced labour? Surely we desire that such things should come to pass. But the question is whether to include them in a contract that we should submit as an alternative to war. (It is fairly certain that, in the case of a total war, these points would count among the war aims of the United States both for reasons of expediency and of ethics and psychology.)

It may be added that the realization of the five points (constituting the minimum demands) would lead indirectly to many other changes within Russia, including probably a certain democratization, and the possibility of liberating the Ukraine and convict labourers. These demands, therefore, do not mean that the Ukraine and convict labourers, would be left in the lurch; on the contrary, they are thus offered a far better chance of liberation than in the case of a total war." (Translation from German. — Ed.)

Thus, Prof. Burnham whose arguments are obviously based on an objective view of the situation in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Carroll also sees things clearly, when he writes:

"In Ukraine the spirit of nationalism further heightened the antipathy to Stalin's regime, though the nature of the regime itself remained always the greatest source of discontent."

In contrast to them, Boldyreff, to the regret of all anti-communists, wishes to create the impression that this basic problem of the nations within the Soviet Union does not exist at all. He attempts to strengthen Western public opinion in the error that the U.S.S.R. is inhabited by a uniform Russian people, or what is worse, that the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. are content with the plan of reconstructing the Russian empire as it was before 1917. And that is an error with grave consequences. He would like at least to conceal the fact that Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, North Cau-

casians, Armenians, Aserbeidschani, Cossacks, Turekstani and other peoples in the Soviet Union are endeavouring with all their strength to get free for ever from the Russian imperium, whether it be despotic, Czarist, democratic or communist, and to form independent states of their own. Here, Boldyreff has also concealed the fact that the revolution of 1917 was inspired by strong national, centrifugal powers which gave it its original impetus and aim. This is supported by the following historical facts: the Ukrainian declaration of independence in January, 1918, the formation of the Byelorussian republic in March 1919, of the Cossack state in December 1917, of a free Georgia in May 1918, the declaration of the independence of Turkestan in 1918 etc. It was only after years of a bitter so-called civil war that these areas were re-conquered and their people once more forced under the yoke of Moscow. But this has not destroyed these nations' desire for freedom and independence, as is proved by the resistance movements which have never ceased to fight under the surface behind the Iron Curtain.

Boldyreff also forges history when he says that in

"Russia there were 50 revolts, rebellions and conspiracies against the bolshevist system in the last 20 years."

In answer to this statement, it must be emphasized that the centre of anti-communism is not in Russia proper but in the countries of non-Russian nations.

Of the "50 revolts" mentioned, all that were clearly directed against bolshevism and Russian imperialism took place in non-Russian countries.

There were, of course, also in Russia sham trials of "imperialist spies and traitors to the fatherland", but we must state with some regret that none of these trials were concerned with anti-communist movements among the Russian people. On the contrary, these trials were just ordinary party fights between various bolshevist leaders that were carried out in law courts. To put it more plainly, Stalin was getting rid of rivals or candidates for his position in the Kremlin. If instead of Stalin, Sinowjew or Bucharin were ruling as dictator today, it would make little difference to the despotic and imperialist nature of the Soviet regime. It is definitely a disadvantage for the non-Russian nations that they should have no allies in the Russian people to support them in their fight against the bolshevist, imperialist regime in Moscow. Stalin has repeatedly paid due tribute to the Russian people's fatal loyalty to the present regime. This is one of the chief reasons why his entire policy is based almost entirely on this people, which he sets up as a model to all non-Russian peoples. Everything that is Russian is praised as the best, the most worthy of imitation.

Such a development gives no pleasure to non-Russian peoples; on the contrary, they would be glad to have the Russians as allies in their bitter struggle against totalitarianism, dictatorship and imperialism. As long as this is not the case, we consider it not only wrong,

but politically fatal, to represent the Russian people as the central point of anti-communist resistance, as Boldyreff does.

The NTS, which Boldyreff praises so highly is a mere organisation of exiled Russians, and if it really is active in the U.S.S.R., then it is taking the first tentative steps there, which do not justify such advertisement. Although we are well informed about underground movements in the U.S.S.R. we have as yet heard nothing about the activity of the NTS in the Soviet Union.

However that may be, the decision of the leaders of the NTS to arouse the Russian people, too, to revolutionary activity must be heartily welcomed.

Meantime, we cannot but repudiate decisively one of the points in the program of this political party, namely, the presentation of the U.S.S.R. today as a unit, a political whole and the aim of restoring the Russian imperium as it was in 1917. Such a program is a tragic challenge to all antibolshevist powers, a call to all non-Russian peoples in the present U.S.S.R. to rise against the Russian people. We doubt therefore whether responsible Russian politicians in exile can present such a policy to their people and the whole world. Their decision to swim against the current of progress in the world is a risk that might ruin others as well as themselves.

But at present, the NTS plays no part among the anti-bolshevist powers active in the U.S.S.R. The Ukrainian Army of Insurgents (U.P.A.) is the most important of such powers and it has made a name for itself throughout the world.

Carroll sizes the U.P.A. up in these words:

"The Ukrainian underground which had existed before the war was given a great impetus by German brutality in 1941 and 1942. This underground however, did not become pro-Soviet, nor was it entirely anti-German. Its motto was: 'We fight every oppression regardless of its source.' During the German occupation the underground forces concentrated their attacks on the German police and SS (Elite Guard) units. In general they spared other German troops because they felt that the army leaders sympathized with them.

The principal underground organizations were the Union of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and its striking force, the Ukrainian Insurrection Army (U.P.A.). Members of this army joined the Germans to get military experience, then slipped away as the Germans retreated and took up the fight against the Russians behind the lines of the advancing Soviet troops.

German intelligence officers who secretly returned to the Ukraine behind the Russian lines reported that in Galicia (the Western Ukraine) the Red army could retain control only of the principal towns, highways and rail lines. The rest of the region was dominated by the U.P.A. and O.U.N. Galicia was the cradle of Ukrainian nationalism, and it was somewhere in this area late in 1944 that a congress of separatists was convened. It was attended by representatives of most of the minorities. To the Germans they sent word that if the German army succeeded in returning to Ukraine, the O.U.N. and U.P.A. would not fight against it if Germany guaranteed Ukrainian independence after Stalin's defeat.

Long after the final defeat of Hitler in May 1945, these Ukrainian forces were active. They probably were partly responsible for bringing on the Soviet purges in Ukraine in 1947. And as late as last summer there were unconfirmed reports that several Russian divisions were being kept busy by Ukrainian guerrilla forces."

C. W. Boldyreff's comments on the Vlassow movement and Russian D.P.s also call for rectification.

Turkestan and the Peoples of Islam

By V. Yurtci

Turkestan, which since olden times has been the cradle of Turko-Islam culture, occupies an important place in the Soviet Union, because of its geographical position and its political structure, as well as because of its natural resources.

Moscow is making use of the position of Turkestan in its propaganda among the peoples of all Islam countries. In Eastern Turkestan, China and among the peoples of all Islam countries, in various towns of Turkestan propaganda schools have been opened for the purpose of spreading propaganda in Moslem and non-Moslem countries.

The propaganda apparatus organised in Turkestan for the Turkestanians continues its work. The radio station, the press and agitators are obliged to carry out their daily duties. For example the political cultural organisations in Uzbekistan prepared 3,500 reports in the course of a year. Whilst engaged on bringing in the harvest and cotton crop in Kazakhstan, 12,000 people were engaged on agitation work ("Prawda" of 25. 2. 49).

In these reports it is said that there are outlawry, starvation, poverty and unemployment both in the Western Democracies as well as in the West. The Soviet Union is compared with "paradise". Some people, particularly youth, may perhaps believe in this as they have no idea of life in the West. No news from abroad is ever received.

It is forbidden to listen to the wireless from abroad. It is dangerous tourists are immediately arrested and are punished under the pretext of being agents.

It will be seen from the above that Turkestanians cannot know anything about life in the West or in the countries of the Near-East and conversely the West and Near-East does not know anything about life and conditions in Turkestan.

Fugitives from Turkestan to Europe and to the East between the years 1941-1948 were surprised when they saw with their own eyes conditions and life in these countries and realised that they had been misinformed by the Soviets.

Turkestan even to-day is the centre which unites the Moslem Turks residing in the Soviet Union. 95% of the population of Turkestan consists of Moslem Turks. Centres of Islam, like the Caucasus, the Crimea and Kazan have lost their influence, but Turkestan is even to-day an important centre of Islam. Bukhara and Samarkand were in ancient times the centre of Islam, to which students from all over the East came to acquire their religious education. Many high schools were built.

To-day the Soviet Union is trying to make use of this fact. In Tashkent and Samarkand, Soviet authorities have opened religious colleges and appointed Red Muftis. Freedom of religion

was proclaimed after the Second World War and thereby permission was granted for pilgrimages to Mecca. But the Soviet Union had ulterior motives for taking these measures. The Turkestanians who went to Mecca were not able to tell their co-religionists anything about conditions in Turkestan, as their families at home were held as hostages.

The real facts about conditions in Turkestan could therefore not be made known and people outside the Soviet Union are consequently of opinion that there is liberty, freedom of religion and independence in Turkestan.

In its propaganda towards the East, Moscow lays stress on the construction of factories, schools, houses, and streets in the large towns of Turkestan and points out how advanced the latter is in comparison with the East. The reason for the East being so far behind Turkestan, is attributed by the Soviet propaganda machine to the lack of freedom there, foreign influence and out-of-date rule. Turkestan is being praised as being a "paradise". In this propaganda the Soviets make use of the fact that both countries are separated from each other by the Iron Curtain.

It is a fact that middle and high schools have been opened in Turkestan. A few factories and houses have also been built. But it is not known abroad who learns in these schools and how very hard the conditions of work are in the factories. At the same time, Tur-

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It is historical fact that the Vlassow movement was a purely German experiment and that it was a complete failure. Vlassow did not develop any underground activity in Russia; he recruited his force exclusively from Russian P.O.Ws in Germany. After the German armies had suffered severe defeats in the East, German leaders decided to cause, a split between the Soviet government and the people, or rather to widen and exploit the difference already existing. This political decision, like many others, was taken too late and badly executed. The campaign was initiated where these differences were most insignificant, namely in the Russian section of the Soviet Union.

Profesor von Mende, a German, characterised this policy in a interview which he granted the writer of these lines, saying:

"There never was actually a Vlassow army, there were only two Vlassow divisions. He did indeed demand to be put in charge of all units of volunteers from the East, but this was never carried out. Politically, this attempt should be judged in the same light as the Committee for the Liberation of the Russian peoples (the organisation under Vlassow). As the SS headquarters and the German Foreign Office thought that they had discovered a magic weapon in Vlassow, the latter's German advisers did all they could to compel non-Russian national committees and organizations to subordinate themselves to Vlassow. This war turned down by all national committees who alleged that Vlassow as a Russian was merely fighting against a

domestic regime, while the non-Russian peoples were fighting against both bolshevism and Russian imperialism. They justly considered that they could never identify a Russian with the aims of their fight for freedom. The Committee to liberate the Russian peoples was at bottom a belated German attempt to play the All-Russian card. Vlassow's attempt came too late, but it is doubtful if it was expedient in the form it took, as it aroused the opposition of all non-Russian peoples."

That is how a leading German politician in the Second World War sums up the Vlassow movement, a statesman who was in charge of the political department in Alfred Rosenberg's Ministry of the East. The Germans made one of their many great mistakes by playing the all-Russian card, which could win nothing, as the Russians were loyal to the government in the Kremlin. At the same time, they thus forfeited the chance of winning over the subjugated nations, the great majority of whom were hostile to the bolshevist regime. It seems interesting in this connection to point out that at the beginning of the 1941 campaign, it was mostly non-Russian soldiers who surrendered in masses to the Germans. Even then, the Russians showed that they were loyal to the Government. Carroll writes in his article in Life:

"Yet when the Germans struck on the morning of June 22, 1941, their early success exceeded even the hopes of the psychological warfare planners. Here are figures on Soviet prisoners

— figures taken not from propaganda sources but from the secret files of the Foreign Armies (East) Department: June 29 — July 7, pocket of Bialystok and Minsk, 320 000 prisoners; July 16, battle of Smolensk, 300 000; Aug. 5-8, battle of Uman, 103 000; Sept. 24, battle of Kiev, 665,000; Oct. 18, double battle of Bryansk and Vyazma, 665 000. It should be noted that these mass surrenders of more than two million men took place at a moment when the Soviet forces were fighting on their own soil against a nation which they knew to be the aggressor.

As the Germans advanced on Smolensk at the rate of 40 miles a day, the found to their amazement that the people welcomed them as liberators and offered their cooperation. In the Baltic states and the Ukraine and even in White Russia, the peasants greeted the field gray columns with the traditional offering of bread and salt."

And finally — what happened to Russian labourers in Germany? Did hundreds of them prefer to stay in exile, as Boldyreff says? Statistics are interesting. The following refused to return to the Soviet Union:

Ukrainians	220 000
Latvians	85 000
Russians	60 000
Lithuanians	49 000
Cossacks	43 000
Estonians	35 000

If we remember the size of the nations concerned, it is clear how few Russians protested against the Soviet regime by preferring to remain in exile. In France, loyalty to the present regime spread even to those who had

OPEN LETTER

To Her Grace Katherine, Duchess of Atholl President,
The British League for European Freedom

Madam,

In a Ukrainian newspaper I read your letter defending Mr. George Knupfer who made himself known by his provoking assault upon the leaders of liberation movements assembled at the Conference in Edinburgh. In this letter you recommended Mr. Knupfer as an anti-Stalinist and a virtual foe of bolshevism.

I do not know how to apologize enough for my heedless breach of good manners, but I consider it to be none the less my duty to tell you that it is far from being true. Of course I am not meaning to say anything against the intention of your letter to the Ukrainian editor.

As for Mr. Knupfer himself, he is in virtual accord with the Kremlin's thesis of the indivisibility and unity of the Russian empire. Like all White Russian emigres, he refuses to recognize the right of self determination to the non-Russian nationalities and believes that "it is better to have a bad dictator than to cut the life body of Russia" (Alexander Kerensky). Like all Red and White Russians alike, he confesses to the ideal of preserving the Russian empire which is a conglomeration of peoples representing diverse cultures and civilizations. By his "democratic" attitude he is playing directly into Stalin's hands.

Moreover, the chief task of many Knupfers in the West is to spread ignorance and misinformation about Russia in order to conceal the true nature of

the force which now endangers the world. They are succeeding in doing that as the people in the West place immense confidence in Knupfers who pose as irreconcilable foes of bolshevism.

Yet, at the close of World War II, when it became apparent that Russia would emerge as a power of the first rank, hundreds of thousands of Knupfers raced to Soviet consulates in order to apply for Soviet citizenship. They had suddenly discovered that Stalin, after all, was a great Russian patriot, an empire builder with an impressive record of conquests and aggressions far surpassing that of the inefficient and corrupt Czars.

For Knupfers and stalinists are not antithetical groups as many think in the West. There can be no enmity between them as both serve "Holy and Eternal Russia". They can only rival in their endeavors to establish Russian supremacy all over the world. The fact that stalinists march under a red star and Knupfers under a black eagle with two heads must not bring about a confusion. For, though their methods may be different and sometimes diametrically opposed, their aim is identical, namely to preserve Russia as an empire, to continue Russian expansion and to realize Russian dreams for world hegemony.

Both Knupfers and stalinists have been educated to admire the Russian empire as a great power with mystical conceptions to save the world and to

be its teacher. Russian dreams for centuries have been to make Moscow a Third and Last Rome. And, therefore, both Knupfers and stalinists are ardent advocates of the indivisibility of "Holy Mother Russia" being the source for Russian imperialism and expansion. And Knupfers are succeeding in spreading their mythology in the West as many people do not realize that the core of evil in Russia lies in the dynamism of Russian imperialism and not in "international communism" which practically does not exist (in Russia).

Both Knupfers and stalinists are attempting to conceal the truth about Russia and about enslaved non-Russian nationalities. In fighting the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples they often use slander as a very effective weapon. In their written and oral propaganda against e. g. the Ukrainian liberation movement, the Knupfers and stalinists speak of an "independent" Ukraine as of a "Polish", "German" or an "Austrian" intrigue to divide "indivisible" Russia. They speak of "Ukrainian-German" nationalists, as of Nazi-German "collaborators" and "traitors" who sold Ukraine to the Germans. They maintain that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is composed of "armed terrorist gangs which raid and pillage villages and murder their population", or that they are "fascists", "Red army deserters" or other "criminal elements". They follow the principle: "calumniare audacter semper aliquid haeret".

In his letter to Mr. John Stewart, Mr. George Knupfer uses the same method. He speaks of "quislings" and "collaborators", though he knows that the lea-

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settled there after the First World War and who now returned in great numbers voluntarily to the U.S.S.R.

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However much we agree with Boldyreff's view that it is right and politically necessary for the West to support opponents of the bolshevist regime in Russia in every possible way, we believe that the comments we have made on his article prove how dangerous it would be to stake everything on a policy of Russia, as Boldyreff recommends the West to do.

When even Berdiajew, the well-known Russian author in his book "The Meaning and Fate of Russian Communism" which was published in 1937, proclaims that "bolshevism is the third form of Russian imperialism or of the Great Russian Empire" and when more recently, John Forster Dulles, one of America's leading politicians, agreed with all acute thinkers in the modern world of politics that the danger for the world was an "alliance between Marxist communism and Russian imperialism", it is obvious that bolshevism cannot be conquered by its other self, by Russian imperialism, and its representatives. If Dulles has recognized the present danger to the world to consist of two components — communism and Russian imperialism — the West would

be very ill-advised if, in order to combat this danger to the world, it should ally itself with those who appear as the representatives of its second component part. That would be setting the fox to keep watch over the geese.

The centre of resistance in the cold war against Moscow cannot therefore be in the Russia that is infected by Russian imperialism, no matter its colour, but first and foremost among the nations subjugated by the U.S.S.R. who confront the present threat to the world, in its double form, with equal hostility. This alone guarantees that they are genuine, reliable allies of the West in the fight against Moscow and that they will remain so for all time.

All the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. which constitute the main potential of the cold war against Moscow claim nothing for themselves except the realization of the principle proclaimed by President Truman in his New Year address when he said: "We believe that all nations have the right to independence." These peoples pursue the same ideal that the American President expressed in the words: "We believe that free and independent nations can be united in a world order based on right... We believe that such a world can and ought to extend throughout the world the blessings of modern science and industry, with

better health and education, more food and a higher standard of living." Surely nothing could be more damaging to the realization of this ideal than the readiness to accept the preservation of the monster of Greater Russia in the future. The collaboration of Russian imperialists thus bought would weigh light against the dangers that would emerge from such an alliance for the outcome of the Third World War.

Of course, the nations subjugated by Moscow do not claim any monopolies in the cold war against Moscow; nor do they cherish feelings of intolerance towards Russians. They ask for nothing better than to stand side by side with the Russian nation in fighting the imperialism of Moscow. But the Russians would first have to give proof not only of their hostility to bolshevism but also of having abandoned every thought of continuing the slavery of Greater Russia. Only then would Russian programmes in the cold war against Moscow seem genuine, to the subjugated nations as well as to the West and only then would their collaboration fit into President Truman's conception of a new world. It is only on such a basis, then, that Boldyreff's ideas of arousing and utilizing any Russian resistance there may be against Russia could be of benefit.

Roman Ilnytskyj

The only Way out

The difference between the two camps into which the world is divided is continually increasing. On the one hand, there is Russia and aggression, and on the other the Western world on the defensive. Far-reaching conclusions must be drawn from the events in Korea. Bolshevism has succeeded in involving the United Nations in a war with Asiatic peoples, and with China in particular. The power of the U.S.A. is being used up in unimportant campaigns. The Soviet Union would thus like to draw, the U.S.A. in particular into a disastrous war, while keeping Moscow, the center, free from all war-like operations. If the Western world will not see that there is no point in waging war with Korea or China while enemy No. 1, Russia, is standing on the side-lines, the war can last for decades without any prospect of final victory.

It is not necessary to throw atom bombs on Korea but rather on Moscow. **If Bolshevism, i. e. Russian imperialism in communist garb, is destroyed at the center, it is ruined automatically throughout the world.** In Asia, Russia is playing a clever game; it pretends to be the representative of the national idea, of national and social liberation, by fighting the imperialism of Western colonial powers. In reality, this is merely because the idea of the national liberation of Asiatic nations is a very convenient item in the present imperial policy of Russia towards Western powers. But it is not the nationalism of colonial nations but rather the policy of Western powers that is to blame for the absence in Asia of a united, determined front of Asiatic peoples against Bolshevism.

Bolshevism can be vanquished if the Western powers declare clearly and unambiguously that they are pursuing a national and not an imperial policy, and if they would put these words into action. The characteristic feature of our epoch is the decay and not the consolidation of empires. The British have realized this and have wisely transformed their empire into a Commonwealth of equal and free nations. The process of decay in empires cannot be held up and still less the decay of the Russian empire, which is one hundred times worse than any Western empire. For Russia is attempting to assimilate every subjected nation. It forces such a nation to adopt the Russian language and Russian customs; it oppresses its intellectual life and violates its soul. In Poland today, for instance, there are hundreds of Russian schools; Russian is compulsory in various teacher training colleges and it is easy to see that attempts are being made to make it the official language in communications. Leading agencies in Moscow decree that Russian is the language of Western socialism. Western colonial powers have done much to raise the culture and improve the well-being of their colonial peoples, and they have never tried to make Indians, Malaysians, or others into Europeans.

In spite of the cruelty and the deception of Russian imperialist methods, it

is no wonder that Russia nevertheless succeed in hypnotizing the colonial peoples of Asia and many nations outside of the U.S.S.R. and in giving the impression that they are helping them to national liberty. **For Russia's success in Asia is won not only by means of social but above all by means of national ideas and catch-words; it is also successful in kindling civil war in Indo-China and other Asiatic territory.** It is obvious today that Bolshevism, with the help of its fifth columns, and above all with the aid of communist parties throughout the world, is attempting to cause civil war in all the countries of the world. **Russia has a second front throughout the world.**

As long as the Western powers pursue a policy of imperialism towards colored peoples they will have no success in their struggle against Bolshevism. That is why the West must now abandon imperialist ideas and replace them frankly with national aims. National freedom and not imperialism is the trade-mark of our epoch.

The latter, like national socialism, fascism and all other abortions of nationalism, is already a thing of the past; these are a mere distortion of the idea of national liberation. Nationalism with the aim of freedom and not plunder and oppression, with the motto of "freedom for nations, freedom for the individual" is spreading throughout the world. Freedom for nations means sovereign national states, and freedom for the individual means securing all liberties and rights for citizens in a free state, the right to private property and the guarantee of social justice.

Whoever is of opinion that nationalism is out of date and that a new epoch is dawning is much mistaken. Let us look at what is happening in the world. What activated the biggest continent in the world solely the **idea of national freedom of nations**, the ideas of struggle for a national state, the foundation of national freedom. The great social movements are merely concomitants and results of the birth of nationalism among colonial peoples who are **bound together today by national social ideals**; after attaining national freedom, they will also establish a regime of social justice.

While Bolshevism is exploiting the idea of a free nationalism in Asia, it is at the same time endeavoring in the Soviet Union and the satellite states to eradicate by force every expression of free nationalism. This contradiction between the home and foreign policy of the Soviet dictators is bound to lead to the decay of the Russian imperium sooner or later. For the world today is marching towards the national freedom of all nations to the brotherhood of all free and equal nations in national sovereign states and to the decline of empires. This process cannot be retarded either by atom bombs or by the terrorism of the Soviet regime. Empires fall asunder, they are **being blown up by the dynamite of the national idea**. All free nations, including

those who yesterday were still colonial nations, are now emerging on the stage of history. It was only yesterday that the world was laughin at Gandhi's goat; today the voice of India is just as important as that of any European power. Yesterday, Indonesia was still an object of political bargaining; today it is a member of the United Nations. And what awaits, for instance, Ukraine? - the land of immortal heroes, the ancient culture land of Europe, the representative of the national idea of liberation of which Voltaire said, "The Ukraine always demanded freedom."

Thus the subjugated peoples, particularly in the Soviet Union, appear today as a third power beside the West and the Soviet empire. They form a second front within the Soviet Union, and there can be no victory without this front. Where is the second front of the West? The West today does not even want to have one because it does not understand. On December 28th 1950 Mr. Barrett, Assistant Secretary of State in the U.S.A., Chief of the Office of Psychological Warfare, was in Munich. He declared to the press that the U.S.A. did not intend to support underground movements, but to instruct the population about the truth of events in the world. In the same number of the "Neue Zeitung", dated 29. 12. 50, MacArthur's tenth report to the United Nations on the war situation in Korea was published; he stated that more than 50% of all the troops of the United Nations in Korea had been used to fight against partisans, whose number was estimated to be 35,000. This means that the **Allies in Korea had to fight on two fronts and therefore lost.** And what conclusions are drawn therefrom? Mr. Barrett declared that the U.S.A. had no intention of supporting underground movements, which means that defeat is being prepared. For today there can be no victory over Bolshevism without Union, without national revolutions. We the second front within the Soviet are of opinion that anti-Bolshevist strategy must assume that there is a second front behind the iron curtain, which must be consolidated and developed and adapted to the first front. Perhaps the second front, on account of the ideas behind it is more decisive in the present great struggle of ideas than the first.

This strategy would have to attack the seat of evil, namely the **ethnographic area of Russia**. This area must first be disarmed, in order to paralyze Bolshevik aggression in the "hinterland". At the same time, if tactics are coordinated with those of the West, the oppressed nations will manage to defeat Russian troops on their own ground. Russia must be attacked from all sides; the Soviet Union must be caught in the pincers of our campaigns. There are also Soviet soldiers in Siberia and on other Asiatic fronts. Could they not be won for the West as the result of a wise policy on the part of the Allies? What is there to prevent a great propaganda campaign among them? Why does the West not support a campaign of political ideas? Why don't

(Continued on Page 16)

The Past and the Future

We should like to seize the opportunity offered by the beginning of another year to summarize briefly the most important events in the 1950 record of the A.B.N.

We should like first to state that the impressive conference of the A.B.N. in Edinburgh this year marked a certain peak in its seven-year old existence. It was obvious there that the A.B.N., which represents millions of members of 22 nations, is the only organisation which has an active underground movement today behind the Iron Curtain. This activity behind the Iron Curtain has been significantly confirmed by the dictators in the Kremlin for their official press agency, "TASS" announced on 23. 11. 1950, that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. had found it necessary to create a special Order of Merit for services in fighting "political banditry".

Almost at the same time we received the tragic news that General Taras Chuprynska, Chief in Command of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army, and one of the founders of the A.B.N., met a hero's death in battle against the oppressor. Col. Wasyl Kowal, who had long served with him, was nominated his successor.

The struggle, therefore, continues, regardless of the enemy's increased efforts, though no longer in mass actions but in smaller groups who operate in accordance with a fixed plan and who are in constant connection with one another. It was only recently that the Soviet Press reported "sabotage on the part of bandits hostile to the state" in the districts of Proskuriw and Winnica.

Couriers of the U.P.A. have been able to maintain connection, not only between different groups in their own organizations, but also with underground movements of other nations oppressed by the bolsheviks thus preserving unity in the A.B.N. struggle for liberty beyond the Iron Curtain.

Couriers from the U.P.A. have also managed to reach countries on this side of the Iron Curtain, in order to keep up contact with the competent A.B.N. offices. In the November and December numbers of our Correspondence we published copies of pamphlets of underground movements behind the Iron Curtain which were brought to us by such couriers.

We also received reports of underground activity by fighters for freedom in other countries under the bolsheviks who are likewise in contact with the centre of the A.B.N. In Bulgaria, for instance the "National Bulgarian Antibolshevik Legion" has recently been very active. There were clashes with communist militia in the Balkan mountains. "Basmachi" Movement in Turkestan; Chief in Command Gen. Osman Batur, in Slovakia, too, the so-called White Slovak Partisans who were in close connection with the Ukrainian Insurgents Army in 1951, continued their activity.

In the course of 1950 new partisan groups have been formed in Hungary, as we reported in our December number; their activity kept the Hungarian Security Police busy.

In the course of the year under review, many agencies and branches of the A.B.N. were founded in various countries in Western Europe and abroad. Their activity, at first, is mostly publicity.

The A.B.N. also conducted a successful campaign to found a "Liberation Fund for Subjugated Nations". This financial action was carried out chiefly with the help of coupons issued by the financial commission of the A.B.N. which were then exchanged for foreign currency. The finances of the A.B.N. come largely from donations from members of A.B.N. peoples living in exile.

Lithuania Ready to Fight

We received some appeals from the Lithuanian Underground Movement, of which we reproduce one in translation:

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Lithuanian!

The decisive battle for the freedom and independence of Lithuania is at hand.

The free, democratic, Christian world of the West is uniting and preparing for the great crusade of the free world against bolshevism and Russian imperialism!

Let us be prepared, too! Let us do our sacred duty! Let us unite for the decisive battle for the freedom of our beloved country! Let us strengthen our relations with the underground movement between different groups in their own organizations, but also with underground movements of other nations oppressed by the bolsheviks thus preserving unity in the A.B.N. struggle for liberty beyond the Iron Curtain.

While we are bravely ready to make sacrifices, we must be doubly watchful and cautious. Let us be on our guard against bolshevik agents and provocateurs.

Long live the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations!

Long live a free, independent Lithuania and its glorious old capital Vilnius!

The Lithuanian Underground Movement

Two Opinions — Two Worlds

"The American State Department does not intend to support underground movements in eastern states but only to instruct their inhabitants about what is really happening in the world."

These words, which we quote, from a report in the "Neue Zeitung" of 29. 12. 50, are taken from a longer statement given by Mr. Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary in the American State Department to the press in Munich. In the same edition of the "Neue Zeitung" General Mac Arthur's tenth

As we already said, the A.B.N. Congress held in Edinburgh from June 12—14 is one of the high-lights in our record. It was a great success and was followed by demonstrations in all centres of exiled A.B.N. nations in which the Resolutions passed in Edinburgh were welcomed and approved.

In the course of 1950, the leading representatives of the A.B.N. repeatedly received delegates from the Press and spoke to them of the aims and ideas of the A.B.N. These press conferences found a due echo in international public opinion. Delegates from the A.B.N. were enthusiastically welcomed at the World Conference for Moral Rearmament in Caux, where they had frequent opportunity of speaking on behalf of the oppressed nations.

The successes of the past year are a spur for us to be still more active on both sides of the Iron Curtain in the service of our great idea: **Freedom for Nations, Freedom for the Individuals!**

K. A.

report to the UN. on the position in Korea was published. We quote the following from this report:

"Up to Nov. 30, five well organized communist armies with a total strength of about 250,000 had already crossed the Korean frontier. Partisan activity is so lively that about 30% of the UN troops must be diverted to fight against 30—35,000 guerillas."

We leave it to our readers to form their own opinion of those two facts which indicate a suicidal or at least an incomprehensible policy. Unfortunately, men like MacArthur do not seem to have much influence on the policy of the West.

West and East

An Old Anecdote

A Frenchman and a Russian once were praising their respective countries. The former talked of the progress of French science and culture and life, without, however, creating a great impression. At last, the Russian interrupted his French comrade, saying: "Rubbish! What is there in France? Look at us, at Russia! All is huge there. Our bees, for instance, are as big as sheep!"

The Frenchman, somewhat astonished asked: "How is that possible? Are Russian beehives, then, as big as houses?"

"No, no. They are no bigger than elsewhere."

"But how do such big bees get into such small hives?" the Frenchman asked.

"Oh, just as usual — they have to", retorted the Russian emphatically and with icy disdain.

The picture that accompanied this anecdote depicted a Russian hitting unfortunate big bees with a long whip, in order to force them to enter a small beehive.

(In Memory of M. Threecross)

Byelorussia's Desperate Fight

Byelorussia is a rich country. The main sources of its wealth are agriculture and forests. This can be proved by statistics from the time of the Czars. In 1913, for instance, Byelorussia produced: 100 million gold roubles' worth of grain and tobacco, 75 gold roubles' worth of flax, construction timber for 300 million roubles, and cattle for about 75 million. Those are only the main products. We could extend this list by many millions of gold roubles, if we mentioned only the 3 thousand tons of honey and wax.

Nor does this exhaust Byelorussia's wealth. It is also rich in various minerals — for instance, coal, iron-ores, salt, oil, the best kinds of kaolin, phosphates, copper, aluminum, lead etc. And yet, even under the Czars, the population of Byelorussia was very poor; for it was simply a colony of the Russian empire. As such, it was mercilessly exploited and plundered.

As far as bolshevism; the modern form of imperialism, is concerned, the whole world knows that it is also the

most brutal system of exploiting and plundering subjugated nations. The regime of the Politbureaux has increased the need and misery of the Byelorussian population by introducing slavery in collective farms and factories and by the murderous methods of the M.G.B. (bolshevist security service). Those are no mere empty words. They represent millions of victims and a sea of blood...

Formerly we have already reported that M. Abramchik, the President of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic (B.N.R.) in exile has in his possession original documents on the grand-scale liquidations of many thousands of innocent Byelorussians. He has published these documents in Canada, in a pamphlet "I accuse the Kremlin of my people".

These documents prove that the N.K.V. D. ambitious to give evidence of its industry to superior agencies, killed thousands of Byelorussians without a trial, say, for "spying". Other thousands were sent to work as slaves in concen-

tration camps, where certain death awaits them.

It is therefore not astonishing that there should have been repeated risings in Byelorussia even under the Czars, in the attempt to recover freedom and independence. This fight for freedom continues under the bolsheviks and has assumed still more desperate proportions. The press of the democratic world has more than once described the heroic antibolshevist fight of Byelorussian partisans, in particular of the unit known as "The Black Cat", under the leadership of General Witushka.

We should like to mention here a report in the paper, "Neues Tageblatt", No. 136 which gives a description of a four hours' battle between the Byelorussian partisans known as "The Black Cat" and units of the bolshevist Security troops in Wilno. According to the report, the partisans were not driven out of the town, until armored cars were brought into action.

We derive a certain moral satisfaction from the reports of the severe, heroic struggle of Byelorussians for their liberation from the bolshevist dungeon of nations that appear in the Western press. But in their fight for freedom and democracy, our heroes were supported only by subjugated nations. Nevertheless, the Byelorussian people, in spite of terrorism and bloodshed, will continue to fight with other nations oppressed by Moscow until the restoration of freedom and independence to the Byelorussian Democratic Republik (B.N.R.). In his book, "Life and Death in Soviet Russia", the well-known Spanish general El. Kampesino writes as follows about the sufferings of Byelorussia:

"The Byelorussian people has been hardest hit of all. It has suffered three purges. The first was carried out in 1944 on the pretext of stamping out espionage. Russian troops under the N.K.V.D. carried out the shootings; there were children of 13 and 14 among the victims. In the second purge in 1945, the "Traitors to the Fatherland" were seized. This purge accounted for about 1 million people. All the property, including the better clothing, of every victim was taken away. The central camp for these unhappy people was still in Smolensk in 1948, its permanent population being 62,000. Other camps were in Witebsk (55,000) and Wiasma (18,000). Besides, there were 90,000 prisoners in Minsk, Rohachow, Baranowichi and Hlybokoje etc. All these prisoners were actually condemned to death; for they could not survive the hard labour they had to perform on a daily bread ration of 100 gr."

Nevertheless, in spite of all this, and in spite of the opportunism of the West with its errors and lack of sympathy, the Byelorussian people continues its fight against its tyrants in the Kremlin. For we are living at a time when it is only the ideals of subjugated nations — freedom for individuals and freedom for nations — that can produce the courage, the sacrifices and the hope necessary for a victory over the slavery of Russian bolshevism.

A. Sorkin

Open letter

(Continued from Page 6)

ders of anti-bolshevist liberation movements had nothing in common with Nazi-Germany, etc. For example: Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N. was prisoner in the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen for more than three years.

He speaks of "separatists", though he knows that they are not "separatists", because they are not Russians who would like to separate part of Russia from Russia. They are not Russians, and Russia is not their state, but rather is a prison for their peoples. Their struggle against the Russians (red or white) does not constitute any separatism, but a liberation movement of enslaved peoples.

An honest man writes honestly. Mr. Knupfer writes dishonestly. But vain are his efforts to save his "matushka Rossiya". Inevitably, history will pronounce its verdict. In 1917, the Russian empire was dismembered by the enslaved peoples and only the Allied powers, by aiding the White Guards of Gen. Denikin and Adm. Kolchak with arms and ammunition, helped to create the modern Frankenstein which is now engulfing nation after wrong nation. But betting on a horse will not prevent the course of events in the East. The future catalysm in Eastern Europe will inevitably bring about the division of Russia whether Britain or the U.S.A. wish it or not. In 1917, when the national consciousness of the enslaved peoples was far less, Russia split into parts. In a new catalysm it will happen ten times as quickly. There is too much evidence in the West that the struggle of the enslaved people against Stalin's Indivisible Russia continues relentlessly in every country enslaved by Russia and

includes all forms from passive resistance to armed rebellions by the underground armies. For the last five years, the M.V.D. and all the security forces of the Soviet-Union have been trying to cope with this force, hunting and searching, but unsuccessfully.

Mr. George Knupfer has his motives for concealing this truth and, thus, playing into Stalin's hands. It is necessary for him and for Stalin that the West bet this time on a wrong horse. But he and his compatriots red and white alike, must begin to wake up to the fact that in an increasing degree educated people the world over are becoming conscious of the motives inspiring knupfers to play openly into Stalin's hand.

Deeply regretting the necessity of writing this letter, I remain.

Madam,

Yours respectfully
Lew Shankowsky
4641 Stiles Street
Philadelphia 37, Pa
U.S.A.

The Press Fund of the A.B.N.

In recent weeks the press fund of the A.B.N. has received donations from various countries, particularly from England, Belgium and Germany. A sum of £ 7.17 was sent from England, while the Ukrainian Cooperative in Mittenwald sent 200 DM. Space does not permit us to list every donor by name, but we should like here to thank all most heartily. At the same time, we should like donors abroad to send in specifications with their gifts, so that we may be able to meet their wishes in the material we publish.

Turkestan and the Peoples of Islam

(Continued from Page 5)

kestanians do not know of the excellent conditions in the West and in Eastern countries.

The foreigner who comes to Turkestan is led through the best streets which are clean and wide and where you meet the best dressed people. But nobody is shown the true state of affairs and condition in the rest of the town. The interpreters who are attached to these foreign representatives are appointed by the Soviet authorities and know the Turki and Arab Languages.

To the question "Is there any independence in these Soviet Republics" a reply is given in "Miliy Turkistan" No. 63 under the heading of "colonial questions".

Between the years 1945-1947 a few thousand political emigrés and before this time more than one hundred thousand emigrés have come to us and we have spoken to them. In reply to our questions regarding the situation in Turkestan we are told "There is everything to be had in Turkestan as in Europe. There are also long and wide roads, and as an example the tarred road called Navai between Orda and Khadra in Tashkent, is cited as well as the houses built on this road which are of European type.

When asked whether there are many wide roads of this type and how many houses are built during the 30 years of Soviet regime and who is residing in these houses there is no answer. In their laudatory accounts they state that the Navai road is 4-5 kms. long. But when asked whether there are other roads as wide as the above-mentioned and the distance between the new and the old town being 25 kms. why only 4-5 kms of this way are a regularly tarred road, they remain silent.

It is clear that the number of European houses is small and they are occupied by Soviet dignitaries. The local population lives in very old and damp houses, the streets are very narrow; in the winter they are muddy and in the summer very dusty. Those are real facts.

The foreign visitor is not allowed to see these streets and is only shown the wide. So the foreign visitor does not see the real conditions in the old cities and the historical buildings destroyed by the Soviets.

This policy is not a surprise to Turkestanians, as they are used to it. The Czarist Government applied the same methods. Foreigners were not allowed to visit Turkestan by the Czarist Government.

These authorities tried to suppress our national and religious customs and to annihilate our art. For instance, in 1913 the question of safeguarding historical buildings was raised and the Governor of Czarist Russia, General Samson replied that it was in the interest of Czarist Russia to destroy historical art in Turkestan.

The policy of Soviet Russia does not differ in any way from the policy of Czarism. On the one hand Moscow declares "freedom of religion" and on the other hand it suppresses it.

Religious dignitaries are subjected to reprisals. For example the trial of the religious dignitaries Nasikhan Tora, Abdumutal Damla in 1935 is known to all Turkestanians. These people were accused of anti-communist agitation, with the slogan "Komsomol in this world, but Murid for the other world".

All our mosques and religious schools were turned into cafes, clubs and storage houses. Some mosques have been converted into anti-religious museums. The paper "Kizil Uzbekistan" the propaganda newspaper of the central Committee of the Communist party in Uzbekistan, of, 19. 4. 36 writes that the ancient great medresse in the town of Bukhara in Zarganan district is being demolished and the bricks are being carted away. The most prominent medresses Minara, Michet-Kalan and Divan-begi are destroyed. A road has been

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

built through the Minare medresse. The Kalan mosque has been turned into a warehouse. The medresse "Shaikhan Tahir" has been turned into cinema.

The large mosque in Kokand has been turned into a chocolate factory. The medresse (church) Kokaltsch has been converted into a reading room. In Namangan the medresse "Mulla bazar Akhun" and Kambar Baivaca have been destroyed. The large medresse on the Vadil "Mazar-Tagi" has been destroyed. These are only a few examples of many horrible facts.

Over 80,000 scientific and religious books dating from the XVth-XVIIIth century are rotting in cellars. Objects of art like carpets, silks, musical instruments, ancient money are also rotting in the cellars ("Kizil Uzbekistan" of 11. 5. 36).

Turkestanians who object to these measures on the part of the Soviet authorities are subjected to reprisals and accused of being, class-enemies and "nationalists". Turkestanians are not permitted to keep their historical, scientific and religious inheritance, but they are forced by the Russians to keep and secure all Russian historical works. Some of them are brought from Russia to Turkestan for propaganda purposes to demonstrate the preponderance of Russian culture to all the young Turkestanians, who do not know their own forbidden inheritance. Amongst them there are portraits of some generals of the 19th century (Czarist times). These Czarist generals however do not seem to be typical "class-enemies".

In spite of the declaration of "freedom of religion" made during the Second World War, it was not safe to visit mosques. People who worship God easily fall under suspicion. Religious services are therefore held mostly secretly in private houses. The opening of religious schools by the Soviets has been done for propaganda purposes and in order to gain the sympathy of Eastern countries.

The Turkestanians people have from time immemorial regarded the whole Islam people as their brethren and have always held them in high esteem.

Turkestanians have always upheld the Islam religion. Their clandestine organisation carried on religious agitation. When visiting anti-religious museums they secretly conducted religious services in the anti-religious museums. (Journal "under the banner of Marxism" Moscow No. 12 1938.) Mention was made of the collaboration of the clergy with the Nationalists at trials between 1935-38. Are our Moslem brethren aware of these facts, particularly of the measures adopted by the Soviets in 1949 against the clergy and the nationalists?

At the beginning of the Second World War the Soviets mobilised the Turkestanian population between the ages of 14-60. Of these 1/2 million have gone over to the West. We have talked to them. They are found in camps, hungry, and naked, and lived in very difficult circumstances. No outside help was forthcoming. Thousands died daily of hunger, cold and illness. We were asked "Where are our brethren, the Moslem Turks. Why don't they help us?" We could not give a reply to these questions. The Turkestanian National Committee quickly adopted measures and liberated them from the camps and saved their lives.

People between the ages of 16-30, i. e. who had grown up during the Soviet regime and who had even been members of the komsomol youth had hidden under their shirts little bits of paper given them by their mothers with quotations from the Koran. The young people, however, declared that in spite of being educated in Soviet schools and belonging to the party, they had still remained faithful to Turkestan and the Islam religion.

These are not isolated cases. These examples are a proof of the faith and spirit of our people.

These young emigrants created the Turkestan national army and wore on their right sleeve a band with the slogan "God is with us".

In spite of the hard conditions Turkestanians stuck to their religion and national ideas; what demands can they put to the Eastern Moslem peoples? Do they know the conditions under which the 25-30 million Turkestanians live?

The Soviet Union is stretching its tentacles in all directions. In order to safeguard ourselves from our enemy and for our defence we need strength and friends.

The Turkestanian people are faithful to their tradition and friendship towards their Islam brethren.

We and the Others

(Continued from Page 1)

laxation" of tension in the world situation, "stabilization" of the status quo and the "blocking" of Soviet aggression are still proclaimed to be the aims of Western politics. Even Mr. Dulles, greatly as we respect him, (he is otherwise a gifted practical politician) thinks it sufficient to assure the world at the New Year that the Soviets will not be allowed to continue their old methods in the coming year and to bring at least two nations more under the domination of Moscow.

What scant consolation for humanity! How weak the foundation of its freedom is, as long as the West takes up this position of defence, and is quite ready to be deceived by every hypocritical "gesture of peace" that Stalin chooses to make, when hundreds of millions of human beings must continue to live in slavery and lose their life-blood in an invisible war! What then is the practical value of having recognized the persistence of Soviet aggression and the chronic danger to the world of Russian imperialism, if it is to go scot-free now? Finally, where does Russian imperialism actually start for the West, and where does it end? Does it start, perhaps, only with the subjugation of the Baltic states, to end with Korea and Eastern Germany? Why do they shut their eyes to all the cruel oppression of the past, all the subjugation that must inevitably come in the future? Why are people still afraid to speak officially of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, North Caucasians, Cossacks, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbayani, Turkestani, Ideluralians, Crimean Tartars, etc. Are they perhaps afraid that by so doing they will destroy the illusory "understanding" with the slave-drivers in Moscow, or are they too considerate of loud "antibolsheviks" who, with Kerenski at their head, are spreading a new form of Russian imperialism in exile not hesitating to slander the sacred cause of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations as "fascism".

The problem is very serious. It tolerates no half-measures. If freedom in the world is indivisible and if Russian imperialism is a fundamental evil, and if all the powers in the world — on both sides of the Iron Curtain — are to be mobilized against Moscow's tyranny, then there is only **one single common denominator** and that is: a fight for liberation which will bring freedom to **all nations**, no matter when they were subjugated by Moscow's despots. Whoever does not accept this standpoint, is working directly or indirectly into Moscow's hands.

When we spoke of the inevitability of a coming war with militant bolshev-

ism and urgently warned the West against laying their hands in their laps, we were maligned as "fascist war-mongers" by certain smart circles in the West, who are ready to make compromises and to promote understanding and who like of think of themselves as "progressive". Now, however, things have reached a point where the inevitability of another war is the leading political topic of the day and can no longer be banned from the columns of the Western press. But this somewhat late "discovery" finds the Western World unprepared; it is confused and apathetic, and is still unable to muster the energy which is the fundamental factor of our fighting community and which the A.B.N. has always insisted on.

Moscow is unpleasantly surprised by this recognition of the inevitability of a war caused by bolshevism. How greatly it is concerned in lulling the West into illusory dreams so as to keep it unprepared, may be seen from a recent article by Ilija Ehrenburg on the occasion of the Prague "peace conference". In it, the poet laureate of bolshevism demands that an end should be made to all "talk" of the inevitability of a new world war, as this alone can guarantee "peace". It ought not to be difficult for the West to decide who is on the right path: we, who from the very beginning have recognized the inevitability of the war and have constantly appealed to the world to get ready, or the others who have stigmatized us as disturbers of the peace and war-mongers, and who have thus unconsciously paved the way for Stalin and bolshevist aggression.

It is worth noting that even the idea of a preventive war has cropped up during the last year's political discussions, causing a lot of dust, while it has occurred to nobody to talk of a "crusade for liberty". It seems as if the freedom and liberation of hundreds of millions of subjugated people is not in this century of ours an ethical value that is worth defending.

* * *

Meantime our ideals and the confirmation of our prophecies have increased the interest of the world in the A.B.N. The reaction of the "others" who have a bad conscience and in whose flesh we are a thorn, was bound to come. Not knowing what to do, they resorted to maligning the A.B.N. as "fascist". In their methods even, they are at one with Stalin, revealing their kinship with him unconsciously and spontaneously. Some of them, until recently, were collaborators with communism; they helped the bolsheviks to power and are therefore inculpated in the destruction of their own nations.

They could not, therefore, be our friends, and have remained our enemies. Others, again, tried to win the confidence of the West by constructing an artificial difference between our national ideals and democracy. In so doing they deprive the anti-bolshevist war of liberation of its force and thus work directly into Stalin's hands. Others, again, abuse democracy to conceal imperialist plans and to catch political emigrés from countries enslaved by Russia in the net of a doubtful and fantastic federalism. They feel no shame, in the 20th century, in denying highly cultivated subjugated nations the right to national freedom and political independence; they belittle the fight of such nations for liberation and "graciously" allow them to exercise passive resistance only, in the manner of Gandhi. All such types are political bankrupts from the world of yesterday, who curiously enough are always received in high places in Western capitals, and even play the part of "advisers".

This paradoxical state of affairs may be due to accidental connections in the past, political or personal. But if Western statesmen wish to prove that they are equal to the demands of the moment, they must not look back, but forwards, to the future. The advancing danger to the world that bolshevism is, cannot be met by spectres from the past, but above all by revolutionary ideas, constructive plans for the future. The democratic ideal, which we acknowledged without reserve, is not in itself sufficient to liberate and mobilise all the revolutionary forces in the world. The steam roller of bolshevism cannot be held up by mere defence. It can be met by the superior ideas of **national freedom and social justice** and by the **defensive force of the struggle for liberation**. And those are the principles of the A.B.N.: freedom for nations, freedom for individuals. They are written, not only on our standards, but in the hearts of millions of us.

It is no accident that the men supporting the A.B.N. principles are men who always acknowledged the same ideas consistently and uncompromisingly in times of decision whenever their national interests demanded. The fate that overtook a number of countries and nations as a result of the resolutions of Jalta and Potsdam at any rate exonerates their politicians and soldiers of all blame for not having stood on the side of the Allies; they were forced by the general situation of the war to seek security from bolshevist aggression on the other side. These suffering nations have long in their hearts written the tragedy of the past off; today, they frankly offer the West their hands. Why cannot the Western Allies do the same, seeing that they desire to win Germany as a partner in the fight

Resolutions of the Mass Meeting

Massey Hall, Toronto, November 26., 1950, regarding the Russians policy of endangering the world peace and liberty of nations and individuals.

Assembled at the above mentioned mass meeting, we inhabitants of the City of Toronto, originated from the countries conquered by Russia i. e., Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Slovakia, and Ukraine submit the following resolutions to the public opinion of the free world:

1. The present world crisis is a consequence of Russian imperialism. Disguised by slogans of proletarian revolution, it is to-day striving for world hegemony in form of Bolshevism which is hostile to Western and Christian principles of civilization founded mainly upon the freedom of individuals.

2. The spread of the U.S.S.R. over the greater part of two continents is merely the logical continuation of the four centuries-old Russian expansion to which a number of small and large nations in Eastern Europe and Asia have been sacrificed.

3. This new and dangerous expansion of the U.S.S.R. was only possible because the world cast away the idea that the old despotic Russian Empire was the dungeon of many nations and because Moscow had been permitted for

decades and centuries to exploit and abuse the natural resources of enslaved countries and nations in the service of Russian imperialism.

4. The defeat of those independent states which had won their freedom in battle in 1914—1918 was a preparatory step to later Soviet aggression for which the West was partly responsible.

5. The direct aims of the imperialism of Moscow to-day — and it has not altered a whit — is to destroy the national substance of the oppressed nations and to undermine the rest of the world.

6. At the same time, Moscow's Fifth Columns, recruited from the ranks of duped or bribed adherents, are working in all the countries of the world to make them ripe for conquest and to force the majority of people under the yoke of a Moscow-dominated minority. The Canadian sector of the Communist Fifth Column is represented by the Labour Progressive Party.

7. The U.S.S.R. is counting for the realization of its plans on the lack of unity, but above all on the tolerance of the Western World which had made it possible for Russia to develop into a colossus that threatens the world.

against bolshevist aggression. The term "collaborator with the Germans" might possibly be out-of-date already, but collaboration with communism is as real today as ever it was...

A militant — liberation nationalism and an uncompromising opposition to bolshevism are not in contradiction to democracy; on the contrary, they are what Western democrats require if they really wish to put an end to the Kremlin's conspiracy against the world. Otherwise democracy and a conservative and capitalist social order are an ideal state for the infiltration of communism.

Why should it occur to anyone, for instance, to call the members of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army "fascists" merely because they took up arms and risked their lives against Hitler just as they are still doing against Stalin, while others only talked of freedom and even dreamed that something would result from compromises with Berlin or Moscow. Anyone who looks at the matter seriously must see that either the fighting Ukrainian nationalists will succeed in gaining freedom and then there will be a democracy in Ukraine, or there will never be a Ukrainian democracy. And what holds for Ukrainians, holds just the same for all other nations subjugated by Moscow, whether Byelorussia, Turkestan, Hungary, the

Serbs, Croats, Rumanians or Bulgarians. The future belongs to a genuine holy alliance between the **national idea, social justice and democracy** on the basis of equality and **international solidarity**.

What a hostile world of self-satisfied drawingroom politicians imagined it could reproach A.B.N. with, is for us inexhaustible moral strength, of which we are justly proud, namely that we unite all uncompromising and militant powers against bolshevism under the leadership of our people's loyal sons and tested soldiers. The masses of our nations stand behind them and will stand in the ranks of battle tomorrow — not the quislings who serve foreign powers, against their own national interests. The experiences of the nazi era are too fresh in our memory, for them to be repeated now by the other side.

The A.B.N. thus starts another year firmly conscious of its moral and political superiority. We were the first to raise a banner against bolshevism, by a long time the first. Our nations surround this banner, for our struggle is their only hope for the future. The West has still the choice between us and "the others". The sooner it decides to follow us on the path we have tested, and to learn from our experiences, the better it will be for them.

8. Understanding and co-operation with U.S.S.R. are a mere illusion and no peace with Moscow can be lasting, even if the Western World were prepared to purchase such a peace at the price of the life, freedom and culture of the present and future oppressed nations.

9. The nations, enslaved and oppressed by U.S.S.R., are firmly determined to continue their desperate fight for liberty against the tyranny of Bolshevism no matter what sacrifices they must make or what attitude the Western World will take towards the Soviet Union.

10. The driving power behind these conquered nations' fight is not only their resistance to the Bolshevik regime as a system of government, but also their repudiation of an alien Moscow supremacy as well as their ideals of national freedom and state independence.

11. The proclamation of programmes which are antagonistic to these aims as for instance, the re-establishment, on so-called "democratic" principles of the Russian imperium or the formation of federations as a cloak for the despotic claims of certain allegedly "superior" nations to rule over others, will paralyze the struggle for freedom and weaken the anti-Bolshevist front decisively.

12. An international world order can only be built on the principle of complete equality of free and independent nations and on a foundation of mutual respect and recognition of their initial rights.

The present struggle for freedom in which all nations oppressed by the U.S.S.R. are engaged, has created between them a bond of brotherhood. This bond will constitute a solid foundation for their friendly and harmonious co-operation also after they have attained their freedom.

13. The present world peace campaign lead by the Russian and Communist dominated World Peace Committee is designed to weaken the morale and vigilance of Western World to the danger of Russian aggression.

14. Besides the atom bomb, Russian rulers are most afraid of liberation and resistance movements of the oppressed nations. These movements within the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries organized to-day in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) are the most powerful potential allies of a free world in the present and coming, struggle against Russian imperialism, provided they are supported morally, politically and materially.

15. Peace is indivisible! There will be no world peace without freedom for all nations and individuals. The world can't remain divided into two camps — one camp of communist slavery, terror and murder, and another one of freedom.

Founded on the above stated findings this mass meeting submits to the Canadian Government, United Nations, and to the public opinion of a free world the following request:

Rumania's Fight Against Communism

By H. Matei Hojbota, President of Rumanian Committee of Canada
(Resume)

Rumania is subjugated today by a great force which is the communist party called the "Marxist-Leninist" or "United Workers Party".

All opposition has been extirpated and the Secret Police holds the main power and becomes more absolute every day.

The Rumanian Nation to-day as a whole is deprived of all religion forms, her educational and social standards have been completely destroyed and her independence and human rights radically suppressed.

Being a very rich country, Rumania is obliged at present to deliver unlimited supplies of minerals and agricultural oil and products to Soviet Union.

Her national wealth has been plundered by the communists now in power.

The people are the victims of terror and are suffering indescribable punishment, hardship and privation. The only hope of destroying this evil which has befallen the Rumanian nation is a third world war. Rumanians still believe and

have faith in the "U.S.A." and their Allies who they believe will liberate them.

Today the U. Nations troops are fighting for the same cause in Korea and at the same time thousands of Rumanian partisans are fighting in the Carpathian mountains under the command of General Cornelin Dragolina to free their country and they die a heroic death to liberate Rumania from the terror of a red Russian Communist regime.

In conclusion I do hope that everyone of us should be prepared to fight for the freedom of our nations.

Long live King Michael!

May Free Rumania live forever!

New "Elections" in the Soviet Union

The Soviet press announces that the office-bearers of the Supreme Soviet (the parliament) of the Russian Soviet Republic and those in the Georgian, Kirgish, Kasachish, Moldau, Latvian, Tadshikish and Carelian-Finnish Soviet-Republics have decided to carry out elections for the Supreme Soviets of their republics on February 18, 1951.

The office-bearers of the Supreme Soviets in the Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Turkmenia have decided to carry out their elections on February 25.

By means of such a trick (different election days in different republics) bolsheviks at home and abroad wish to create the impression that the longing of non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union for independence from Russia has already been realized and that all parliaments in nations within the Soviet Union are free to make their own resolutions.

1. The re-organization of the United Nations, excluding Russia and her satellites as guilty of aggression against democratic countries.

2. The breaking off of diplomatic relations with communist countries.

3. The recognition of Insurgent Armies and fighting groups within the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries as regular fighting forces in accordance with the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907, the recognition of their representatives and the granting to them of admission to the United Nations.

4. The proclamation of Soviet Russia as a prison of nations, which must be disbanded for the sake of world peace. The necessity of partition of the Soviet Russian Slave Empire into independent national states on ethnic principles must be recognized. This would deprive Russia of huge natural resources and manpower which would make her unable for future aggressions against the democratic countries. This is the best and the only warrant of preservation of the everlasting peace in the future.

5. The outlawing of the Communist Party in Canada, its affiliations like Labour Progressive Party, Canadian Peace Congress and others, because they are tools of Russian imperialism.

We endorse the action of the United Nations in Korea and especially the part played by Canada in this action.

We express our loyalty and full support for Canada in the long-termed moves of the Canadian Government toward preserving peace, justice and freedom for all nations.

Adopted at the mass meeting
"No peace without freedom for all
nations and individuals",

Massey Hall, Toronto, November 26, 50.



g/s

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Pamphlet, spread by the Ukrainian Underground Movement behind the Iron Curtain.

From the Soviet Press:

Moscow Wants to Found a New U.N.

On November 25, 1950, the "Prawda" published interesting information about the last meetings of the "Peace Congress" in Warsaw. These comments throw significant light on Bolshevik plans. D. Saslawskij, the correspondent of the paper, wrote the following report from the hall where the meetings took place:

"All resolutions and projects have been resumed in two documents. Pietro Nenni, who was interrupted by loud applause, read out the manifesto and the appeal to the United Nations.

The proposals are simple, clear and concrete. The unanimous applause in the hall before the voting showed that the Congress approved of the proposals for peace. Delegates rose spontaneously from their seats and applauded heartily. A proposal was brought forward to examine the crimes of the aggressors in Korea and to put responsibility on General MacArthur.

Nenni solemnly announced the motion to found a world peace council, a permanent body representing all the peoples in the world, a body of high international authority whose function would be to preserve peace and to give constant expression to the desire of nations for peace.

The ovation he received from the meeting was convincing confirmation of the great Charter of peace...

The last point in the agenda was the appointment of the world peace council. The list of candidates had already been drawn up by the different delegates."

Up till a short time ago it was the function only of the United Nations to preserve peace. Now we learn that a new international organization has

been founded by Moscow which will deal with the same problems as the U.N. Who is to represent the nations of the world in this organisation? We find the answer to this question in the same report:

"I listened attentively to the speeches and tried to determine to which political parties the various speakers belonged. Who were they — communists? — democrats? — Catholics? But it was impossible to guess the party membership unless the speaker himself referred to it."

If a debate takes place in a parliament and if the representatives of different parties agree, on any question, their arguments and approach always make it possible to guess the party they belong to. But at the Warsaw "Peace Congress" it could not be deduced from the arguments or the approach to the matter under discussion that the speakers belonged to different parties. It follows therefore that all the delegates belonged to one and the same party. And if many of them had membership cards of non-communist parties, it proves that in addition to open agents there were many disguised agents of Moscow present who had joined non-communist parties by secret orders from Moscow. If we read the article by the "Prawda" correspondent we understand immediately what kind of peace was intended at Warsaw — a peace organization in which, as in the Soviet Union, members of one party only may voice their opinions, and in which all nations would be represented by traitors, i. e. by agents of Moscow a peace, that is to say, when the entire world would dance to the piping of Russian Bolsheviks.

Hussein whom he accuses of grave, nationalist fallacies. "Critics and scientists have failed to discover the vices of Hussein's harmful book, and its political ideas. They have not managed to appropriate the experiences of Soviet literature and have not been energetic in their support of the effort to study the methods of socialist realism. And the two books published in the last ten years about the history of Soviet literature in Azerbaijan are full of political and mythological mistakes"...

Moscow fears the mountains of the Caucasus, and demands from the poets of Azerbaijan that they must not allow themselves to be inspired by these mountains — but that they should pay homage to the realism of Baku oil-fields and be enthusiastic about the oilwells of Mossul...

It is Moscow's aim to make of the literature of Azerbaijan and every other subjugated nation an instrument of intellectual oppression in its own interest.

The Russian People as a People of Rulers

By means of force, cunning and the violation of the right of nations to self-determination, Russians in the course of centuries have created an empire, in which they themselves are less than half of the population and which non-Russian nations, the victims of Russian imperialism, rightly call the "dungeon of nations". It is true that this dungeon of nations altered its sign after the First World war from "The Russian Empire" to "The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics", without, however, changing the aim and nature of the oppression it exercises. The oppressors are still Russians and the oppressed are still the non-Russian peoples in this dungeon of nations. A striking article in the "Iswetija", a Moscow paper, on December 3, 1950, on the nations in the Soviet Union is a reflexion of this fact.

There we read:

"During the war years, the eminent characteristics of the Russian people stood out clearly — their intelligence, their steadfastness, their patience... The great, Russian people played the main part in welding the many nations in Russia into one Soviet state." In the same article we read that "the Russian is the most eminent of all nations living in the Soviet Union".

The leading article in the edition of December 10, 1950 of the same paper calls the "Russian people the leading nation among all nations in the Soviet Union".

With such cynical sincerity Russians have been endeavouring for centuries to make clear to the nations subjugated by them that they, the Russians are specially fitted by their eminent qualities to dominate a whole world of foreign nations.

The "Freedom" of the Intellectuals in U.S.S.R.

The "Weeks of Art and Literature" arranged in Moscow, particularly for non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, aim not so much at showing the achievements of the various national cultures, as at revealing and stigmatizing national peculiarities in the art of the nation in question as "nationalism" and "bourgeois error". It is not the art of these nations subjugated and exploited by Moscow that must keep alive the national tradition — they must rather fall into line ordered by the Bolshevik party clique in Moscow, i. e. everything must be subservient to the bolshevist idea of socialism, of Muscovite imperialism, of world revolution.

The "Week of Azerbaijan Art and Literature" held in Moscow early in December is an interesting example of this policy — or rather, the bolshevist criticism of the week. On this occasion, too, the healthy patriotism of a non-Russian people in the Soviet Union was branded and condemned as super-

fluous nationalism. The "Iswetija" published a long article severely criticizing Azerbaijan literature. It repeats the statements made by the Russian controlled communist party of Azerbaijan, that Azerbaijan critics of literature and experts are inefficient, because they cannot unite the problems of literature with those of the bolshevist party, and because they are not sufficiently active in their opposition to "formalism" or to echoes of bourgeois nationalism in the literature of their country...

In particular, the "Prawda" stigmatizes works by Azerbaijan writers, like Osman Sariveli, Mehti Said-sade, A. Azulfas and H. Hussein because they cling to ancient and petrified forms and themes, and from a "pseudonationalism" sing the praises of their country with its mountains, rivers and valleys, and do homage to dead ideals of the past.

In the "Bolshevik", a Moscow paper, M. D. Bogirow is most severe with H.

Their Seed is Sprouting all over the World

The "Prawda" of December 29, 1950 gives an account of the unveiling of a monument to Lenin and Stalin in Szegedin, an industrial town in Hungary. Atonal Papai, a Szegedin sculptor, has presented the two heroes of the bolshevik revolution "at the historical moment of their meeting in Gorki in 1922". The granite pediment bears the following inscription: "Their seed is sprouting all over the world". Janos Sombari, the secretary of the administration in Szegedin, held at speech to the 15,000 workers and peasants who witnessed the unveiling of the monument. Among other things, he stated that "the workers of Szegedin have set up a monument of their love, gratitude and devotion towards the Soviet nation and its great leader, Stalin".

We cannot avoid being impressed by the ambiguity of the inscription and should like to relate a little story about Budapest.

An old peasant from the same Szegedin was there lately and inquired of the policeman at the station where the Andrassystrasse was. He was informed that the name of that street had been altered and that it now bore the name of Stalin, the great hero. When he got there, the peasant asked another policeman — in Budapest the policemen fall

over each other — where the Kossuth Square was. This policeman, too, informed the Szegedin peasant, who did not seem to know the "new" Budapest, that the old hero of Hungarian liberation had been replaced by Molotov, an incomparably greater man. The peasant then asked for the present name of the Paris Boulevard and was told that it was now the Stalingrad Boulevard in honour of the heroic Soviet town. Completely dazed by all these changes, the peasant went to the banks of the blue Danube, leant over the bridge and sought to find consolation in the sight of the quickly flowing river. He realized that his own national heroes were no longer held in honour in this once magnificent capital and that they had all been replaced by Soviet victors.

The policeman, whose suspicions were aroused, followed the peasant and asked him, half in threat, half in pity, if he intended to commit suicide. But the peasant had regained his self-control and answered quietly: "Oh no, Comrade Policeman, I only wanted to watch the good old Volga flowing past..."

The Bolshevik Paradise

In its No. 33, 1950, the "Krokodil", a Moscow magazine, published an article by an inhabitant of the town of Baku (the largest centre of the oil industry in the Soviet Union). He complains that a window-pane in his flat was broken and that he could not get it repaired in the whole town. The article runs:

"There is the 'Baku Repairs Concern' with 5 branch offices, but they are all too big!

— 'I am sorry —' they tell one — 'but we repair only objects that cost more than 50 thousands roubles. That is our standard. And your standard is a broken window-pane.

There are other offices in Baku, but they repair only things that are brought to them."

Is it astonishing, we should like to ask the Moscow paper, that the individual citizen in the Soviet Union should not be able to get a window-pane mended? Can anything else be expected in a state where everything is directed towards preparing a new war of aggression, where even the smallest business has been nationalized, and where private initiative has been completely eliminated?

"National in Form and Socialist in Content"

Soviet papers report that the State Publishing Concern of the Estonian Soviet Republic has published the fourth volume of Lenin's works in Estonian. Single books by Lenin have also appeared in the national languages of Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and Byelorussia (all Soviet Republics), having been published by the respective State Publishing Houses.

Russian bolsheviks call this a sign of flourishing culture that is national in form and socialist in content. These books which are being published in non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union and in national languages are mostly translations from Russian and, as they do not contain only the ideas of Karl Marx, but also propagate Russian ideas, the idea of Russia as a "Messiah", these tactics of Russian bolsheviks are merely a cunning method of gradually undermining the national feeling of non-Russian nations by means of Russian literature published by the state in different languages. It would therefore be more correct to describe the culture that is being transplanted from Russia to non-Russian regions as **national in form (language) and Russian in content.**

Poles are Turned into Russians

On December 5, 1950, the newspaper "Iswestija" published a long article on the relations between Poland and Russia, saying: "In Poland today there is not a factory, not a school where lectures about the Soviet Union are not given... Besides lectures, enlightenment is provided by other means, e. g. in club entertainments, Soviet films, Soviet plays, dances, songs etc. The large circulation of Soviet newspapers and magazines must be mentioned, as for instance, the "Nowy Chas" and the "Literatura radzjecka", published both in Polish and in Russian, both of which support the Society for the Promotion of Friendship between Poland and Russia. The study of Russian in Poland has become general."

There is no doubt that the Bolsheviks are purposing a policy of intense russification in Poland particularly. From the highest army headquarters right down to the courses for Russian, arranged for industrial workers, it is obvious that an attempt is being made to turn the Poles into a new "branch" of the great, Russian people. Thanks to the lies spread by Russian imperialists during the last centuries, Ukrainians figure in the scientific literature of Europe as "Little Russians" and the Byelorussians as "White Russians". We may therefore be prepared for an announcement from Russia declaring that the Poles are not different from the Russians, but a branch of the Russian nation, and that the scientists of Western Europe who for centuries have swallowed all the lies served up by Russia, will call the Poles "Red Russians" or "Black Russians". If this goes on, the whole world will consist only of "branches" of the Russian nation.

The only Way out

(Continued from Page 7)

proper representatives of the subjugated nations broadcast from America, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, Pakistan, India, etc.? Where is the West's great campaign of ideas? Why does the Soviet Union not defend itself against Western propaganda? Where are the pamphlets of the West which are being dropped over the Soviet Union? Where and when in Siberia does this happen? And Korea is Siberia's next neighbor. Where is the message of the West to subjugated nations? For the Bolsheviks, it is enough to print and distribute Barret's statements, as they did Mr. Koller's message in the "Voice of America", when he said the United States were not interested in the liberation of the Ukraine and other nations within the Soviet Union.

Where and when have Allied aeroplanes dropped pamphlets with messages of encouragement for oppressed nations? When and where has President Truman declared his support for the division of the Russian empire into national states? What is the West really fighting for? If it is fighting for an allocation of "spheres of influence", its efforts will be in vain; for the oppressed nations will oppose them. The belief of these nations in the final victory of the national idea, of a free anti-imperialist and anti-chauvenist nationalism is unshakable. History teaches that slavery, injustice, and lies never last long, and that finally freedom and justice will triumph.

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PEACE ON EARTH

When church bells in all Christian countries ring out the message of the Saviour's birth on Christmas Eve, 1950, proclaiming "peace on earth, goodwill towards men", we cannot help asking why we are compelled by a hard and inscrutable fate to pass this, our 5th, 10th, 20th Christmas once more in exile, far from our homes, our families, our nearest friends and acquaintances . . .

If we glance at the world, at life around us, and historical happenings in recent years, we receive an answer to the anxious questions that fill our hearts and minds at this festive season, preventing us from believing fully in the joyful promise. For never was the world threatened by such danger, never perhaps, has it faced to such an extent the destruction of its material, and, what is more vital, its spiritual and ethical values as today, from a regime, a system, an ideology, which seems to be inspired, controlled and impelled by the very principle of evil, by the lusts of the lowest human instincts and a barbarous mania for destruction.

By the Divine light of the bright Star of Bethlehem the five-pointed star over the Kremlin shines redder, in sharper, bloodier contours.

Turning to it, our eyes are drawn to our distant homes, our towns and villages, to our nearest and dearest, whose cruel fate fills us with deepest sympathy and passionate anger.

For as long as the blood-stained, red star of the Kremlin wounds our countries, our bodies and souls, the brightness of the Star of Bethlehem must be veiled from our eyes by black clouds of discontent, brute force, injustice, terrorism, uncertainty and anxiety, so that its rays cannot reach us.

How can our hearts and minds be filled with joy and goodwill, peace and

quiet, when we must live in exile and think constantly of our home enslaved by cruel barbarism, in the indescribable misery that slavery brings?



The fighters for freedom behind the Iron Curtain

Perhaps it is sinful and unchristian on such a sacred day to give way to wrath and scorn when we think of the arch-enemy of mankind, who has exchanged the symbol of peace and brotherly love, of human freedom and dignity, the clear Star of Bethlehem, for the blood-red star of class warfare, of collective slavery, of contempt for all human dignity and personality.

On Christmas Eve, we sit perhaps alone in a cold room, perhaps with friends and comrades-in-fate over a meagre meal, or in a restaurant among indifferent strangers, while our thoughts range far and wide . . . And suddenly we are in the midst of a fight for life — with the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, with the White Partisans in Slovakia, the Basmatchi in Turkestan, the underground fighters in Bulgaria and the Baltic States, in Ser-

bia and Croatia, Georgia, with the Tatars on the Volga, everywhere, where an invincible love of freedom inspires the best sons of our peoples to assume the cruel fate of battle . . .

In this solemn hour we feel bound to them more closely than ever, with every fibre of our being, and nearer the millions in our homes who stand in a united front behind their champions of liberation; they are united with their heroes and with us in a community which can never be destroyed by the blows of fate, which is inspired by the hope of victory for our cause, a hope that is an unshakable bulwark against the onslaught of barbaric terrorism.

This common fate, this common hope, lays upon us the duty of loyalty to the ideals of our struggle for the freedom of our peoples in independent, sovereign, national states, constructed according to Christian principles of a just, social order.

As long as the red, five-pointed star is in the sky and prevents the sun of freedom from shining on our peoples, there can be no peace on earth.

The Central Committee of the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations

sends best wishes for Christmas and 1951 to all national delegations and all organizations for liberation of the nations belonging to the Bloc.

May the united front of the oppressed nations be still stronger in the coming year! May our struggle end in victory and may our peoples celebrate next Christmas in their free, independent native States!

A Happy Christmas and a Good New Year to all our readers!

The Editor

No Second Munich

Our readers will remember our view of the situation in Korea and of our analysis of Stalin's aims there. In our series "Who Defends Europe?" we showed that Stalin is trying by means of the war in Korea to bind the United States and in time, all other Western Powers there and to bring them up against Asiatic powers and gradually manoeuvre them into war with China. For some time, China seemed disinclined to take risks, but ultimately decided for aggression. Today, war between the United States and Red China is a fact. War, it is true, has not been declared, but it is being waged with all modern weapons. The United States is compelled to send more and more forces to Korea while masses of Chinese pour in constantly. The United States will have to use up more and more of its human reserves and thus have its attention detracted from Europe, while the Kremlin, in the meantime, is sure to have prepared a surprise attack on Europe.

That Western politicians are very naive is obvious from the reception given in the press to the report that a few wounded American soldiers had been released by the Chinese: the entire world press began immediately to talk of a radical change in China's attitude, the possibility of a peace and other such illusions. This gesture on the part of Red China proved, however, to be nothing but an ordinary trick to divert attention — a trick like that of the Berlin blockade — in order to prepare for a final offensive against Tschangkaikkek; Vyshinski's alleged readiness to compromise at the last meeting of the United Nations, when he actually condescended to accede to some of the proposals of the United States, was another such trick. We fear, too, that when the time comes, Tito, after the United States has provided him with arms, will follow in Mao's footsteps.

It is interesting to note that, when things in the U.N. took a critical turn, Tito's representative there declared that Tito would side with the West. We take the liberty of doubting the sincerity of this declaration. More, we regard the West's co-operation with Titoism as a rank deviation from the united front of a freedom-loving, Christian West against totalitarian, atheist Moscow. Surely it was naive of Acheson to suggest that Mao Tse-tung would sever himself from Moscow and pursue an independent policy of his own. We have repeatedly warned the West against such erroneous views, but our warnings have never got a hearing.

We fear that the same thing will happen again. Stalin is leading Western politicians and Western public opinion up the garden path. Such fears seem all the more justified when we read

that Kenneth Younger, the British delegate to the U.N., declared emphatically that Great Britain desires to live at peace with China, no matter whether it is red or white and that he therefore finds it necessary to consider whether it is expedient to continue present policy in the Far East (i. e. the campaign in Korea), seeing that such a "small" and "strategically insignificant piece of land" is at stake. And Hugh Dalton, the British Cabinet Minister, declared that if Red China had been accepted as a member of the U.N., there might never have been any conflict in Korea! In other words: **is it expedient to die for Danzig?** We cannot help becoming anxious when we read such declarations from the mouths of Western statesmen . . .

How is it possible that the West should not understand Moscow's intentions? Everything is an excuse, nothing else. Today, this excuse, tomorrow, another.

Aggression from the Kremlin cannot be stopped if it is opposed only at the periphery; it is absolutely essential to deal a blow at the heart of the evil — Moscow —. If atom bombs are necessary at all, then they should be thrown on Moscow and not on the unfortunate Koreans; if the movements for liberation among oppressed nations, and their ideas, which are stronger than atom bombs, were supported and recognized, there would be a chance of liquidating the evil. But, up till now, the tactics of the West are wrong and can lead to nothing positive.

Bolshevization Equivalent to Russification

Hypnotized by the danger of political and military aggression by the Soviet imperium, the West is not greatly interested in Moscow's penetration of cultural provinces which pursues the no less dangerous aim of preparing new conquests for russification. Adequate instances of this appear daily in the press both of the Soviet Union and its satellites. One very important method of infiltrating Soviet ideas into satellite states is what is known as political enlightenment, a process which important party members in all countries have to undergo under Moscow's auspices. The basis of this enlightenment is a knowledge of the history of the Bolshevik Party in Russia, a short summary of which is distributed in all the languages of the world and in millions of copies. The circulation in Germany alone must be about 10 million. In the twelve years since its first appearance, the circulation of this Bolshevik bible must have exceeded 50 million.

Another instrument is the learning of the Russian language, since it is not only compulsory in all schools in the

Today we are threatened with a second Munich, i. e. with a new capitulation to totalitarianism. The West should remember that, the longer it postpones the conflict, the worse it will be. Churchill's proposal and the proposal of Labour members of Parliament to negotiate with Stalin is a proposal for a second Munich, all the more so since the Kremlin makes the same proposal, namely for a Four-Power Conference about Germany, in order to divert attention from Asia, in order, perhaps, to make a few concessions in Europe, in order to keep western pacifists quiet, to awaken new hopes of peace, and to push on armaments in the meantime. The greatest mistake of the West was that there should not have been either a British or an American general after the capitulation of Germany to take the responsibility of opposing the demobilisation of the Allied forces. If General Eisenhower, instead of running after cheap popularity, had followed McArthur's example and had left 30-40 divisions in Europe, as the situation required, Stalin would be speaking in quite a different tone today. The West lacks decision, it lacks statesmen with the courage to take responsibility for unpopular decisions, men who would set up clear sign-posts and definite war aims, men for whom home, faith, the freedom of the individual and the right of the worker to private property still mean something. . . . It must have men who are inspired by great ideas and deep faith, characters of strong will, able to lead fighting nations. All inferior creatures, all job-hunters, shopkeepers and cowards must disappear.

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Soviet sphere of influence but, by Moscow's express desire, is also required of all workers. A report from Prague, for instance, states that, in 1949, 350,000 Czech and Slovakian workers attended courses in Russian. In 1950, 420,000 textbooks for Russian were published in Czechoslovakia alone and, in addition, a Russian primer, written in accordance with a special method, was put at the disposal of 15,000 teachers.

In an address, Emanuel Schlechts, the Czech Minister for Technology emphasized the importance of Russian for the development of culture in the world and appealed to the Czech and the Slovakian people "to strengthen the bonds with the Soviet Union by learning Russian". In 1950, a fourth edition with 250,000 copies of the "Short Survey of the History of the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union" was published. The central office of the Czech Trade Union is naturally particularly anxious to spread knowledge of the Russian language. In a recent appeal we read: "Russian is the language of progressive and peace-loving people

General Chuprynka one of the Founders of the A.B.N.

On November 21, 1943, representatives of 13 nations oppressed by Moscow met in a place in southern Volhynia (Ukraine) to discuss the formation of a common front against Bolshevism. General Chuprynka, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) who took a decisive part in the proceedings, expressed himself as follows (according to a report from M. Omelan Logush, who was also present):

"The Conference is important, not only on account of what it has done for our fight today. It has convinced us that a common front of oppressed peoples is not only absolutely necessary, but a concrete fact. We have chosen the right way. From now on, our struggle for independence is not only an isolated battle of one people, but a revolution in Eastern Europe and Asia for the freedom of all oppressed peoples and for a new order in those parts of the world."

General Taras Chuprynka stuck to this way until his heroic death on March 5, 1950" says O. Logush in a recent article in the Ukrainian paper "Svoboda" which appears in America. We reproduce here a few striking details from that article, as we consider them of interest for our readers.

General Chuprynka's part in the conference was a particularly impressive experience both for those in the know — and these were few — and for others. Just then, in Volhynia, there were other national fighting troops



A bust of General Chuprynka
by M. Cheresniowski

in the ranks of the U.P.A., e. g. Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians etc. The General visited them during his stay, in order to inform himself

about their value as fighters and their political attitude. The report runs:

"He talked to soldiers and officers, casually touching political subjects. It was obvious here as elsewhere that, thanks to his lack of prejudice and his innate gift of getting on with everybody, the General immediately created an atmosphere of confidence and genuine frankness and comradeship among the soldiers. During the whole of the conference, he was astounding... All who came in contact with him on that occasion retained a deep and indescribable sympathy for this upright and kindly man."

General Chuprynka had a natural gift for combining the military and the political needs of the fight for liberation and for balancing them against each other. "Without going to extremes", the article continues, "the General always sought to find a compromise between military and political factors. At that time, when political and military powers were particularly active in Ukraine, he never let himself be influenced by extreme considerations... He always sought a firm foundation for every political and military idea, no matter how logically, it was presented, and thus to draw a clear line between theory and practice, between belief and reality. That is what we believe and may believe, but that is what we can and must realize" — were his words...

and of the world... It strengthens our feeling of belonging to one great socialist family, and therefore gives us a sense of security... A knowledge of Russian increases our efficiency as workers and therefore raises our standard of living."

From Berlin to Peking, from Petsamo to Delhi months of "Soviet Friendship", Soviet films, Soviet books and posters, Soviet exhibitions of art with plays, lectures, dances and sports competitions are arranged; state publishing offices are instructed to publish Russian literature on all subjects in translation, while newly founded Soviet publishers see that Soviet literature, including Russian classics in the original, are circulated in various countries. This great attempt, not only at bolshevization, but also at russification may be seen from the following extract:

An official Rumanian report on this subjects begins: "The Soviet book has caused a real revolution in science and culture"...

The following Soviet books have been published since 1944 by the five licensed publishing concerns, these having contributed to the "spread of Soviet experience, the decisive factor for the

construction of the socialist system in Rumanian..."

In the period under review, the R.A.P. (publishers of the Rumanian workers party) has published 28 works by Lenin, in an edition of 1.8 million and 34 works by Stalin in an edition of 3.7 million. Among these there are three books, with writings by Lenin and Stalin with an edition of 245,000. Up till now, the History of the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union in Rumanian has appeared in 3 editions with a total circulation of more than 600,000 copies, and in Hungarian for Rumania in about 120,000 copies. The first volume of Lenin's works was published in 50,000 copies while 6 columns of Stalin's works have been published in a total edition of 350,000 copies. From 1944-1950, the R.A.P. has translated 212 books from Russian and published them in an edition of 7.9 million.

From 1944 till 1950 the publishing house of "Carta Russa" published a total of 886 books in Rumanian and other languages of the Rumanian People's Republic as translations from Soviet literature, Russian classics, works of general culture and others, to spread Soviet experience. The number of copies printed being 10.5 million. In the same

period, the Rumanian State Publishing Office issued 317 books in 3.5 million copies, 181 of which were Soviet scientific works with 2.4 million copies. The A.G.B. publishing concern published 147 works by Soviet authors in 2.1 million copies and the Youth Publishing House, 93 Soviet books with an edition of 1.3 million copies. The report says that the last-named books help to educate young people in the spirit of communist morality and patriotism."

In all large towns, and even in villages, Soviet "Houses of Culture" are being built. In Rumanian there are now 12,402 such houses; they have 11,000 libraries, 3000 wireless sets and 636 film projectors. In every country "Societies of Friends of the Soviet Union" are very active.

Since November this year, a fortnightly in Russian has appeared in Peking, significantly called "National China". There is no need to say which China is meant.

The summary given above is but a short extract from the powerful drama of a cultural aggression which has attacked the many nations in the Soviet Union itself before turning on the satellite states. To-morrow, it would like to swamp the world.

K. A.

The Supreme Soviet Bestows A New Order

A Reward for Services in the Campaign against Insurgents

On 23. 11. 50 "TASS", the official Soviet Russian press agency, reported that the Supreme Soviet had introduced a new Order to reward services in the campaign against "political bandits" in the Soviet Union.

No comments accompanied this announcement; no indication was given of the reason for suddenly creating such an honour in view of the fact that the Soviet population always registers 99.90% of its votes at every possible election in favour of the "popular" candidates of the communist party, thus with the present state of things, is it not rather strange that such an enormous police force should be required to control the 0.01% of discontented citizens, and that a new Order should be created to reward their services?

Such paradoxes in their propaganda reveal the weakness of the communist dictators.

For us, the position is quite clear. The creation of the new Order has been rendered necessary because the Kremlin dictators are obviously not able to retain their mastery of areas that they have conquered; they are not in a position to root out revolutionary movements in non-Russian areas and must wage a regular military war, as well as a war of ideas, against these movements and create new Orders for merit in this war . . .

But it is significant that the Supreme Soviet should concern itself openly with revolutionary activity in the Soviet Union and that it should have to issue instructions that are humiliating for the authority of the Soviet government.

It is probably the first time since its consolidation in the years 1925-1928 that the Bolshevik regime has been compelled to admit publicly that the home front is not what it should be.

When we remember the caution and reserve exercised by totalitarian systems with regard to domestic difficulties, we realise what a disastrous effect underground movements are having on the stability of the government at home. These admissions are at the same time eloquent proof of the strength and influence of revolutionary forces in the U.S.S.R.*

It is superfluous to emphasize once more that such revolutionary forces exist only among oppressed nations. We regret also that we must state anew that these forces find no support among the Russian population proper, which is either behind the present government or at least passive in its attitude to it. Up till now, no small groups have been formed among the Russian people, who would be willing to risk opposing the regime by revolutionary methods.

We do not forget that there were public trials in Russia, too, of what

were known as Trotskyists or of agents of a foreign imperialist power" etc. The whole world still remembers the trials of Sinoviev, Bucharin, Radek and Tuhatchewskij. All were accused of high treason and tried before a court. Observers, who are not well informed, might conclude from these trials that there is a Russian opposition to the present regime. But this is not so. These trials only prove that there are conflicts within the communist party, between candidates for the dictator's throne. They also witness to the different interpretations of marxist theory or party programmes which made a "purge of the party" necessary. Similarly, it was really of no consequence to the world whether Hitler, Himmler or Göring was in power in Berlin, as it would have made no difference to the totalitarian and imperialist character of national socialism. We find the same situation today in the Soviet Union; it would make no difference to the world whether Stalin or Bucharin reigned in the Kremlin. The root evil would still be there.

These trials, unfortunately, did not

reflect any political movements rooted in the people, for there have been no such movements in Russia since the October revolution.

Historical facts compel us to affirm that such forces arose only among the oppressed nations who, however, never dreamt of a mere change in personnel: they stand for a complete change in the regime and the imperialist formation of the U.S.S.R. today.

We would refer here in support of our affirmation to the repeated mass risings in Georgia, Turkestan and Cosackia and also to partisan activity in Ukraine down to 1928. Further evidence may be seen in the trials of a number of leading Ukrainian personalities in 1930 who were accused and condemned for having attempted to restore Ukrainian sovereignty.

In recalling these historical facts, we wish to state that these national risings were only a preliminary stage in the fight for freedom, which has compelled the Supreme Soviet today to create a new Order as a reward of special services in combating "political bandits". The present struggles of oppressed nations against the Moscow regime must be regarded as parts of a great plan of national revolutions, which will break

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СВОБОДА НАРОДАМ И ЧЕЛОВЕКУ! ЛИТОВЦЫ, ЛАТЫШИ, ЭСТОНЦЫ!

ПАМЯННО ПРИВЕТСТВУЕМ ВАШУ ГЕРОИЧЕСКУЮ БОРЬБУ ЗА СВОЕ ОСВОБОЖДЕНИЕ ПРОТИВ РУССКО-БОЛЬШЕВИСТСКИХ ОККУПАНТОВ! В УКРАИНЕ ТАКЖЕ ВЕДЕТСЯ УПОРНАЯ ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНАЯ БОРЬБА.

УКРЕПЛЯЙТЕ СВЯЗИ С УКРАИНСКИМ ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНЫМ ДВИЖЕНИЕМ!

СПЛОЧЕННЫМ ФРОНТОМ РАЗВЕРНЕМ НАСТУПЛЕНИЕ ПРОТИВ ОБЩЕГО ОККУПАНТА!

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ОТКАЖИТЕСЬ ТАКИМ САМЫМ ОБРАЗОМ НА НАШ ЗАЗЫВ!

УКРАИНСКИЕ ПОВСТАНЦЫ.

Freedom for Nations and Individuals!

Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians!

We congratulate you warmly on your heroic fight against your Bolshevik occupiers. In Ukraine, too, a stubborn struggle is going on! Strengthen the bonds that bind you to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement! Let us continue our attack against the common occupying foe on a united front! Long live the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations! We expect from you an answer to our appeal!

Ukrainian Insurgents

The original text was circulated behind the Iron Curtain in the summer of 1950.

Soviet Spotlights

(From Reports Issued by the Ukrainian Underground Movement)

The Moscow Economic Council

The Economic Council, which has been formed in Moscow, aims above all at subordinating the economies of areas recently occupied, and the satellite states, to the interests of the Soviet Union, and incorporating them in its general economic scheme. The real intentions behind this economic plan are disguised by violent propaganda against the Marshall Plan and in favour of the "disinterested" help given by the Soviet Union to satellite states.

Fight against "Cosmopolitanism"

In course of the political preparation of the minds of their own masses for war, Bolshevik imperialists have organized a particularly virulent campaign against what is known as cosmopolitanism, a campaign that is conducted in all provinces of public life with undiminished activity. It affects in the first place artists, writers, musicians, those connected with the cinema, sportsmen, journalists and members of other liberal professions. In reality, the encounter with "cosmopolitanism" has a double aim, namely to isolate the Soviet Union still more from the west, to preserve the masses from the slightest breath of western influence, and also to emphasize the superiority of the Russian race and Russian culture over the West. Many eminent representatives of science and culture in the oppressed nations have already fallen victims to the campaign. At the same time, the superiority of Russian culture and science is being hammered into the masses as a view which it is their duty to hold.

During 1949, meetings of the Bolshevik parties concerned were held in all the countries and republics of the Soviet Union. These meetings demonstrated that the Bolshevik parties in so-called national republics are deprived of all political independence and are mere agents of Moscow, that is, branches of the same Russian Bolshevik party in the various countries and republics. They showed, further, that these Bolshevik parties, in accordance with instructions and programmes of their central organization in Moscow, are only instruments for colonial oppression and the exploitation of the nations in the so-called national republics. And the moral is, that these nations must be further and better supported in their struggle against Moscow, if the Russian Bolshevik Party is to be destroyed.

At the same time the Congress of Soviet Trades Unions was held. This Congress too, showed that Soviet trade unions are by no means organizations to protect the rights, privileges and interests of the working classes; they are merely an additional instrument in the hands

of Bolshevik dictators for the oppression of the working man, in order to exploit him economically and enslave him politically. It also demonstrated that there can be no question of democracy in Soviet trade unions, since their leaders are not representatives of the workers, but members of the class of Bolshevik exploiters. These alleged representatives of the workers, who, in the interest of Bolshevik dictators, have assumed the right of speaking on behalf of the millions of workers in the Soviet Union, pursue a criminal policy of deliberate deception in international labour organizations by making false statements on the position and attitude of the workers in the Soviet Union. Finally, his Congress also demonstrated that Soviet workers must fight in a united front for a free trades union, an organization that can only be realized by the removal of Bolshevik dictators and the disintegration of the Soviet Union into free, independent nations on a democratic basis of social justice.

Symptoms of Decay in the Komsomol

In Moscow a congress of the Association of Communist Youth in the Soviet Union (Komsomol) was held, which, apart from showing the usual signs of increasing bureaucracy, proved that communist youth is not greatly interested in political education and that the Bolshevik dictators are endeavouring with tremendous energy to raise the ideological and moral level of young communists, particularly in the schools and to attach them more securely to their policy. In spite of this, increasing symptoms of decay are evident among young communists, while there are also signs that Bolshevik dictators are trying to win youth for their cause and subordinate it to their policy.

False Judges

In the period under review, elections were held throughout the Soviet Union for what are called "People's Courts". These elections, like all others in the Soviet Union, were a mere farce and a caricature of genuine democratic elections. In consequence of these so-called elections, the men elected to the Courts were not men who are ready to preserve the people's interests, and acknowledge the principles of justice, but persons who follow the iniquitous laws issued by the Soviet Union and who would be capable of ruthlessly disregarding the principles of justice.

Purges — a Permanent Condition

In order to consolidate his dictatorial position, Stalin has once more removed a number of leading members of the Bolshevik Party, such as Wos-

nesenskij, Popkow, Goljakow, and others. The frequent purges in the ranks of the Bolshevik party, the administration, and other Bolshevik institutions are a constant accompaniment of dictatorship and particularly of Stalin's system. This constant change of personnel does not, however, mean any change in Soviet home or foreign policy. Such a change can only be effected by the destruction of the Bolshevik party.

Increasing Resistance

The Bolshevik policy of national oppression and exploiting the workers is producing increasing discontent in all circles of the population. It finds expression in open criticism of the Soviet system and in a frankly uttered desire for a change and for improved conditions. This discontent has grown to open and active resistance, to become a fight for national and social liberation. The national fight for liberation is most wide-spread in the Ukraine and the Baltic states. There are also resistance movements in Byelorussia, Moldavia and among the peoples of Caucasia and Turkestan etc. The resistance of the masses has been strengthened by the collectivization enforced in Western Ukraine, the western areas of Byelorussia, Moldavia and the Baltic States.

Jugoslavia — a Miniature Soviet Union

We all know that Marshall Tito himself says that he is Lenin's loyal pupil. The difference existing between him and Stalin is not ideological in nature. Two dictators have quarrelled about mastery over the Balkans. On November 17, 1950, the "Prawda" published an article on Jugoslavia which runs:

"... Tito's clique has introduced a dreadful regime of terrorism; the army has been increased to almost 1 million. Prices for food and essential articles have increased sevenfold in comparison with 1945. The average monthly pay of a skilled workman is 3-3.5 thousand dinar while the minimum sum required by a workman's family for bare existence is given as 18-20 thousand dinar. Even Tito's press is forced to admit that working people receive only 35% of the goods on their ration cards... The regime of Tito and Rankowitch is preparing the Jugoslavian people in the field of ideas so that it will become cannon-fodder in the war that imperialists are planning..."

To anyone familiar with the Soviet Union, the conditions described here appear as a reflection of the Soviet paradise. The likeness is strongest when Tito's government is termed a "band of gangsters". It is clear that these two regimes are absolutely similar. The West, however, does not seem to be aware of the fact, desperate as it is for allies against Stalin. Let us hope that it will not be bitterly disappointed.

Is Russia Invincible?

Politicians who only look at the enormous extent of the Russian empire think that it is an invincible giant. To justify their opinion, they naturally refer to historical facts, such as the unsuccessful campaigns of Charles XII, Napoleon, Wilhelm II, and Hitler. These facts cannot, of course, be denied, but they must be properly interpreted. We would here establish and justify the thesis that Russia's successful repulsion of invaders was not exclusively due to military strategy, but rather to political factors. It has been historically proved, for instance, that when Charles XII of Sweden invaded Russia, Moscow was practically vanquished and that alliance with Mazeppa, Ukrainian Hetman, was the only possible practical policy. The reason for his defeat lay above all in the shortsighted tactics of European states on the side of Peter I; Denmark and Poland were against Sweden and that was too much for the Swedes and the Ukrainians.

When Moscow began to enlarge its empire at the expense of other nations, Duke Alva of Spain was one of the first to raise a voice of warning. At that time he warned German states against supplying Moscow with modern war materials, declaring: "If the Czar in Moscow gets all modern weapons of warfare, he will become a dangerous enemy, not only for Germany, but for the West as a whole." In those days, at the end of the 16th century, as today, the West was deaf to this warning, being much more interested in trading than in its own external safety. Even then there were those who advocated a campaign against Moscow, in which all European nations should share, with the aim of making Moscow retire behind its own frontiers.

Napoleon's campaign against Moscow was a failure, but not only for reasons of strategy. Historians today are almost all of opinion that Napoleon's plan failed because of errors in its execution, and not on account of fundamental weaknesses in strategy. And these errors were partly political. It was not till Napoleon had returned to Paris after his disastrous campaign that he recognized that success would have been guaranteed only by close co-operation with Ukraine and Poland, and partly with the Russian people. Then, too, the West overlooked the decisive factor in any encounter with Russia, namely that it is an empire composed of many nations and that a wedge inserted at the right place would suffice to disrupt it. England alone, in the Crimean War, was able to inflict defeat on Russia. But it was but half a victory, since Austria-Hungary and Prussia kept aloof.

That Russia's defeat in the war with Japan in 1905 did not end in disaster was due to the friendly attitude of

western powers at that time. It would, for instance, have been easy for Germany and Austria-Hungary to settle their account with Russia which was on the verge of collapse, in consequence of its defeat and imminent revolution at home. Russia rewarded this friendly attitude by opposing the Central Powers in the war of 1914-18.

And how do matters stand today? The Allies have won the war, but lost the peace. For the fact that Russia is threatening the entire world, is due not to its military power, but, above all, to the West's pro-Russian policy. The West contributed considerably to Russian expansion when it handed over Manchuria, when, at Stalin's and Roosevelt's desire, it refrained from attack-

ing the Balkans, and when it abandoned the Balkans and Central Europe to Moscow, thus forfeiting all possibility of effectively opposing such expansion.

Nor is the West ready yet to regard this imperium as a enormous conglomeration of nations; it cannot see that the disintegration of Russia would be the surest method of putting an end for good to Moscow's imperialism. It is no wonder that Russia has been expanding for the last 500 years and now stretched to the Pacific, with a firm stand in the centre of Europe.

It is not the wide spaces of Russia or its invincibility that are to blame for the present state, but only the weakness and indolence of western political thought. The invincibility of Russia is a legend which will have to be swept away very quickly, if the West is to be saved.

D. D.

CSR — An Artificial Formation

An Interview with Professor Dr. F. Durcansky, President of the Slovakian Committee for Liberation, ex-Foreign Minister of Slovakia.

What is your opinion of the world situation?

In my opinion, communism may be combated in Korea and Indochina, in Burma or Tibet, in Greece, Italy, France and other countries, but it can be vanquished only in Moscow, its spiritual centre. All neutrality, all indecision, all vacillation is grist to its mill. The present situation cannot last; it is economically and politically untenable. The psychological situation, as it prevails in the world today, makes it impossible for nations to disarm. Moscow will either abandon the countries it has stolen and terrorised, or it will be forced to do so in a short time.

Is a Czecho-Slovakian state repudiated by the Slovaks?

Slovaks have fought, are still fighting and will always fight exclusively for a free and independent Slovakia. They do not even visualize a renaissance of Czecho-Slovakia, facts having proved that it was an artificial formation. When Czecho-Slovakia was threatened and ultimately broken up in 1938 and 1939, not a single shot was fired in its defence; not even the Czechs themselves were willing to fight for it. A state that no one is prepared to defend is an artificial formation, doomed to disruption. The events of 1945 and 1948 have also shown that Czecho-Slovakia had no real foundation. What has proved incapable of living in the past will be no better in the future. Slovaks at home and abroad will be the first to oppose a state which they would have to share with the Czechs, with perhaps the exception of those whose personal interests are involved. Such a state would also be objected to by Carpathian Ukrainians and Sudeten

Germans. General Prchal has also repudiated the formation of a Czecho-Slovakia. All others are collaborators with Moscow. I am astonished that there should be circles in Czecho-Slovakia who expect freedom from Moscow when they themselves despise the rights of other nations.

What is your attitude to our criticism of the policy of Russian imperialist circles in exile?

If Russian emigrés really desire the liberation of their country from Bolshevism, they may on no account condemn the struggle of oppressed nations for the liberation of their home. If these emigrés disapprove of the fight for liberation waged by oppressed nations, then they themselves forfeit all moral claim to the liberation of their country — do unto others what you would have them do to you!

What is your opinion of the fight and death of General Taras Chuprynka?

Relations between Ukrainians and Slovaks were and always will be of the most friendly nature. Their eternal friendship is founded on their common fate. Whoever fights against Moscow, fights not only for his own freedom but also for the freedom of the whole world. That is why the Slovak people follows the fight of the Ukrainian people with deep sympathy, a fight of which the U.P.A. is the symbol. We have always admired those who fought for freedom in the front ranks. Whoever fights against them is either a communist agent or a Moscow Quisling, people who live today in the U.S.A. and pretend to be great democrats, although it is not long since they themselves mobilized communists and fought

Georgia Fights for Freedom

The so-called union of socialist republics (U.S.S.R.) is not a union of free nations in republics with equal rights. It is the old Russian empire in different guise and enveloped in a red cloak. Georgias occupied by the Soviet union, is neither a sovereign nor a self-ruling state, as it possesses no functions of government; it has no right either to a foreign policy of its own or to manage its administration at home. According to Stalin's constitution, the native language is always the official language in Soviet republics. The law, therefore, prescribes Georgian as the official language throughout the Georgian republic; but the language of officialdom is actually Russian, the language of the "October revolution and of the great Lenin". Woe betide anyone who dares to contradict this dogma!

Social and economic life in Georgia takes no consideration for the national interests of the Georgian people, for the country's entire natural resources are pressed into the service of Soviet Russia, as the following examples demonstrate: All the manganese ore produced in Tschiaturi is taken to Soviet Russia. Even the working and the management of the deposits is not in the hands of Georgia, but is directly under the Soviet Russian Ministry for Heavy Industry; the same is true of the coal-mines in Tkwbuli and Tkwartsheli. All Georgian oil-wells belong to Soviet Russia. The pipe-lines from Baku-Batum (823 km), and all refining plants belong exclusively to Soviet Russia. Gold deposits are in the hands of Soviet Russia and are managed by the Soviet Trust, "Sojussoloto".

themselves against the U.P.A. These people have done most to help Bolshevism to conquer the world. By their heroic fight, the Ukrainian people have earned an independent state of their own. Its ceaseless efforts deserve the support of all free nations. General Taras Chuprvnka, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., who fell in action, will live as a hero and a symbol of the fight for liberation, not only in the hearts of Ukrainians but also of Slovaks.

Do you agree with the ideas of the A.B.N.? Freedom cannot be won merely by talking about it or wishing for it: it can be purchased only with the blood of the best of the people. The Slovak Committee for Liberation aims at liberating Slovakia and at setting up a free, independent state. This implies that the Slovak Liberation Committee seeks to co-operate in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). I emphasize once more that freedom must be won in battle and cannot be donated as a gift.

M. B.

Soviet Russia also owns the mineral deposits of baryt, andesite, colours, marble, coloured sand-stone etc. Moscow's underground railway, for instance is built almost completely of Georgian marble. But it was impossible without first obtaining the approval of Moscow to take from Georgian soil material for a monument to Schotha Rusthaweli, the great Georgian poet.

A whole series of water-power works, such as Sahes, Rionhes, Abhes, Alasanches etc. are under Soviet Russian control. The Bolsheviks justified this by declaring that all these measures were only temporary and caused by fear of "capitalists".

Silk production belongs to the Soviet Union and is in the hands of the "Sojusschok", the leather industry is in the hands of the "Sojuskosch" and tobacco also belongs to the Union Trust, "Sojustabak", the Georgian mandarine plantations, to the "Limontrust", tea to the "Sojuschai" etc. All these branches of economy have been centralized, Georgia's trade, in the main, passes through the Black Sea ports of Batum and Poti; but the income from these ports flows into the exchequer of Soviet Russia. Railways and roads are also the property of Soviet Russia, and we need say nothing about the collective farms, it being well known what a tragedy these Russian institutions are for Georgia and the other nationalities in the Soviet Union.

Soviet Russia has made Georgia a base of its technical industry at the cost of agriculture, the soil being in any case insufficient for the production of the necessary amount of corn. But that is of no account, Moscow's commands must be carried out: "come what may, Georgia has to provide our (i. e. Russian) industrial centres, such as Leningrad, Moscow etc. with fruit, tobacco and other produce."

Some of the Georgian peasants leave their ancestral homes and crowd into the towns, to earn their living; thus, the peasant, who once was the proprietor of his own farm, becomes a proletarian. In the name of "socialism Russia" is destroying the national economy of Georgia and its main representatives, the peasants.

Education and Culture

Immediately after the occupation, classical schools in Georgia were closed by the Bolsheviks as being "bourgeois" and some kind of lower and upper schools were introduced to replace them. The entire educational system is built up on Soviet pedagogy, which prescribes loyalty to the party of Lenin and Stalin.

Lessons in Georgian history were abolished from the schools; instead, Russian history was taught, and the

history of the Bolshevik party and class warfare.

In 1930 the national university in Tiflis was dissolved and a number of new institutions established in its place, institutions for Soviet law, the study of social and financial principles and of collectivism. In addition a "communist university" was erected. This experiment, however, ultimately proved a failure, the blame being laid on Trotskyists, and Georgian "national chauvinists". The old university, which had been destroyed, was rebuilt. It even celebrated a jubilee and took Stalin's name, although it is not clear, even today, what Stalin has ever done for it. But the university became a Soviet institution and its portals bear in huge letters the words, "Marx, Lenin and Stalin are our great teachers".

The Theatre and Literature

Soviet proletarianization is also growing in these provinces, since, in 1928, Georgian theatres have had to produce always the same dull, artistically worthless plays, such as "Bread", "The Line Rings", "Shine, Stars", "Poem of Steel", "The 26 Commissars", etc. Schotha Rusthaweli was removed for some time from literature, but afterwards, his 700th anniversary was celebrated. Writers are "commissioned" to write about "The stable in collective farms, Milking, the Five-year Plan, Stalin's brilliant Era" etc. Authorship is no longer free and creative. Art has become a trade. All aesthetic form, all style and taste disappeared when living content was eliminated. For four weary acts, the dramatist leads the public in pursuit of the classical enemy who is ultimately discovered in the fifth, and then the curtain falls.

Georgian communists oppose Moscow

The old Georgian communists who brought the Red Army to Georgia in 1921 soon came into sharp conflict with the dictatorship of Moscow. They demanded first and foremost that the Red Army should be removed from Georgia and that had naturally to be paid dear for — they were all liquidated . . .

The fight continues

The fight for national freedom has cost and is costing Georgia many sacrifices. The people did not cease to fight even after the country was occupied; in 1921, Georgian mountain tribes (Chewsures, Swanes, Mochewes) rebelled, in 1924 there was a rising of all Georgia, in 1927 of Atschara, 1930 of Imerethi etc. A politician of Western Europe has said: "It may be possible to conquer Georgia, but never to enslave it."

The people of Georgia has not, accepted the supremacy of Soviet Russia today, nor will it ever be reconciled to it.

Its aim is: complete freedom from Moscow, the reconstruction of an independent Georgian state with the right to lead its own life.

P. M.

"I accuse the Kremlin of Genocide of my Nation"

Kremlin and its legal gangsters in Byelorussia

On March 25, 1918 the Byelorussian people through their All-National Congress in Minsk declared their country independent, having thus restored a free state on the ruins of the despotic Czarist empire. Their legislature, the Rada (Council) of the National Republic of Byelorussia, and their legal Government, were driven out of Byelorussia in 1920 by the Russian armies, in obedience to the bolsheviks. They brought also with them on their bayonets "the liberty" a new brand as made in Moscow. Subsequently, the Byelorussian National Republic was replaced by a new Kremlin "ersatz" — BSSR.

The liberties existed on paper only. In reality, the bolsheviks have allowed the Byelorussian language but ordered the Byelorussian people to use this language as dictated by Moscow. They ordered the Byelorussian poets, writers, painters, artists to produce work, "Byelorussian (national) in form and anti-national in content". They opened Byelorussian higher schools and scientific institutes with the aim of arresting who attended them, believing in the sincerity of bolsheviks. They distributed the estates of the landowners among the Byelorussian peasants only to force them later into collective farms, a devilish device of exploitation of peasantry unknown in the history of Byelorussia.

30 years of communist terrorism, have brought the land greater disaster than the worst war. As victims of this terrorism thousands and thousands of the best Byelorussian people were shot or starved to death in concentration camps: 500 scientists, 50 prominent poets and writers (Janka Kupala — the prophet of Byelorussia — among them, whose works were remade and forged in accordance with communist philosophy, languished in prison and was forced to commit suicide), 25 priests of higher hierarchy with Metropolitan Melchisedek and three Bishops at the head, 120 artists of every kind, 20,000 intellectuals and — 3,000,000 peasants and people of the working classes — was the price that the Byelorussian people paid for this "liberation" imported from Russia. Byelorussian literature and works on history were also destroyed. In 1935 alone, by order of Moscow, 1778 works of learning and literature, in 12,000,000 copies, were burnt. When the Kremlin tyrants realized that they, in spite of their bloody efforts, could not break the spirit of the people, they understood the solidarity of the Byelorussian masses for resistance. When, finally, it became impossible for Moscow rulers to segregate those guilty of disobedience to the Kremlin, they decided to eliminate methodically all the people without discrimination. For this purpose they sent into Byelorussia

their "specialists", soulless hangmen, with the task of killing in series innocent citizens, without any investigations or judicial formalities.

According to the secret documents of Moscow rulers which are at present in the possession of the Government in exile of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic and which were recently published in English by Mr. Mikola Abramchik, the President of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic in exile in the pamphlet: "I ACCUSSE the KREMLIN of GENOCIDE of MY NATION" (Toronto, Canada, September, 1950), which contains also these secret documents in original, the Soviet hangmen admit themselves, the shooting of 13,325 innocent Byelorussian citizens without any trial in the two years preceding the last war. These documents are signed by a special Committee sent to investigate the actions of the deputy Military Prosecutor for the Byelorussian Military District — A. KISELEV, and to determine what "harmful results arose from his criminal negligence".

This "Control Commission" consisted of Soviet lawyers, of course, to involve Moscow as little as possible and to diminish the number of innocently kill-

ed people. Moscow, of course, according to bolshevik tactics, is trying to trick the people and show that they were going to introduce justice, removing the unscrupulous murderer A. Kiselev.

But, as we know by experience, such "Kiselevs" were replaced by other hangmen, more savage than their predecessors and the slaughter machine went on with its work exactly as designed by the Kremlin planners, the target according to communist tradition, being always more than reached. The pamphlet contains also a telegram from N.K.W.D. in Moscow to N.K.W.D. in Minsk to arrest 5,000 Byelorussian citizens for the concentration camps on the Solovetskye Islands, because of shortage of "work hands" there.

We err if we think that the appetite of Moscow can ever be appeased. On the contrary, the taste of victims' blood only increases it. Nevertheless, as some philosophers assert, everything that has its beginning must also have an end. The Byelorussian people are convinced that in the end TRUTH and real FREEDOM will triumph and the blood innocently shed will not be forgotten unavenged.

I. A.

Captain Anosow's Death

One of the most arresting of the many appeals and leaflets distributed by the Ukrainian Underground Movement throughout the Soviet Union and sent to us, is the pamphlet describing the death of the Soviet Captain Anosow. How and why was Anosow murdered? The leaflet supplies an answer that throws a particularly glaring light on the methods employed by Soviet Security authorities, (M.W.D.), revealing at the same time a detestable and inhuman regime. It is perhaps merely a detail, merely the death of a human being; but such details characterize an entire system.

This is what happened: In R. a town in Western Ukraine, a spy, called Dowhyj, belonging to the Soviet Security Police, was ordered by his superior, Major Buhajew, to smuggle himself into the Ukrainian Underground Movement and thus have better opportunities of spying for the Soviets. In order to do so, Dowhyj had to produce to the Ukrainians some excuse for joining them. Major Buhajew suggested that he shoot one of the officers of the regular Soviet Police and then flee to the Ukrainian Underground headquarters and seek protection and hiding. According to a statement made later by Dowhyj, Major Buhajew declared literally that he could shoot 50 Soviet policemen or 10 officers if that

was necessary for the proper execution of his plan to get information.

Thereupon, Dowhyj shot Captain Anosow, Major Buhajew's deputy, and was paid 5000 roubles for it. Dowhyj actually did succeed in getting into the Ukrainian Underground Movement. He was soon unmasked, however, brought before the court of the U.P.A., and shot. During the trial, he confessed everything and described how he came to assassinate his victim.

The pamphlet goes on to hold this scandalous case up as a warning to the population and even as a challenge to Soviet police and soldiers to revolt against Stalin and his barbaric regime: "Fight against the inhuman regime, for which you are but slaves and cannon-fodder. These criminals against humanity and justice must be punished: Down with Stalin and his robber-band! Long live the struggle for liberation being waged by oppressed and exploited peoples against Stalin's reactionary regime!"

In our last issue No. 10 in the article "National Bulgaria to State Secretary, Acheson" an error has crept in or which we offer our apologies, Page 11, line 20 of the 3rd paragraph in the 1st column should read: "All that disqualified them . . ."

The Editor

Appearances and Reality

A Report on the Situation in Ukraine

After World War II all these districts of Ukraine were united under bolshevist supremacy. But it would be an error to assume that Soviet Ukraine is anything like an independent national republic. Although it is a member of the United Nations, has a government, even a foreign office, of "its own", the position of Soviet Ukraine in the Soviet Union is merely that of a colony. Its sovereignty exists on paper only. The authority of the Ukrainian state is not the expression of the Ukrainian people's will; it is but a branch of the Government in Moscow, receiving from it orders and instructions, which it must execute unconditionally. All deviation, all criticism even, is punished with imprisonment, deportation or liquidation. The same holds for the Bolshevik Party in Ukraine, which is but an off-shoot of the Russian Bolshevik Party; its general secretaries are appointed and sent by Moscow. As all key positions are held by Russians, there can be no question of autonomy in the Ukrainian party.

Economic Exploitation

Still more striking is Ukraine's dependence on Moscow in its economy. Moscow alone disposes of all its natural resources, its agriculture and industry, its waterways and railways and of its supply of human labour. There are no competent ministries in the Soviet government of Ukraine; all important branches of economy are managed by agents from Moscow. Peasants, workers, officials and intellectuals are only objects of exploitation, soulless slaves, who have to fulfil the task allocated to them and keep to the general line laid down in Moscow. They cannot dispose either of themselves or their families.

Policy of Russification

Russification of Ukraine has increased greatly in speed since World War II. Labourers and intellectuals have been transplanted arbitrarily from the towns to far eastern and northern areas of the Soviet Union and Russians settled in their place. Russian is now the prevailing language. In the army, Ukrainian soldiers are forbidden to use their mother-tongue. Ukrainian writers are forced to glorify Russia, Russian culture, the Russian Bolshevik Party and its leaders, Lenin and Stalin. Moscow's entire policy in the province of culture is characterized by an effort to emphasize and realize the supremacy of the Russian spirit in all the departments of life, and, at the same time, to induce and nourish among Ukrainians an inferiority complex. The natural differences and contrasts in the people are artificially encouraged and magnified with diabolic cynicism, in the hope that

strife and discontent will disturb the people's national unity.

Lawlessness is the Normal Condition

Ukraine is in a state of complete lawlessness. Particularly in the western areas of the country, which were incorporated in the Soviet Union after World War II this lack of recognized laws has led to intolerable conditions. The representatives of State and Party have unlimited powers which are often crassly abused. Courts pronounce sentences on the basis of so-called revolutionary legislation, i. e. they merely carry out the will of the Party and protect its interests exclusively. A peasant in a collective farm, for instance, who has picked up a few ears of wheat, is accused of theft and condemned to 8-10 years of imprisonment, while a Party member, who has embezzled hundreds of thousands of roubles, is merely "punished" by being transferred to another job, or at the most, by being imprisoned for a few months. In the case of political cases, even the outward forms of justice are dispensed with. Not only during war, but also in peace-time, bolshevist war tribunals are active; these are the so-called "courts of three", consisting of three members of the security police (M.V.D.). At their own discretion, or on instructions from superiors, they condemn thousands of innocent people to death, imprisonment for life, hard labour or deportation. The judges are usually members of the Party with no professional training. They have no conscience; the Party machine has killed every spark of human feeling in them. Spying has assumed such proportions, that all mutual confidence, even in family circles, has disappeared.

Alien symbols

In order to alienate the Ukrainian people from its national traditions, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was endow-

ed last year with a new coat-of-arms, a new "national anthem" and a new flag. The form and contents of these symbols are quite alien to the Ukrainian people; they reflect the present condition of slavery, and their creators are not representatives of the people but merely tools of the occupying power. The Ukrainian people will never acknowledge any changes in their sacred and traditional symbols and will re-instate them whenever opportunity offers.

Resistance Increases

The hopes of the people that living conditions would improve after World War II have certainly not been realized. Discontent with the regime is growing. The people at large often criticize the policy of the Party and the government quite openly. The Party is more and more detested by the people, and does not attract recruits at all. In recent times workmen have often been forced to join the Party; they try to evade this pressure to the best of their ability, in the secret hope of a speedy change and in the belief that party members would then be persecuted. Cases are known where hostility to the government has developed into open resistance against official representatives. Observations have also been made of a growth in the underground movement which aims at protecting the people against terrorism and preserving them from exploitation. At the same time, there is an increase of popular sympathy and interest, above all in working class circles, with the struggle for liberation of Ukrainian illegal organizations.

Moscow's Persistent Suspicion

The constant changes that take place in the Party and the Government of Ukraine are a sign that Moscow is always suspicious of the feelings of Ukrainian people and does not trust even its own instruments. Proof is constantly being given that governing Ukraine is no easy matter and that the



A detachment of the U.P.A. — Woodcut by a comrade in arms.

Changes in Collective Farms

During the past year, smaller collective farms in the Soviet Union have been amalgamated to form larger ones. This has naturally caused considerable hardship to collective peasants as they were forced to leave their houses and to settle in larger villages. The Soviet press does not say whether new homes were built for these people, this being a question of minor interest. It reports, on the other hand, at great length on the building of new accommodation for cattle.

A leading article devoted to this subject appeared in the "Prawda" of October 13, ult., under the heading, "The most important task of agricultural labourers." We read there:

"In some areas, countries and republics, the measures taken to secure fodder and accommodation for cattle are most inadequate. The "Prawda" correspondent in the Cossack Soviet Republic reports that in a number of areas in the Republic, the supplies of fodder for cattle are insufficient and the building and repairing of cattle farms is proceeding very slowly. According to resolutions passed by the Cabinet and the Kasakstan Communist Party, a speeding up of repairs to existing cattle accommodation and of building new ones was to take place in September. These resolutions have not led to any results worth mentioning, because they were not supported by any publicity or political efforts among the population. In the area of Ksyl-Ordin, for example, only a fourth of the year's target of cattle buildings was fulfilled and less, in the case of sheep folds.

Inadequate preparations for winter seem to have been made in collective farms round Kursk, Pensa, Kujbyschew and in the Tatar Autonomous Republic.

Here the measures necessary to procure the fulfilment of the plan as regards cattle fodder and accommodation were not taken. Local Party organizations, the Soviet administrations and agricultural offices are obliged to help amalgamated collective farms to get qualified experts for their cattle farms and to organize both the building of new cattle-sheds and alterations to old ones on their enlarged farms."

The lack of such knowledge was not so obvious when the farms were smaller. Now, however, it is not sufficient for the manager of a collective farm to show his party membership card. This is dealt with in an article in the "Prawda" of October 10, 1950, entitled "The Inadequate Training of Collective Farm Corps", where we read: "Some managers of collective farms have not the slightest knowledge of machinery. They cannot control the activity of workmen with tractors, threshing-machines or mowing-machines. This is felt more than ever now that collective farms have been enlarged.

The collective farm of "Trud" in the Tuptschichinak district was joined to the neighbouring farms, "Siberia" and "Schmidt". The area to be sown down now amounts to 3,000 hectares. The machinery pool put 10 tractors, 8 machines for mowing and threshing, some sowing-machines etc. at the disposal of the new collective farm. After Comrade Iljin, the head of the concern, took over so much machinery, he completely lost his head. As he had no knowledge of machinery, he had the greatest difficulty in organizing farm-work. "I can't get very far with what I know", Comrade Iljin confessed.

Thus, the lack of a sufficient number of trained and talented experts had led to the same chaos after the amalgam-

ation of collective farms as ruled after they were formed twenty years ago. The first phase of the bolshevization of agriculture led to the dreadful famine of 1932-33 and a catastrophic fall in the number of cattle reared. The second (present) phase of collectivized agriculture was carried through in Ukraine before the war, with grave consequences for the peasants. Today there are indications that the horrors of 1932-33 might be repeated.

In one province alone can Bolshevik "reformers" record success, namely in the field of propaganda. The "Prawda", for instance writes about the united collective farms, called "Chrutschew in the district of Achtyrka:

"The amalgamation of six small collective farms made it possible to create an active Party organization of 40 Communists. These men fill important posts and work well as agitators among the farm labourers. Cells of the Communist Party have been formed in many groups of field workers. A centre of propaganda has been formed in the village and a hall built for lectures."

There is therefore no doubt that even if millions of people were to die of starvation again and if cannibalism were to become general, Bolshevik propagandists would manage to persuade the starving populace that peasants in the Soviet Union have a better life than those anywhere else in the world.

I. Sh.

No Second Munich

(Continued from Page 2)

The way should be cleared for new fighters out of the ranks of the nations, cleared for McArthur and his American veterans, cleared for men like Stewart and his Scottish League, for determined fighters against Bolshevism, who know no compromise, for whom national tradition, Christian culture, the principles of freedom, democracy and social justice are worth fighting for. Make way for men who will not bend! Let those be heard who have been crying in the wilderness of Western ignorance, urging battle against the realm of slavery, against Moscow, whatever its colour.

Churchill and Vansittart once repeated their ceterum censeo: Hitler's Germany must be destroyed! Then their time came and they came to power. The West needs new Churchills and Vansittarts with new ideas and the determination to disintegrate the Russian imperium, no matter what colour, in order to overcome the kingdom of Satan. It needs Catos who can swim against the stream and sweep away all the weak, the inferior, all who are ready to make compromise. It needs new crusaders, new Dantons. Western Europe and the Western world are waiting for a new Peter of Amiens... Will he come?

We think, yes, because we believe in the immortal idea of freedom and its final triumph.

Z. K.

plans of Moscow can be carried out there only by terrorism and force.

Liquidation of Western Ukraine

Western Ukrainian areas are exposed to constantly increasing pressure, as Bolshevik rulers there are particularly anxious to introduce the many "blessing of the Russian October revolution", and that at increased speed. They run through the whole gamut of Bolshevik methods of pressure, terrorism, threats and promises, intrigues and cunning, in order to attain their goal, which is to rob the people of its intellectuals, either by demoralising or deporting them, to convert the peasant into a slave of the collectives and to force the workman under the yoke of the Stachanow system. It is not astonishing that Ukrainian resistance should be most active here and that the security authorities should be fully occupied.

From a report of the Ukrainian re-

sistance group of the U.P.A. and O.U.N. in the area of R. in the Central Carpathians, we learn that in the 12 villages of the district about 600 members of security troops carried out altogether 172 raids in surrounding forests, searched houses 39 times, and made many arrests throughout the district. Sixteen people were sent to prison, 53 were deported, 30 were arrested, some people were killed and many injured. The property of 17 families was liquidated. During this period there were 7 fights between members of resistance groups (U.P.A. and O.U.N.) and the Soviet security authorities. In these, 4 Ukrainians were killed; the Soviet troops also had casualties.

This glimpse of the life of a people under the regime of the Soviets will suffice to give a clear picture of Bolshevism which has been terrorizing the East for 33 years, and which is now preparing to get the West and the entire world under its power.

The Third Power

The Council of Anti-Bolshevist Nations

Under this title several Swiss papers of repute published an interview with General Farkas von Kisbarnak, a prominent member of the A.B.N., president of the Hungarian Liberation Movement and chairman of the Military Mission of the A.B.N. By the prominence given to this interview, the Swiss press shows that it is interested in the problems of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism and their fight for freedom.

We quote from the General's speech:

"As Russia is not a homogenous formation, to divide it up would not result in chaos, but in the restoration of the natural, organic order of things. In all subjugated countries there is unceasing struggle against the attempts of the Soviets to crush national life. These countries continue their struggle un-

supported. They also wage a constant underground fight for their religion.

For centuries, these peoples have been waiting for freedom. Napoleon, Hitler and the Western Powers have all made the same mistake in neglecting the desire for freedom cherished by nations within Russia. There will be no victory for the West after a third World War if they do not guarantee independence to the nations enslaved by Russia. The West must coordinate its forces with those of nations now under the heel of Bolshevism, i. e. a second front in Russia must be set up.

In conclusion, General Farkas mentioned the resolutions passed at the Edinburgh Conference. He said that court was paid, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries to so-called "national communism" and said that Tito, for instance gave no guarantee for victory over Bolshevism, as he is opposed to freedom and devoted to the ideals of Marx.

The Supreme Soviet Bestows A New Order

(Continued from Page 4)

out at a given time. They are not even the most important part of a great, wide-spread and well-organized underground movement which can never be exterminated as a whole. What we have here is a people's movement, an organization of masses, comprehending millions, directly or indirectly, and always able to produce new fighters to fill the gaps caused by the enemy.

It is the fact that these Underground Movements in the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union, and in Ukraine particularly, are closely connected with the people that makes the dictators in the Kremlin feel insecure and anxious. Such movements cannot be disposed of in one or many trials — they are "eternal" in the sense that they will only cease when their cause — oppression — ceases.

Some weeks ago we informed our readers of the death of General Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the A.B.N., expressing our confidence that his death would make no difference to our fight for freedom.

The enemy has now confirmed our confidence by creating an Order for services rendered in fighting "political bandits". We have just received additional information from home that the Politbureau has issued secret instructions to the Party and the M.G.B., that, in case of war, forests are to be set on fire in order thus to exterminate insurgents. (See A.B.N. Correspondence No. 10/50 Preparations for a Fresh Purge.)

We should like here to address this appeal to the West: "Don't leave the fighters in the van of the world struggle for freedom and democracy in the lurch! By helping them, you help yourselves!"

R. I.

Away with the Danger of Bolshevism

A Propaganda Campaign of the A.B.N.

In the past weeks the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, an organization that unites 22 nations oppressed by Bolshevism, has arranged meetings in 12 Bavarian towns for the purpose of informing the population about its aims.

The principles of the A.B.N. were pregnantly summed up in the many leaflets that were distributed at these meetings. These principles are summarized in an article that appeared in the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" on November 16, ult.

"The A.B.N. fights Russian imperialism of every colour which aims at enslaving our peoples. The prisons of the MWD/MGB, the concentration camps of Siberia, are overcrowded with the best of our sons. But our nations refuse to lay down their weapons. The fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), of insurgents in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Turkestan and the Caucasus is still going on and the echo of this fight reminds the Kremlin tyrants that their days are numbered. We feel deeply ashamed that the entire civilized world should look on calmly at this criminal system and should not proclaim a crusade against its enemy.

The "Neue Zeitung" of November 21 also reported these meetings which were held under the motto "Away with the Danger of Bolshevism" and which called for a united front against the common enemy, and for a common aim. This aim is: "The destruction of Bolshevism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, the formation of independent, democratic national states!"

At the same time posters announced the heroic death of General Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the assurance that the fight would continue in spite of everything. "Ukraine continues to fight for freedom!"



**ТАК Є:
РИЄ СТАЛІН КУЛЮ ЗЕМСЬКУ
СВОІМ ДОВГИМ РИЛОМ
"ДЕМОКРАТІЮ" ВПИХАЄ
СВІТОВІ НА СИЛУ.**

**ТАК БУДЕ:
І ДОРІЄСЬ ВІН ДО ТОГО,
ЩО ЙОГО Й КРЕМЛІВСЬКУ КЛІКУ
НЕЗАГАРОМ ВСІ НАРОДИ
ПОЗМІТАЮТЬ З ЛИЦЯ СВІТУ.**



Stalin is tretching his long nose to the end of the earth. He is forcings his "democracy" on nations. The future will be: He will stretch so far that all nations will soon sweep him and his Kremlin cronies from the face of the earth.

Caricature, spread by the Ukrainian Underground Movement behind the Iron Curtain.

From the Soviet Press:

Blossoms of Soviet Bureaucracy

In No. 31 of November 16, 1950, the "Krokodil" has an article on the reason why a citizen of the Soviet Union, who had graduated from the secondary school in Jenakijewo and had moved to Leningrad, found it impossible to matriculate at a university there. In June of this year he wrote to the head of the department for education in the town of Jenakijewo requesting him to forward a certificate that he had graduated from the secondary school. At the end of July, he received the following reply:

"We cannot give you a certificate at the moment because the statement by the teachers that you had graduated was not confirmed by the notary, as the passports of these teachers were not extended and are therefore invalid.

Head of the Municipal Department for Education (—) Swerew"

The Soviet citizen immediately began to bombard the Ministry for Education in Moscow with complaints and at the end of September he received the following reply:

"It has not been possible to forward you the certificate up till now as the passport of the teacher who confirmed that you graduated from the secondary school was not extended."

Some time after, he received a soothing letter with the following information:

You will receive the certificate as soon as the notary is well again."

It went on in the same style and the Soviet citizen did not manage to matriculate at the university as he wished.

And we, who lived for decades in the Soviet Union and could tell about thousands of similar cases, would only like to say that nothing has changed in that Paradise!

The Bolshevik Propaganda Machine

In the following lines we publish extracts from Moscow official newspapers which give an idea of how the Bolshevik propaganda machine works. "Prawda" writes on 22. 11. 1950:

"Workers, engineers, employees and technicians in the machinery plant have unanimously proposed Comrade Stalin as a candidate for the Moscow town council elections. This spread like wildfire through the whole constituency 150 agitators belonging to Election Centre No. 23, Comrade Barulin, metal-worker, Comrade Zyganow, master-tradesman, and Comrade Fedorjuk, a female Stachanow worker, and others hurried to the electors the same evening. ... The big house at No. 2 on the side street Kirpitschnaja. The imates of

flats No. 22, 23 and 24 received M. A. Kamsolow, agitator, with great hospitality.

"I hasten to bring you the joyful news", the agitator says. "There was a preliminary election meeting in our plant. You should have seen how enthusiastically, unanimously and joyfully the proposal to put up Comrade Stalin for election to the town council was received. We hope that he will consent to stand and then we shall give you the news."

In the "Iswestija" of the same date, him our votes."

"About seven thousand agitators, engineers, builders, actors, teachers, doctors and scientists are at present taking part in the election campaign in Leningrad. In their election speeches they emphasize the great interest that the Party, the Government and Comrade Stalin personally are taking in the district; they also point out how greatly the appearance of the town has changed and how prosperity among the workers is increasing. Many centres are disseminating election literature with the help of messengers for that special purpose."

"In the tundra of the national area of Nenezkij propagandists are stumping the country where shepherds tend deer."

That is how the Bolshevik propaganda machine works. Late at night agents of the Kremlin force their way into people's houses; even in the remoteness of the tundra, nomads are not safe from them. The soul of the people is violated, their thoughts are constantly controlled by Bolshevik spies.

Lack of space prevents us from reproducing the whole of this interesting and informative article.

Only Rubbish

By ruthlessly suppressing all private initiative and by nationalizing production and trade, the bolshevist regime has at the same time liquidated all healthy competition which, in non-communist countries, keeps standards high. It is not for nothing that even bolshevist agencies and organs of the press complain of the rubbish that is put on the market. The population, so long deprived of the necessities of existence, is forced to throw its hard-earned money away for rubbish. Although assurances are constantly appearing in the press of the improvement of these intolerable conditions, they have lasted now for decades and have become a constant feature of Soviet economic life that even increases with time.

Recently the "Krokodil", which appears in Moscow, took this subject up and published a colourful article on it. We read there:

"The employees in the factory for knitted goods in Tschernowizy have a very strange notion of anatomy. They often overlook the human "corporation"; they seem to think that the chest begins immediately above the knees; and the arms reach the ground. Garments for such rare representatives of the human race have just been made in this factory and sent to the store of the town of Stalino ...

Particularly striking examples were also exhibited in Moscow in a show that was organized by the central store.

Exhibitors gladly ceded the first place and preferred to wrangle about the last. But some of them are high up. One of the first places is occupied by demonstration of complete scorn for the Moscow sewing factory No. 25 (Director: Comrade Iluchin). It was a customers' interests. Rubberized coats in all colours of the rainbow were exhibited. Of the hundred coats which the central house got, 13 were abortions. It is difficult to describe what was made out of good woollen material. Belts were twisted into all kinds of shapes, there were stains on the sides and some had the right sleeve sewed on the left shoulder ...

It is strange that shoes with misshapen toes and lacking heels should have been sent to shops as first-class goods.

The "World Peace Congress" in Warsaw

At the "world peace congress" recently staged in Warsaw by the Bolsheviks, Ilja Erenburg, the Russian writer, speaking on behalf of the Soviet Union, said according to the "Prawda":

If some Americans are not pleased with Soviet ideas and books, they should try to fight ideas with ideas, and books with books. There is room enough on our planet for champions of different social systems. They might arrange that no one may break into another house.

Well said! Comrade Erenburg! The A.B.N. is striving to convince Americans that Bolshevik burglars have broken into the "houses" of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuanian, Latvia, Estonia, Caucasus, Turkestan etc. and have forced these countries under a foreign yoke and that they therefore deserve to be put in prison and to be tried by an international court.

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What the West Needs for Victory?

Comments on the Rising in Puerto Rico

It might seem as if events so far distant from Europe had nothing to do with the fight against Bolshevism. Indeed, it may seem strange that the rising in Puerto Rico should be discussed here at all. But we wish to consider it in relation with the world's fight against its greatest enemy, namely Bolshevism.

Puerto Rico concerns the United States of America in the first instance and they must play the leading part in the present fight against Bolshevism. This fight must be based on principles if its present deceptive tactics are to be made impossible. Unless the idea of freedom and social justice is realized, the fight against Bolshevism cannot be victorious. Unless concrete social reforms tackle the needs of the masses, it is doubtful if communism at home can be conquered. Social reform in the West must be linked with a new faith, which is as strong as the fanaticism of communists.

National Independence of Prime Importance

The idea of national independence and sovereignty for subjugated peoples is of prime importance for the West. This idea must be realized in all parts of the globe, otherwise the Bolsheviks

will continue to exploit in their own way the national grievances of any nation under Western rule, in order to undermine the prestige of the West among nations oppressed by the Kremlin. They are already doing so in Asia, to the detriment of Western colonial powers, regardless of the slavery that exists in their own territory; they know how to turn the idea of national freedom to their own advantage and to champion it. The West, on the other hand, shrinks from facing the question of the national liberation of such peoples as the Ukrainians, the Georgians and others. It is not the nations who have often been deceived and oppressed by the West who are to blame today for the absence of a common anti-Bol-

shevist front in Asia; it is the colonial policy of Western powers that is at fault. For Korea, Poland, China etc. were sacrificed by the United States to Bolshevism. France is also partly responsible for the communist rising in Indo-China by allowing the Communists to play their deceptive game with the idea of national liberation. Is it not a paradox and a tragedy that some nations, in their desire for national liberty should begin to trust Moscow?

What the West must learn

The West must be warned against confusing national and social movements of liberation among the oppressed nations with communist rebellions.

(Continued on Page 9)

Revolution and Counter-Revolution

For 33 years the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) has been trumpeting from Moscow to the world that the October revolution was a socialist movement which ushered in a new era of world history, viz., the era of Communism, the successor of capitalism.

The world received this propaganda at first with enthusiasm, assuming that the shots in the Aurora Theatre on November 7, 1917 were perhaps signals of such an era and that the Smolny Palace in St. Petersburg, where the Committee of the Revolution under Lenin held its meetings would become the Bethlehem of the future; here, people thought, a new truth had been born which would save humanity from destruction as it promised men equality, fraternity, complete liberty and law, and the possession of all the blessings of earth and sun; mankind was no longer to be divided into rich and poor, into oppressors and oppressed, high and low, into patricians and plebeians. This is what the world understood by the October revolution, at least to begin with. This was also understood by the subjugated nations in the world who even sacrificed their own sovereign rights to fight on the

side of the Red Army, in order to create "happiness for all". Meantime history designated the March Revolution as the revolution of the bourgeois and a mere episode in the exhaustion that followed the First World War.

How History is Forged

It was this concept of the March Revolution that inspired Moscow's historians. They ignored that date, and the world, dazzled by Bolshevik propaganda, has not been able in the course of these 33 years to analyze happenings that were a tragedy for mankind, a tragedy from which it is still suffering. Neither philosophers, historians nor sociologists have up till now comprehended that these two dates are inseparable facts of revolution in Russia, — born out of the struggle of two irreconcilable forces, the forces of the nations subjugated by Moscow who had won independence and complete sovereignty, and the forces of Moscow which refused to acknowledge the independence of nations hitherto treated as colonies.

In the March Revolution the subjugated nations rose against their Russian oppressor. They utilized the crisis in which Moscow's leaders found

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themselves in their weakness after the war. The Czar's absolutism had proved incapable of mastering the difficulties now confronting the government as a result of the First World War. And this crisis in the Moscow regime contributed to an increasing consciousness of their own sovereignty on the part of the subjugated nations. During the war these nations had realized that it was not Germany, but Moscow that was the enemy for whom they were shedding their blood. This realization is most clearly expressed in the history of the "Soldiers' Councils" and the different soldiers' publications at and behind the front.

The spontaneous formation of national units in the Russian army, the proclamation of ideals such as "Freedom and Independence for our Peoples" or "Down with the Prison of Nations" as opposed to Kerenski's cry for "War to a victorious End", the desertion from the Front of entire national units "to defend their own home and soil", all that was not anarchy, as Muscovite, and after them, world historians reported, but a revolution of oppressed peoples against their oppressors. At that time this was the only possible way of proclaiming that they desired their rightful independence. Thus the movement started which is still going on today. For this was the beginning of the oppressed nations' fight for freedom against Moscow. At the time, the world was too concerned with Germany's military power to pay any attention to this movement for liberation. The Entente was not concerned with the liberation of the nations oppressed by Moscow, but with supporting the Russian imperium as the policeman. — the powerful scarecrow, — that was to keep Germany off Eastern Europe in the future.

Parallels with Today

Thus it was and so, astonishingly enough, it is still. For today the Allies entirely disregard the fine and truly sacred clauses of the Charter of the United Nations which guarantee every nation freedom and independence, and endeavour to maintain the unity of Russia. But in future, no matter whether the world wants it or not, imperial Russia will cease to exist.

For the decay of the imperium, of which the March Revolution was a sign, will be completed. That Revolution has not stopped: it will continue until its end, i. e. until a series of independent nations shall be established in the area of the Russian imperium.

The October Revolution and Moscow

The October Revolution, on the other hand, welcomed by the world as the dawn of a new era, was nothing but a counter attack by the oppressor, by the nation of Moscow against the nations who had launched the March Revolution as a means of attaining their freedom. The October Revolution was, and is, nothing but the only possible instrument, by means of which

Moscow can uphold the complete power of the Russian imperium. It was not a socialist, far less a social, rising, but merely a clever move on the part of Moscow to preserve supremacy in the Russian empire and, with the aid of the oppressed nations, to attain world supremacy. Its socialist, social, even its national proclamations were nothing but a screen to conceal the same Muscovite imperialism that Iwan III. and Peter I. had propagated. The October Revolution, therefore, was not a revolution at all, but a counter revolution, initiated by Moscow to parry the revolution which the oppressed nations staged in March 1917 in order to attain their freedom. All the social reforms which the Soviet government in Moscow have introduced are not an aim in themselves; they are merely ways and means of reaching the final aim of world hegemony.

Moscow does not care which system will prevail in the world; it is not concerned with capitalism, socialism or even with communism. Its sole aim is that the world should be under the dictatorship of the Moscow spirit, whether of a Czar, a Generalissimus Stalin, a Kerenski or even a Purikewisch.

The October Revolution is of great significance for Moscow, if only because it produced leaders with the real spirit of Moscow. And it is not without significance that, at the beginning, an international coalition should have seized power then and executed supreme political authority as a typically Muscovite instrument of oppression. The same thing happened under

Catherine II. and all other Czars whose leaders were largely foreigners with no connection with the people. An oligarchy which is transferred to foreign soil is always the instrument to carry out the will of the nation it serves. Today, too, Moscow makes use of such an international instrument, from Stalin, Berija, Kaganowich to Thorez, Togliatti and Pieck etc. And this is the enormous importance of the October Revolution for Moscow, this counter-revolution against the March Revolution of the oppressed nations has provided Moscow with its fifth columns, traitors to their national interests, who help to subjugate their own people to Moscow's despotism.

For all Muscovites, no matter what their politics are, the October Revolution is a great and sacred event which brought the nation its new Grand Czar in the person of Wladimir Ukiasnow-Lenin. He indicated new ways of maintaining Moscow's supremacy in Russia and created fresh possibilities for realizing her dream of world hegemony.

For the peoples oppressed by Moscow, the October Revolution means the temporary suppression of their revolutionary movements by Moscow, the postponing of their liberation from dependence as colonies, from exploitation, terrorism and slavery. But the Revolution which began in March 1917 still goes on; it will end only with the collapse of the Russian imperium which even a Stalin will not be able to prevent.

The world demands freedom and it will get it.

John F. Dulles on "Psychological Warfare"

In his recent book on the "cold war" against Bolshevism, John Foster Dulles, the prominent Republican Senator, at present Adviser in Dean Acheson's State Department, writes:

"A private organization, called the 'National Committee for a Free Europe' exists. It was formed in 1949 and aims at getting help sent to prominent political emigrés from Central Europe and procuring them a refuge. In order to help these people to maintain contact with their friends at home, and to prevent the flame of liberty in the hearts of their compatriots from dying, a special broadcasting station, called 'Radio Free Europe' will be established."

Circles of political emigrés from countries under Soviet rule regret, however, to say that the valuable suggestions and constructive aims, described by Mr. Dulles, have not been realized and are still dreams. Fighters against Bolshevism of great experience, and political personalities who enjoyed indisputable popularity in their native countries and have fled into exile, are astonishingly neglected. Many of them are condemned to drag out a useless

existence as emigrés in the West, while the various campaigns of "psychological warfare" against Moscow call chiefly, if not exclusively, on "Exile Politicians" who helped the Communists into the saddle and prepared the way for Moscow's supremacy, so that they are qualified neither by spirit nor by repute to lead their peoples in the fight against Bolshevism and to strengthen their faith.

As long as these ex-partners of Communism, who share responsibility for the fate of our nations today, enjoy a monopoly as representatives of politicians in exile, while the real agents and representatives of genuine resistance are slandered as "fascists", discriminated and excluded from all share in the suggested psychological warfare against Bolshevism, the Kremlin has no reason to fear this "warfare". More than once the "Voice of America" which is completely entrusted to the "competency" and the taste of such "politicians in exile", has committed errors, the result of which was exactly the opposite of what was intended, and suited, not to strengthen resistance behind the Iron Curtain, but to weaken it.

An Authentic Report from behind the Iron Curtain

The last currency reform in the Soviet Union and the lowering of prices that followed it has merely publicity value at home. It, however, enables the Soviets to exploit their satellites still more. From now on, these satellites are forced to deliver more goods for roubles while they get less for their dollars. Lower prices for the products of industry and agriculture were necessary to the Bolsheviks; they were enabled to sell certain goods which they could not get rid of, as the people was

to poor and the goods themselves of inferior quality. On the other hand, the currency reform was intended to squeeze the last rouble out of the people in order to finance the Five-Year Plan. Finally, the reform was good publicity in the struggle against Western capitalism and the government's alleged anxiety for the people's welfare. As a matter of fact, the masses have not benefited in the slightest from reduced prices in the Soviet Union.

The elections of 12. 3. 1950 were regarded by the great majority of the population of the Soviet Union as an ordinary farce of no special importance. Even wide Party circles took part in the elections with no great seriousness, convinced that orders from above would in any case be executed by 99% of the people. And that was what happened. It is worth noting that the majority of the people in Western Ukraine did not vote.

Gigantic collective farms and agrarian towns. The affair of A. A. Andrejew, a member of the Politbureau who was reprimanded because of the mistakes he made in agrarian policy threw new light on Soviet mania for the gigantic. The latest policy in the province of collectivization is aimed at destroying small collective farms, the peasant village and the remains of peasant property, in order to create enormous collective farms and peasant towns. Several small collective farms are to be united in one big grain factory. This amalgamation is to enable the Bolsheviks to centralize administration and to use big agricultural machinery. At the same time, peasants are to leave their villages and find accommodation in "agrarian towns", more or less in barracks. The aim is to destroy the last remnants of peasant private property, and to exploit peasant labour still more than in the past and to get a better hold on the peasants politically. Here, too, the Bolsheviks started this "step on the way to communism" in Ukraine. By collecting the peasants in barracks in "agrarian towns" the Bolsheviks will be able to carry out their process of russification better in these areas.

The formation of a naval Ministry of War in Moscow. The victorious end of World War II brought the Soviet Union a number of ports in temperate waters, both in Europe and in Asia, as, for instance, Königsberg, now Kalininberg and other Baltic ports, Port Arthur, Dairen etc. This success has whetted the appetite of Bolshevik imperialists, so that they now demand a share of control over the Dardanelles, free access to the Mediterranean, participation in the Antarctic etc. In order to attain world supremacy, a navy is necessary and a special naval Ministry of War.

Re-introduction of capital punishment. The Bolshevik government, as is well known, abolished the death penalty after World War II, in order to

give the world proof of its humanity, also in the hope that the masses would carry out the orders of the Kremlin and that it would succeed in crushing the resistance of the subjugated nations without capital punishment, but by means of political pressure. These hopes have not been realized. Discontent is growing among the people. There are unmistakable signs of hostility to the government in the army and among working classes, such as desertions of Soviet soldiers to the West, obstacles in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan etc. The underground movements in subjugated countries have not been liquidated; on the contrary, they are spreading and are active in Ukraine, the Baltic states, Caucasia and Turkestan; there are also signs of discontent in Moldavia and Byelorussia. To strengthen its power over these disturbances, the Bolsheviks were forced to re-introduce the death penalty. In reality, it was never

removed, since many people were murdered without a trial.

Slave labour. Free labour has been eliminated from a country that pretends to be aiming at Communism. Compulsion is the rule in every province of life. In agriculture, for instance, the peasant is obliged to work at least 120 days a year for the collective farm. The same compulsion prevails in industry and other managements. The labourer has no possibility of choosing either the kind or the place of his work. The slightest carelessness is very severely punished. Wages are low and the state takes possession of all higher earnings. Such a state of things can only be maintained by force. The so-called labour camps serve not only to keep up production but also to ruin people who are distasteful to the regime, morally and physically. They are not only labour camps, but death camps, in the true sense of the word.

While Moscow Speaks of Peace...

The fourth Five-Year Plan, 1946—50, is approaching its close. Reports on its execution have not yet all reached the Kremlin. They are all directed to Stalin personally and state, without exception, that the Plan has been fulfilled more than 100% in all provinces of Soviet economy. How far these reports are true, is another matter. It is more interesting to inquire about the aim of this fourth Five-Year Plan, or the first, after the "great war for the Fatherland". At the 14th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1925, when directives were issued for the policy of Five-Year plans, it was announced, among other things, that the socialist industrialization of the country was necessary in order to create a new defence industry; new factories and munitions works must be built for the production of guns, tanks, aeroplanes and machine-guns.

In his introductory address to the fourth Five-Year plan, Stalin declared that "the historical victory over Japan and Germany had been made possible only by previous preparation throughout the country for active defence... The preparation of this great project had demanded the execution of three Five-Year plans for Soviet economy, and, above all, it had demanded industrialization and collectivization..."

At the same time, Stalin proclaimed as target that pre-war industrial production should be tripled and that the following maximum figures should be reached every year: coal, 500 million t.; ores and iron 50 million t.; steel 60 million t.; petroleum 60 million t. etc. Meantime the official figures for the fourth Five-year plan have been fixed much lower. The following targets have to be reached in 1950: coal 250 million t.; ores 19.5 million t.; steel 25.4 million t.; petroleum 35.4 million t. How many five-year plans will be necessary in order to fulfil Stalin's demands?

Even if the official Five-Year plan contains no figures for means of defence, its main aim is emphasized clearly enough in the provision "to secure the further increase of the U.S.S.R.'s power of defence and to equip her armed forces with the most modern weapons". A. Wosnesenskij, the Minister for the Five-Year plan, who has since been removed from office, stressed in his report to the Supreme Soviet in 1946, that the new (fourth) Plan provided for the equipment of the Soviet army with the latest weapons and for increased research on atomic energy... "a capitalism, with its monopoly, is preparing fresh aggression against the U.S.S.R."

And Molotov, on the same occasion, said: "We shall soon be in possession, not only of the atom bomb, but of other such gadgets."

If hitherto the aim of Five-Year plans was "to catch up with, and outstrip Europe", the same aim now applies to Europe and America. In this connection, figures given by Stalin for the production of armaments in the Soviet Union during the Second World War, may be of interest: 30,000 armoured cars, 40,000 aeroplanes, 12,000 heavy guns, 450,000 machine-guns, 5 million automatic pistols, 100,000 mine-throwers, 240 million bombs, shells and

(Continued on Page 8)

Page 5:

The leaflet above left reports the liquidation of the Bolshevik Captain Anosow. In the proclamation below left the Ukrainian people are called upon to resist deportation. Above right, Bolshevik imperialism is pilloried. Below right, protest against the slavish Stachanow-system. Superimposed is a protest against collectivisation.

The Ukrainian Underground Movement Distributes Leaflets throughout the Soviet Union with the Appeals to Resist

Воля народів!

Воля людини!

ЯК ЗАГИНУВ начальник Рогатинського РО МГБ — — капітан Аносов?

Для 23. березня 1947 р. в м. Рогатин
капітан МГБ Аносов, начальник
Хто ж убив капітана
Ми відкриємо т
Капітана Аносо
Михайло Йосифов
р-ту, агент внутріш
ства вийшов від о
Уже, коли очіку
ха хвалестий міс
мови з Довгим, що
яли. Довгий МОЖ
ЧИ МВД "Север"
скажу. Рогатинс
Вора МГБ Бугзе
НАКАЗ 661
ЧАЛЬНИК МГБ
Лосом МГБ Буга
(вільнодумник УМ
В розмові з агент
чен, що коли б Д
ждному випадку
Аносова дає ви



За Українську Сам
Соборну Держа

Московсько-большевицькі окупан
ти насильно вивозять Ваші рідні на
катеру в Сибір і Казахстан. З дру
гої сторони — вони насильно на ук
раїнські землі колонізаторів-росія
н, при допомозі яких хочуть перетвори
ти Україну в колонію Москви.
Ви не можете дозволити, щоб
земля Ваших батьків, Ваші рідні
села і міста опинилися в руках

Українці! Поборюйте з повною
рішучістю московських імперіаліс
тів — колонізаторів України! Вига
няйте їх з кожного клатка укра
їнської землі! Не продавайте їм
хліба і інших засобів до жит
тя! Для них місце в Росії, а не в
Україні!
Гоніть російських займаних доти,
доки Ваші рідні не повернуться
додому на свою землю!

За Українську Самостійну
Соборну Державу!

Воля народів!
Воля людини!

УКРАЇНЦІ!

В цілі якнайшвидшого звинищен
ня українського народу московсько
-большевицькі окупанти улаштува
ли нову комедію — "добровільне"
переселення в східні області України.
Большевицьким йдеться не про учас
ливість Вас, але щоб легким кон
том, при малих зусиллях викинути
Вас із рідних хат і вирвати з при
батьківської землі, огрибати з решт
ків майна, послабити нашу націо
нально-визвольну боротьбу і закри

пити тут своє панування. Не на Укра
їну звезуть Вас, а на хлякі робо
ти в далекі пустині Азії і тайги Си
біру, а мужуу кинуть на викорис
ту до Китаю. На Ваші землі на
шляють російських колоністів.
Не довіряйте обманути пішому
підступові Сталіна! Не покидайте
батьківської землі! Велі, як один,
сміло і відважно ставте опір пере
селенням акціям ворога! Ховайте
своє майно і скривайтеся!

Смерть московсько-большевицьким окупантам України!
Хай живе національно-визвольна боротьба українського народу!

Березень, 1950 р.

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПОВСТАНЦІ

ДО ВІДОМА ВСІМ!

своїй власній
сповідній прав
овелько-больше
токо гноблять
ищуть фізич
3 жовтня 1947 р.
в тундри Сибі
тпсаві україн
не приирали,
влоцання

зволати безвартію нивинувати його. Не
можемо дозволити безвартію повер
ти українську землю в колонию
Москви.

Імперіалістична політика сталінської
каліки зродила саркастичну історію украї
нського народу. Во
ми, україн
я — ко
про
мес
вер
нів,
до
дпа
іде

Воля людини!

Воля народів!

Селяни!

Сталінські окупанти приготувляють
для Вас колгоспне ярмо!
НЕ ЙДІТЬ ДО МОЛГОСПІВ!
НЕ СЛУХАЙТЕ ОБЛЮДКІ ПРОПАГАНДИ
СТАЛІНСЬКИХ ПАРАЗИТІВ!
Виступайте проти сталінських терорівників!
Хай живе вільний селянин в Українській
Самостійній Соборній Державі!

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПОВСТАНЦІ

РОБІТНИКИ!

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ХАЙ ЖИВЕ ВІЛЬНЕ РОБІТНИЦТВО В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ДЕР
ЖАВІ!

УКРАЇНСЬКІ РЕВОЛЮЦІОНЕРИ

В друкарні ОУН ім. І. Калити — Львів.

Eternal Russia

By D. Donzow

Whoever wants to understand modern Communist Russia would do well to study the old empire of the Czars, as it was in the 19th, 18th and 16th centuries. It is always the same — "plus ça change, plus ça reste la même chose".

Take, for example Giles Fletcher's book on Russia; he was Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Ivan the Terrible's son, Theodore, who was emperor of Russia in 1588. The Russia he describes is very like that of today.

In his book, "Voyage and Discoverie", he says, right at the beginning that the Muscovites were a very different race to that in the land of Kiew, populated by the ancestry of the Ukrainians. Although "they (the Muscovites) borrowed the name of Roxollani and pretended to be the very same Nation with them, it is without all good probability, especially for the seate and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two rivers of Tanais (Don) and Boristhenes (Dnieper) as Strabo reported, quite another way from the country of Russia".

The system of Government in Russia 350 years ago, according to Fletcher, does not seem to have differed much from that in the Russia of 1950. He writes: "Poor people are now oppressed with intolerable servitude. The state and forme of their Government seemeth to apply all to the behoofe of the Prince . . . There is none that hath any authoritie or publike jurisdiction that goeth by Descent or is held by Charter, but all at the appointment and pleasure of the Emperor" . . . Put Dictator instead of Emperor, and you have a description of the present Russian government.

Then, as now, the individual was completely defenceless against the State and had no personal rights. "The late Emperor Iwan Wassilewich", writes Fletcher, "in his walkes or progresses, if he had misliked the face or person of any man whom he met by the way, would command his head to be strooke off" . . . Is it not so now?

As with every single citizen, so with all the nation; no one had any civil rights. "The people", Fletcher reports, "are servants or bond-slaves that are to obey, not to make Lawes". And even when the Czar did summon the "Sobor", the assembly of representatives of the higher classes, they were never asked their opinion; they answered to the proposals of the Government "all in one forme, without any Discourse, as having learned their Lesson before, whatever is propounded." So it is still, at the assemblies of the Supreme Soviets of the U.S.S.R.

Like the rulers of modern Russia, the old Czars hated all independence

among the classes of the population. Therefore Ivan the Terrible "used to set on the inferiours, to prefer or equall themselves to those that were accounted to be of the Nobler Houses. He took his advantage of their malice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiving devised matter, and accusations of secret practice and conspiracies to be intended against his Person and State".

Like the Bolsheviks "he divided his subjects into two parts or factions by a general schisme. The one part he called the **Oppressniks** or Select Men" — the Communist Party of today. "He took them to his own part, to protect and maintaine them as his faithful subjects. The other he called **Zemsky**, or the Commons", who are without rights. "If any of them were spoyled or killed by those of the **Oppressniks**, no amends could be sought for . . . This libertie of the one part to spoile and kill the other . . . enriched that side and the Emperor's treasury". That was the social Revolution 350 years ago, and it lasted not less than seven years . . .

In order to break the "counter-revolution", Ivan the Terrible, like Stalin used terrorist methods: "whereof were slaine within one week to the number of 300 within the City of Moscoe". In this way the Czar "killed them and seased all their inheritance, lands etc." And Fletcher remarks: "the oppression and slavery is so open and so great that a man would marvell how the Nation and People should suffer themselves to be brought under it".

The famous trials of the "people's enemies, organized by the Bolsheviks today are also only a plagiarism of old Czarist trials. The governors of provinces, or other high officials of the Czar sent to their provinces "to suck themselves full". Then he used to "call them to the **Praveush**, or whip, for their behaviour and to beat out of them all or the most part of the bootie which they have spoiled from the Commons and to turn it into the Emperor's treasury, but never anything backe again to the right owners. "The Czar" made of these officers that have robbed their people a publike example, if any be more notorious than the rest, the Emperor thus seeming to mislike the oppressions done to his people and transferring the fault to his officers". Today, if the execution of Stalin's decrees brought catastrophe on the country, some officials who had acted on the Dictator's orders, were proclaimed to be enemies of the people and were executed as in the time of Ivan the Terrible.

The Bolsheviks borrowed even their economic policy from the old Czars. As is well known, they bought grain from the peasants at a fixed price, which was in no relation to the costs of produc-

tion, and then they compelled the same peasants, when they needed grain, to buy it back from the authorities at a price that was three to ten times higher than what they had received for it. Fletcher writes of Czar Ivans's economic policy: "he sent messagers into the provinces for furs, wax, honey, taking at small prices what themselves lost and selling them againe at an excessive rate to their owne marchants and to marchants strangers."

"The great oppression over the poore Commons made them to have no courage in following their trades, for the more they have, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods but of their lives also. This made the people to give themselves much to idleness and drinking" . . . The same fear of the spirit of Europe that Fletcher observed in ancient Russia, may be found among the rulers of Communist Russia today: "they (the Russians of the 16th century) are kept from traveling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other countries abroad. You shall seldom see a Russe a traveller except he bee with some ambassador or that he make an escape out of his country . . . Neither do they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their realme out of any civill country".

The cruelty of the Russians, which strikes us today, was observed by Fletcher 350 years ago. "The basest and wretchedest muojik, that croutchets like a dog to the gentleman, is an intolerable tyrant, where he hath the advantage. They make no account of the life of a man." Fletcher knew well what modern European diplomats have forgotten: "as for the truth of his word as some say, the Russe never believeth anything that another man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himself worthy to be believed. These qualities make them very odious to all their neigh-

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

hours" . . . The system of government, the slavery of the individual and the whole nation, the economic policy, fear and hatred of the spirit of Europe and the cruelty of the Russians — all were observed by Fletcher in the Russia of 1588. **Plus ça change, plus ça reste la même chose.**

And in the foreword of his book, Fletcher says that he was compelled to "contracte or mollify the biting or more bitter spirit of the Russian government" . . . That is what the modern reporter on Bolshevik Russia does whether he is compelled or not.

A.B.N. Nations Fighting for their Freedom

The "Basmachi", a Movement in Turkestan

The Turkestani, who fought long and bravely for their independence elected a national government one month after the Bolshevik coup in St. Petersburg (November 7, 1917), but this was liquidated by a Bolshevik armed force on February 12, 1918. Thereafter, a mass rebellion against the Bolshevik oppressor broke out in Turkestan. This rebellion is known to history as the "Basmachi" movement, its aim being to re-establish the country's independence.

The initiator of the rebellion was **Ergasch Korbashi**, who was at the head of the Militia in the town of Kokand. After the national government in Kokand had been liquidated by the Bolsheviks, he organized armed divisions outside of the town and fought a heroic battle against the invaders for a long time. At the same time, **Mahmud-Amin-Beg** (Madamin-Beg), the leader of the Militia in the town of Margelan, also began to fight against the Bolsheviks with the help of his troops. New troops were organized in a short time: in Oscha, under the leadership of **Halhodsha**, in Andischan, under **Parpi Korbashi**, in Nowkat, under **Muhiddin-Beg**, in Usgend, under **Dshani-Beg-Kazi**, in Gortep and Namangen under **Rahmankul-Beg**, in Kisil Rawat, under **Aman Pahlwan**, etc.

The "Basmachi" movement was the continuation of the rising of 1916.

At the Second Congress of Turkestani Mohammedans in Samarkand, the Turkestanian-Turkish-Islamic Republic was proclaimed on April 4, 1922, the people as a whole being clear that real political, economic and moral liberty is only possible in an independent national state.

The fight against the Bolsheviks was continued with great bitterness. In 1920 already, different sections of rebels had united under a national flag. In October 1922, Enver Pascha, a national hero, took over the leadership of the rebellion which lasted for six years of uninterrupted struggle against the superior forces of the Bolsheviks. His name is written in gold in the history of the Turkestani fight for liberty.

By means of inhuman terrorism and mass shootings, the Bolsheviks tried to crush the rebellion. In 1924 the sovietization of Turkestan began. But they have not succeeded in completely stamping the movement out. A rising broke out in the areas of Susak and Utschkurgan in the years 1933-36. A number of Turkestani Communists sympathized with the rebels and so many Turkestani, who were connected with the "Basmachi" secured important posts in the administration of the

country and succeeded in giving the rebels secret material support. This lasted till 1937/38 when all these men were arrested and shot.

During the period, 1935-41 thousands of young Turkestani who were called up for service in the Red Army, fled to the mountains where they joined units of the "Basmachi".

In World War II, the population of Turkestan tried to put all sorts of difficulties in the way of the Bolsheviks; there were many instances of police commissioners and N.K.W.D. men being stoned to death.

Outwardly it looks as if Turkestan were absolutely at peace. But anyone who has lived there knows that the country is really full of unrest. Latest reports say strong units of the "Basmachi" even now continue Turkestan's heroic fight for independence.

Erturk

Slovakia's Fight for Freedom

On March 14, 1939 Slovakia proclaimed its independence. The free, independent Republic of Slovakia was born out of the victorious revolution of the Slovakian people against imperialism.

Under the wise and beneficial guidance of its President, Dr. Josef Tiso, the Slovakian Republic fulfilled the people's ancient dream of a free and independent life as a state. Six years of Slovakian independence have proved beyond doubt that the people of Slovakia is absolutely fit to lead a free and independent existence and that it deserves such an existence. Six years of political construction, cultural progress, economic prosperity and social development during the storm of World War II demonstrated that Slovakia is politically mature and able to exist as an independent nation.

It is only too natural that the Slovakian Republic, from its very geopolitical position, could not avoid participation in the second World War, nor escape its tragic consequences. Slovakia waged war only against the U.S.S.R. and only in the endeavour to protect itself from Bolshevik expansion and to help the nations subjugated by Bolshevism to recover their freedom. The outcome of the war was tragic for Slovakia, as it was for many other nations. Slovakia was occupied by the Red Army and robbed of its independence. In accordance with Stalin's decision, it was drawn into the Bolshevik sphere of influence and, contrary to the will of its people, incorporated in Czechoslovakia.

Under Prague's Red dictatorship, Slovakia is now experiencing the darkest era of its history. The Slovakian nation, robbed of freedom and independence, has been plunged into misery. Red terrorism, sovietization and proletarianization were the sad gifts brought by the East to this, and to other countries behind the Iron Curtain. Hundreds of thousands of Slovaks were deported by the Bolsheviks, tens of thousands thrown into prison or concentration camps, thousands were murdered; but the oppressors have not succeeded

in breaking the resistance of the Slovakian people or its resolution to fight for freedom to the end.

The usurpers of power brutally murdered the two greatest builders of the Slovakian state, President Dr. Tiso and Dr. Tuka, Prime Minister. Horrified as the nation was at these crimes, it did not despair, but continued its struggle with even greater determination.

The Slovakian nation, under the leadership of Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, the president of the Slovakian Liberation Committee, who has been condemned to death by the Bolsheviks, is ready to sacrifice everything for the freedom and independence of its country. Fortunately it does not stand alone in its struggle. The yoke of Bolshevism has welded subjugated nations into a united front, the strongest expression of which is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), a revolutionary and international organization. The Slovakian nation is represented in the A.B.N. by the Slovakian Liberation Committee, its supreme political representative body.

The Slovakian Liberation Committee aims at freeing Slovakia from occupation by Bolsheviks, from the Communist and Bolshevik system; it fights for the renaissance of the independent Slovakian Republic and for the restoration of democracy and law in the government of Slovakia. The great majority of Slovaks, at home and abroad, support this program; it is the aim of the Slovakian White Legions who fight in the mountains along with units of the U.P.A.

The Slovakian nation is firmly convinced that the glorious day of victory and liberation will come, not only for Slovakia, but for all nations subjugated by Bolshevism, and that a new and happier world, an era of freedom and right, will be built on the ruins of the Soviet prison of nations.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný

Peasant Risings in Rumania

The „Neuer Weg“, a newspaper in German, published in Bukarest writes: “The success of the collective farms which have harvested the fruits of their collective labour, are a convincing model for all working peasants . . . There are now altogether 954 collective farms in the Rumanian People's Republic which means that the majority of Rumanian peasants are on the right road to a secure and happy life of prosperity and freedom.”

The newspaper says nothing about the actual prosperity and freedom which the peasants enjoy. For it is a fact that Rumanians, like inhabitants of other countries under Bolshevik regime, have neither anything to wear nor enough to eat. At present, the government has even difficulty in suppressing unrest among the peasants. In many villages peasants have driven out civil servants and party officials in the collective farms, and in some cases, have even killed them. The rising is spreading from village to village. The measures taken by the Government indicate how serious the situation is. We can practically talk of a state of siege in country districts in Rumania.

Moscow has had to send a specialist to Bukarest to reorganize Rumanian police. First, the rural militia is to be strengthened, as it has proved incapable of settling unrest among the peasants. Then, there have been changes

in the headquarters of the secret service, which is not subordinate to the Rumanian Ministry of the Interior but is in close contact with the Soviet M.W.D. The official name for the Secret Service is the “State Planning Service”. Stern police power with up-to-date military equipment, is concealed by this harmless title. If it is ordered to intervene against the peasants, there will soon be peace, the peace of the graveyard.

Partisan Activity in Hungary

The world press has paid little attention up to date to the activity of Hungarian partisans. Some interesting details appeared lately in “Free Europe”, a paper that is published in London.

The Austrian correspondent of this paper writes:

“It was the middle of September. Hungarian partisans had attacked the Soviet military depot in Villany, killed the guards and captured 150 automatic pistols and great quantities of ammunition and explosives.

Partisans are organized in almost every district. They are in communication with Ukrainian partisans and through them, with Polish partisans.

The Communist press naturally does not mention this partisan activity. Nor does it mention that 200 peasants were arrested and tortured to elicit confessions in connection with the incident at Villany.

While Moscow Speaks of Peace . . .

(Continued from Page 4)

mines and other heavy munition, 7.4 million cartridges, etc. It is worth noting that these figures are quoted in the fourth Five-Year plan, but as a “target achieved”. In the reports on the execution of this Plan, these figures are not mentioned and we must wait for details about the “target achieved”. Meantime, rumours about the fifth Five-Year Plan indicate that the „target achieved“ to be included in it will increase Bolshevik capacity for armament production to gigantic proportions. If we can believe Shymeryn, the Minister for Electric Plant in the Soviet Union, the new water-power works, provided by the fifth Plan, are to produce 21 milliard kilowatts in order to supply electricity to old and new important factories and, in addition, to contribute to the irrigation of 25.5 million hectares of ground.

In connection with the increase of Soviet potential production, we must not forget that Russia can now draw on the industries of all her satellite states in Europe, including those that have been dismantled, and on factories that have been deported with their engineering staff, and their foremen, beyond the Urals, above all from Germany, as well as from other countries that have been “liberated” by the Soviet army.

In consequence of the complete absence of foreign credit, the Five-Years plans are financed with the help of so-called “internal reserves”. These include, to start with, the unheard-of exploitation of human power, a cynically devised method of slavery. For the completion of the fourth Five-Year plan, the Kremlin could count on about 260 million people. This figure has been increased, above all in China, to more than 700 million, and this will only begin to have effect during the fifth Plan. It is no wonder that Soviet propaganda for home consumption recalls for the opening of the campaign for increased armaments, the edict issued by the Supreme Soviet 10 years ago, which runs: “The task of extending our industries demands an unceasing stream of new workers in our mines, workshops, factories, transportation and agriculture. If the number of workers is not kept constant, our industry cannot develop successfully.” At the same time, reference is made to the lack of skilled labour which is to be relieved by special courses in the schools. In 1949 alone, 3,700 such courses for craftsmen were held in the Soviet Union. Meantime, 60 new classes for master-tradesmen were formed and 250 textbooks issued.

That is what Stalin's efforts for world-peace really look like. K. A.

Neither did the Hungarian press mention that two trucks of ammunition exploded lately at the munition factory at Füzfő, on the Plattensee, whereby the railway line was damaged so that transports of munitions were held up for days.

The Situation in Ukraine

The main factor in Ukraine seems to be the continuation of the fight for liberation of the Ukrainian people. In spite of renewed effort and strengthened counter-measures, the enemy has not succeeded in liquidating the Ukrainian Underground movement and cutting off its connection with the millions of Ukrainians who willingly make sacrifices to support it. On the contrary, the Ukrainian underground has continued its influence and activities.

In 1948—49 the Bolshevik started to introduce the system of collective managements in Western Ukraine also, employing terrorism to do so. Supported by the Ukrainian underground movement, the population of this area have heroically resisted Bolshevik collectivization, so that the campaign has not been a success from the government's point of view. The population has been greatly impoverished, and in some districts, starved, in consequence of collectivization and grain deliveries.

The Bolsheviks have continued their policy of deporting many Ukrainian families to Siberia, with the intention of exterminating the Ukrainian people. As a precaution against arousing resistance, the Bolsheviks have abandoned mass deportations and now take small groups of people away.

Ukrainian youth continues to resist the efforts of the Bolsheviks to send them to vocational schools on the eastern border of Soviet Ukraine.

Preparations for a Fresh Purge

According to reports from home, the Bolshevik Politbüro has distributed secret orders to the Communist party, as it did in 1941.

Preparations are to be started immediately so that all unreliable persons can be liquidated in a short time, should a sudden attack be made.

In such an event, all suspicious persons, regardless of their age, are to be shot on the spot and their homes burnt to the ground (In summer, forests are to be set alight, so that nobody may be able to hide) and all attempts to flee must be made impossible.

There is therefore to be another “purge” of unreliable persons in various countries.

As the Western World already knows, it looks as if the thousands of people who were found murdered in 1941 in the prisons of viv, Winnitza, Riga, Reval and other towns, were burned or murdered by the Bolsheviks before their retreat.

What the West Needs for Victory?

(Continued from Page 1)

The West must learn to distinguish between the natural, sincere efforts of nations to attain freedom, and Bolshevik slogans of similar content. It is also a radical mistake to believe that Bolshevism is good in theory but bad only in practice. All positive ideas, such as the national liberation of colonial peoples, social justice, the granting of land to peasants as their private property (China), the union of sections of the same country (Korea), the dissolution of large estates, which form part of Bolshevik propaganda today are not its own ideas, but ideas belonging to movements of national liberation. For the real ideas of Bolshevism which have developed from its nature are the ideas of class hatred, collectivisation, levelling of personality and all ideal values, negation of the nation and national freedom, pulling all down to the lowest level, materialism etc. Nay more, Bolshevism even propagates the "people's democracy" which is as great a fraud with the Bolsheviks as everything else. Bolshevism has in theory nothing to do with democracy. It is the doctrine of "enlightened" terrorism. That is why it is such a mistake to regard it as good in theory but bad in practice. The entire positive program proclaimed by the Bolsheviks is stolen.

Bolshevik Land Policy

The same is true of Bolshevik championship of movements for freedom. According to it, the soil is the private property of the peasant. When the Bolsheviks proclaimed this policy, they were really working for their own aim, viz. the introduction of collectivization. These tactics of promising peasants land must not be regarded as an integral part of Bolshevik theory, as its real aim is collectivism, economic, intellectual and moral! Today the soil in China is still being divided amongst peasants as private property. But this is only a stage on the way to Bolshevik collectivization which will be introduced sooner or later. In Korea, too, the Bolsheviks won support by stealing ideas; if they had immediately proclaimed their own ideas and revealed their program, no Korean would have followed them. If the Bolshevik had immediately introduced collectivization into agriculture, and the Stachanow system, with its slavery, into industry, they would not be where they are. And if the Koreans had experienced the consequences of these Bolshevik blessings, the situation there would certainly be different today. For the execution of Bolshevik theories in a country aims only at securing complete supremacy over it for the Kremlin, and its incorporation in the Russian imperium. It follows, therefore, that the theory of Bolshevism is nothing but the eternal and unchanging theory of Russian imperialism.

Bolshevist practice is nothing but the result of Bolshevik theory which is a mixture of communist doctrines and Russian imperialism. Tito's national communism proves that the theory of communism is the same everywhere, no matter whether in connection with Moscow or not. National socialism and its totalitarianism was related to fascism, even though it had a different origin.

Conclusions as to Policy

What political conclusions can be drawn from what has been said? We are of opinion that nothing need be taken from the system of Communist ideas which is at present deceiving the world, as they in turn have all been taken either from the ideas of national movements of liberation or from democracy, two worlds that complement each other. It is true that certain sections of nations have been infected by negative ideas and led astray. But if the ideas of social justice and the freedom of the individual were realized, such sections could be liberated from destructive theories and Bolshevism might be combated with success.

What has all this to do with Puerto Rico, someone might well ask. This little country seems to us to be an example of how a little country should not be treated by the United States, if we remember the world's fight against Bolshevism. For the United States have taken over the lend in the West in this fight. But victory is certain if the United States are supreme in the world of ideas, if Bolshevism is not given any opportunity of striking a weak point.

Puerto Rico, a Weak Spot

Puerto is such a weak spot. On principle, the United States have never pursued a policy of colonial imperialism. After they had gained wisdom by experience, and after some hesitation, they proclaimed the independence and union of Korea (Truman's speech) as the aim of the war, whereupon subjugated nations, especially in Asia, began to trust the intentions of the United States. But the rising in Puerto Rico reminded the world of the United States' weak spot, of a small nation to whom the States still denies independence as a nation. As a military event, the rising has no importance whatever. But politically and morally it is a most significant fact. The fact that the United States has hitherto refused the small state of Puerto Rico the right of self-determination gives Bolshevik demagogues a most welcome weapon to undermine the moral position of the United States as a leader in the anti-Bolshevist crusade of the West. It is no accident that, just when all the governments in the world are congratulating Truman on his escape from assassina-

tion, Vysánski should have replied to the journalists who inquired about his views: "What a strange question!"

Soviet Exploitation of Puerto Rico

The Soviet Union is determined to exploit the obscure position in Puerto Rico, especially in Asia and Africa; but it will also make use of Puerto Rico in order to shake the confidence of subjugated nations in Europe through the declaration of the Kremlin that it is vain to hope for liberation from Bolshevism by the United States; for the United States would simply impose a new slavery, since it has not even granted the small state of Puerto Rico its independence. Here, it would be interesting to know what part Bolshevism played in the Puerto Rico rising and in the conspiracy in Washington. It is unfortunate and important that these events should have brought the question of Puerto Rico's independence into the foreground.

Freedom for All

We believe that the idea of freedom must be the same for all, for great and small, poor and rich, white and coloured. We desire Western victory over Bolshevism, for that would be our common victory; we are however, convinced, that this victory will be possible only if the West puts aside all imperialist aims, if it fights against Bolshevism with clean hands, and if peoples under Western rule today, as, for instance Indo-China, are granted their freedom by the free will of the West. If this does not happen, it will not be the fault of Korea or Vietnam, if the peoples who stand between two great powers let themselves be deceived by communists, in the hope of getting support for their fight for freedom.

We are more concerned in the fight against Bolshevism than anybody else in the West. We desire a front in common with all nations, and that is why we recommend a common platform and repudiate any suggestion that peoples under Western rule will have to do without freedom, as they will be still more oppressed by Bolshevism. Such a situation is impossible. Peoples cannot be expected to forget, while the fight against Bolshevism is raging, that another foreign power is in their country. For liberty and justice are one. The West must therefore grant all the nations the freedom they have been denied up till now, before a common indivisible front can be formed and absolute confidence be born. It would be a great tragedy for the West if the subjugated nations were once more forced to fight on two fronts, as in the forties when, for instance, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army had to fight against both Moscow and Berlin.

The epoch of great empires is irrevocably past. The world wants freedom and independence for all nations. We are on the eve of a great renaissance; states have been born, such as

The only Way

There are two kinds of policies — a short-sighted unsystematic, inconsistent kind, based wholly on the opponent's initiative, hand-to-mouth politics, and a second, a far-sighted and well thought-out kind that influences the course of events. The first must always lose, the second ought always to win. We stress "ought", if it is built on certain conditions. These are, that the policy must be founded on a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the enemy and on wise conclusions drawn therefrom. This being so, and if a conscientious government, with a sense of responsibility, pursues it, a people can place entire trust in its representatives who form the supreme executive. Otherwise, there will be unpleasant surprises in store for people.

American Policy after World War II

We cannot reproach U.S. policy, or rather the policy of the State Department, after World War II and in its last phases with being unsystematic and inconsistent. On the contrary we must admit that it was most consistent

Palestine, Burma, India, Pakistan; Indo-China is on the way and North Africa is stirring — nations of all continents and races are being swept into the movement for freedom and independence. This is the end of empires. And what power can hold this movement up? Why does the Western World, which is experiencing the process, not draw logical conclusions from it? Especially as regards the nations oppressed by Russia. Why does the West not incorporate in its policy the fact that the liberation movements among the nations enclosed in Russia could destroy the Soviet imperium? Is it not clear that Russia, more than any other country, being most aware of the power of the idea of freedom which it tries to suppress with inhuman terrorism, preaches the self-determination of nations beyond its sphere of influence, successfully exploiting it against the West?

The rising in Puerto Rico has revealed the West's heel of Achilles. The United States are still loth to recognize the dynamic power of the subjugated nations. The United States have not yet proclaimed their conception of the solution of the Soviet problem in Europe and Asia. But it is the view of various officials that the Russian imperium is indivisible. The rising in Puerto Rico showed that the nations of the world reject conceptions of great empires.

Aware of the decisive role which the United States has assumed in the fight against Bolshevism, we hope that their banners will display only such mottoes as will make victory certain. It is our anxiety for the common cause that has emboldened us to speak frankly and clearly.

Z. K.

and pursued with an obstinate, almost rash, determination. If it has failed up till now, the reason lies in an inadequate or absolutely non-existent knowledge of the enemy, in false conclusions on which diplomacy was based.

Whether we will or not, we are forced to be astonished that such a great power, which has such a large number of Russian "experts" at its disposal, and a rich store of experience of its own, should pursue such a weak policy towards Russia, a policy so far from facts that one is constrained to doubt the accuracy of the knowledge available, if not the reliability of the experts themselves. We, of course, have no intention of going into this matter; we only wish to say that the State Department's policy up to date has been based on a false premises, caused by ignorance of modern Russia. We believe that it is not the politicians and their conclusions that are to blame, but the experts who furnished the material for those conclusions.

Policy of "appeasement"

American foreign policy hitherto has been one of appeasement, built up on two principles, viz. 1. to finish the war as quickly as possible — at any price — 2. — after the war — to achieve peace at any price. Much has been sacrificed for these two aims; policy was sacrificed to military strategy and a second front war formed much too early and in the wrong place; one nation after another was sacrificed, strangely enough at the same time as humane and democratic principles of freedom, independence etc. were being proclaimed; territories soaked in the blood of American soldiers were ceded; political concessions were made, finally, in addition to military materials, oil, pipes, machinery and tools were sent, in order to dissipate Russian "distrust".

Disarmament of America

Because "distrust" was supposed to be the only thing that separated the East from the West. Otherwise, the experts say, there was nothing to prevent two absolutely opposed worlds from living together in harmony. In accordance with this, America disarmed completely (fortunately the atom bomb was still there) and optimistically allowed her people to rest in hope. This policy was carried out with an obstinacy and consistency that one can only term rash, in view of the absurd lengths to which it went. We are thinking of the critical year 1947 and after, when, in spite of this inertia, the U.S. S.R. was termed and probably actually considered to be an aggressive, imperialist power. (The so-called "containment" policy after 1917 may be regarded as another form of "appeasement".)

It is difficult to believe that the experts of the State Department have not

read the works of Berdiajew, Solowjow, Milikun, Lenin, Stalin etc., nor can we believe that the same experts neglected the reports submitted by General Dean, Bedell Smith and others, or that politicians in the State Department were unaware of the events of the last 20, or even 10 years.

If that really was so, it is high time that works by men who really knew Russia were studied; we should even like to recommend the old "wisdom books" of Asia, such as "Archa Siasatra" by Katali, "Siaset Nami" by Nizom al Mulk and others which are certainly part of the Asiatic inheritance of a people that is half Asiatic. The latter works put books like Machiavelli's "Prince" completely in the shade, especially as regards foreign policy and fifth columns.

Opinions of Russian Historians

P. Milukow, a well-known Russian expert and historian writes: "Russia and Western Europe have nothing in common, just as there is nothing in common between two zoological types, for instance a fish and a mammal; they are quite different in the origin of their historical development."

And Berdiajew in "Sources et sens du communisme russe": "Paradox as it may appear, Bolshevism is the third manifestation of Russian imperialism . . . The first was the principality of Moscow, the second, the empire of Peter I. Bolshevism is a synthesis of Ivan the Terrible and Marx. Its worst features come from Ivan the Terrible and not from Marx." And Sobolijew in "Recit de l'Antechrist": "Bolshevism, wherever it comes to power, will establish a despotic bureaucracy that will dispose not only of man's body but of his soul, quite in the tradition of Ivan the Terrible and the autocracy of the Czars."

It seems superfluous to quote Lenin, Stalin and other contemporaries here.

Witnesses from Russian Literature

Those few sentences surely give a picture of contemporary Russia, especially in the light of recent history. It would suffice, indeed, to look critically at purely Russian literature and not to read only the works of the Ukrainian Gogol and regard them as Russian. His Russians would appear to be "too jolly". It would be better to study Dostojewskis, who in Shypalov and his comrades saw in his vision astonishingly accurate the characters, who are resembling Berija nowadays . . . The realization that Russia is an imperialist, aggressive and extremely dangerous power has come a little too late. Western politicians ought to have grasped that in 1943/44, if not sooner. In their own interest!

Better Late than Never

Of course, it is better late than never. But when once a fact has been grasped, conclusions must be drawn. Policy up till now has been founded on the assumption that Russia is a peaceful, non-

„National Bulgaria“ to State Secretary Acheson

In an open letter to Dean Acheson, American Secretary of State, which appeared in the last number of „National Bulgaria“, the organ of the National Bulgarian Front, among other things, questions are discussed which are of general importance for political emigrés from countries behind the Iron Curtain.

In the letter, proof, based on historical facts, is given that „the other Bulgaria“ which is engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the tyrannous regime, that takes its orders from Moscow, is composed, not of old russophile circles and communist collaborators, but, first and foremost, of political groups which were always hostile to Russian imperialism of every kind. It is due to them alone that neither the Czar regime in Petersburg, nor the Bolshevik government in Moscow has succeeded in making a „Danube Province“ out of Bulgaria, or Soviet republic in the Balkans. These political circles, the article goes on to say, were loyal to the constitution and, at all times, represented the will of the people as representatives of democracy in Bulgaria. It was the representatives and followers of these circles who, when the country was subjugated to the Red Army in autumn, 1944, by the anarchist regime of the so-called „Fatherland-Front“, were massacred, and persecuted in thousands. They had, it is stated, the great majority of the

population behind them and unite today in their ranks all active and uncompromising enemies of Soviet tyranny.

The article points out that their opponents are unimportant radical political groups of leftist tendencies, as for instance, the leftist agrarians of the Pladne party, the militant circle of conspirators, known as the „Sveno“ etc., who were originally pro-Russian and involved in the communist revolution staged by the „Fatherland Front“. They had helped, it is alleged, to liquidate the constitutional democratic regime and by mass murder to eliminate national political circles hostile to Moscow. They emigrated only after they were put out of the government and only after they experienced themselves the terrorism which they had sanctioned when they supported the communists. All this seems to qualify them today as representatives of democracy and of the fight against Bolshevism. The sorely tried Bulgarian people, now enslaved, the majority of whom are patriotic and ideological opponents of Bolshevism, at any rate repudiates these collaborators of Communist murder and tyranny; according to the article, this people has no connection with their political campaign abroad, for they can give no guarantee for the reconstruction of a strong national democracy in Bulgaria.

We quote from the article: „You may

aggressive power, making progress in democracy, ready for international cooperation. The policy of appeasement was continued, therefore, even after 1947. Today, however, when it is absolutely clear that the U.S.S.R. are the very opposite, the following wise and practical resolution must be passed, namely, to destroy the Russian imperium and to divide it up into national states, which would solve the problem of Russian imperialism once and for all.

In short, it is not enough to state that Russia is an aggressive power nor is it enough to see its source and foundation in the Russian people which for centuries has been abused by its elite and, has been forced to become the scourge of the world.

Facing the Consequence

If the U.S.A. and other Western Powers who up till now have pursued a policy of appeasement, will initiate just as consistent a policy based on their new knowledge, the following four points must be incorporated in their plans: 1. re-armament, as quickly as possible (time is certainly not on the side of the West); 2. a crusade against Russia, led both from within and without (after coordination of strategy with the revolutionary movements of subjugated peoples); 3. the disintegration

of the Russian imperium into national states according to ethnic principles and the Atlantic Charter; 4. the re-education of the Russian people, including the elimination of aggressive and imperialist circles, the re-introduction of a lost feeling for right, duty and morals, the general re-introduction of Christianity among the people, carried out in the spirit of democracy and freedom. (Parallel: Russia, the „Germany of the East“.)

Today, it is no use introducing half-measures which may be regarded as a continuation of the appeasement policy. A „preventive“ war is a term that need not be feared: it can be called a „crusade“, to fulfil forgotten obligations in the interests of the subjugated nations who have been sacrificed in the effort to placate Russia.

Russia only needs to feel a „strong hand“ in order to procure peace for the present. We must realize that Russia will never abandon her imperialist aims. Russia's plans for war are far-sighted; she will not attack directly, but with the help of her satellites and will keep the Western world so long in a state of suspense and mobilization that it will be exhausted. This is Russia's moment. That is why all peaceful policy seems unprofitable and impracticable. It will postpone the World War for a few years only and will cost more.

R. K.

not be aware, Mr. Secretary, that, with the exception of a definite party of leftist agrarians in Washington, all Bulgarian emigrés are excluded from all the efforts of the United States to combat Bolshevism in Bulgaria, but, on the contrary, are the victims of a regular system of terrorism. — This terrorism is expressed in violent attacks on patriotic Bulgarians, in slanderous denunciations of experienced anti-communist fighters in exile, in dismissals from work, in deprivation of support, in exclusion from emigration to America and even in delivery into the hands of Bolshevik executioners on the Greek and Turkish frontiers. Such actions are generally the work of followers of the leftist agrarians of the Pladne party, who, as ex-functionaries of the „Fatherland Front“ participated in the destruction of Bulgarian democracy. These events naturally arouse the horror of Bulgarians in exile who, with the exception of the party leaders of the leftist agrarians and of ambitious officials of former diplomatic circles, do not acknowledge the Washington Bulgarian Committee as their representatives. The consequence is that the resources of exiled Bulgarians are not tapped at all and genuine anti-bolshevik Bulgarians in the enslaved homeland feel that they have no connection with efforts in Washington. We take this opportunity of stating that the way to the U.S.A. is still blocked for our healthiest and most positive emigrés, who are labelled as „fascists“, contrary to all truth and actual experience . . .

In conclusion the writer recommends a revision of the policy of the United States as regards Bulgaria and its political emigrés.

Bolshevism is the Third Form of Russian Imperialism

A bulletin of the Dutch Catholic Press Agency, which supplies news to the entire Dutch press, recently published an article on liberation movements in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the A.B.N. The article which appeared in many Dutch papers, gave a detailed account of the program of the A.B.N. and emphasized the necessity of fighting against Moscow with intellectual weapons. In the paragraph dealing with this subject we read:

„Members of resistance movements demand repeatedly that Russia and her satellites should not only be boycotted economically, but a united ideological front should be created, seeing that Communist ideology can only be combated with another ideology. The world will not be saved by the atom bomb, but by faith, by the spirit of national solidarity, social equality and justice. Participants in the fight that is going on beyond the Iron Curtain find strength to carry on their struggle only because they have faith in their ideas; hundreds and thousands of martyrs cannot make them afraid.“

From the Soviet Press:

Where is the Autonomous Republic of Crimea?

The "Prawda" of October 14 contained a report from its "correspondent in the area of Crimea". This short statement is a confirmation of the dreadful crime committed by Moscow against the Tatar nation after World War II.

Before the war no official Soviet newspaper ever used the term "area of Crimea". Such a name was quite unknown, the official title of the country being "The Autonomous Republic of the Crimean Tatars". During the Second World War, the Crimean Tatars fought actively against the Bolsheviks and that is why they were completely extirpated by Moscow after the war. There are no longer any Tatars in the Crimea. The few who were not shot by the N.K.W.D.-M.W.D. have been exiled to concentration camps in Siberia where, in accordance with Moscow's plan, they will soon all be dead of exhaustion.

A whole republic and its national life was thus quietly wiped out, without any law, or any change in "Stalin's Constitution".

Rumania — a Russian Colony

On October 16, 1950 the "Prawda" published an article on Kronstadt, the old Rumanian industrial town, now called Stalinstadt, from which we quote:

"Rumanian engineers tell us that our technical reviews and magazines,

our books and pamphlets about modern factories, our newspapers and even our books of essays on the glorious deeds of Stachanow workmen serve as good textbooks for economic and technical leaders . . . Factories where Rumanian and Soviet engineers are working side by side are being converted into colleges where young Rumanian directors, engineers and technicians are being trained in new socialist methods and where workmen are acquiring modern, socialist skills."

In Moscow's satellite states, it seems, the same thing is happening as has happened in the course of the last centuries in the Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan and the other countries subjugated by Russia: the entire administration of the country passes into the hands of the Russian masters and the Russian language, way of life and Russian culture are thus forced upon the people.

"Iswestija" Confirms A.B.N.'s Statement

On October 20, 1950 the "Iswetija" wrote:

"Socialist democracy favours the growth of the creative powers of big and small nations . . . In the sun of Stalin's Constitution Soviet nations are developing their own political, economic and cultural life."

In those lines, and even more, between them we find.

1. confirmation of the fact that not

is mighty and great. We only lack Unity. We must arise, and unite our hitherto split forces and separately conducted liberation actions.

We must unite our forces in our own interest! The principles of our accord must be: mutual respect, mutual recognition of rights to political independence and our own statehood, full equality of nations!

We unite our forces in order that together we may beat the common enemy!

The Ukrainian people is deeply convinced that the Bolshevik and Nazi Imperialists are preparing the same fate for us.

That fate means unmerciful extirpation! Only by uniting our forces and efforts can we escape that lot.

In this murderous fight for self-preservation, no nation will save its political independence and be liberated by itself without the help of other nations.

Long live the friendship of all oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Siberia and Caucasus!

one nation lives on Russian soil, but many,

2. confirmation of the fact that all non-Russian nations in the Soviet union demand their independence and are ready to fight for it. If that were not so, the Bolsvesists would not have found it necessary to convince our people that the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Aserbeidschan, Georgia, Armenia and the other countries victimized by Russian imperialism, are developing states of their own "in the sun of Stalin's Constitution" . . .

We recommend Western politicians to read between the lines of the organ of the Moscow government and they will be convinced of the truth of statements made by the A.B.N.

A Thorn in Moscow's Flesh

On October 14, 1950 the "Prawda" published a long article entitled "Ideological Work among the Intelligentsia", devoted exclusively to the West Ukrainian area of Lemberg. This article says:

"In Western Ukraine, as is well known, the ideas of bourgeois nationalism and hatred for all progress and revolution have long flourished, which, of course, has had an extremely negative influence on the philosophy of certain circles of the intelligentsia.

The Party Organization charged with re-educating the intelligentsia has not been able to perform its task satisfactorily. The education of the intelligentsia along the lines of Marx and Lenin is quite inadequate . . . Too little emphasis is put on reactionary movements in painting, music, architecture etc.

The most important function of the Party Organization in the area is to equip the intelligentsia with the theories of Marx and Lenin, to encourage activity for the progress of Communism and further to teach all working people how to use the victorious ideas of Lenin and Stalin to combat the remnants of bourgeois nationalism."

The "Prawda" therefore confirms that Ukrainian nationalism is still a thorn in Moscow's flesh. In spite of brutal terror, the Ukrainian intelligentsia remains, as before, filled with glowing patriotism and loyalty, always ready to fight to the death to free their country from Russian imperialism.

Seven Years Ago

In 1943, on the occasion of the foundation of A.B.N. the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) issued this Appeal in innumerable leaflets throughout the territories of oppressed peoples:

Oppressed Nations!

White Ruthenians, Moldavians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Cossacks, Turkestanians, and peoples of Caucasus and Siberia!

Our soil, our riches, our peoples became the object of the Bolshevik and Nazi Imperialism!

Two competing imperialistic powers are fighting for the sole possession of our riches and the eternal subjugation of our peoples, in a war that is without comparison.

Two imperialistic Governments make their calculations without their host, i. e. without us, who are the sole masters of our fathers' soil.

Peoples of Eastern Europe, Caucasus, Siberia and Central Asia! Our fate is in our own hands. There are more than 100 000 000 of us altogether! Our force

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The Heroic Death of Taras Czuprynka

A Shining Milestone on the Path of National Liberation

We have just received the tragic news that Lt. General Taras Czuprynka, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and leader of the Ukrainian Liberation movement, has fallen as a hero on the soil of his oppressed native country. He was killed in an action with M.V.D. troops who had located and attacked his headquarters.

This short announcement adds the name of one martyr more to the glorious record of those who have died for the freedom of Ukraine — Petlura, Konovaletz, Lypkiwskyj and Scheptytzkyj. It is a blow not only to the Ukrainian people, but to all those behind the Iron Curtain who are bound together with Ukraine in a common fate, a common fight for freedom. Above all, the resistance troops of the nations in the Anti-bolshevist Bloc of Nations, who are proud to have had the honour of fighting side by side with his fellow-countrymen in the front founded by Czuprynka, mourn his loss. That is why all our national flags are lowered at the grave of this hero of Ukrainian fight for freedom, as a token of our great admiration and gratitude. General Czuprynka fell not only for his native Ukraine. His heroic death concerns all of us. In order that his death may not be in vain, we feel bound to swear that now, more than ever, we shall not yield until the crusade for national freedom and independence has reached a victorious conclusion.

It may be that western opinion may think it sufficient merely to note the date of this flaming danger signal on our dark horizon and then to proceed with the order of the day. Compromising with the world's enemy in the Kremlin and preserving "peace" at the cost of our people's life and freedom are still items on this order of the day. A "peace" which permits insurgent armies to wage a desperate fight for freedom and to let heroes like Taras Czuprynka be shot down by the agents of tyranny because they stand up for the right of their compatriots to life and freedom, is a disgrace to our civilized world.

The West may find an excuse for its indifference. It probably lacks the proper perspective to be able

to see this event in its right proportions and to grasp its significance. Only those who have lived behind the Iron Curtain and have had personal experience of the Bolshevik regime can realize what it means to organize resistance in a country enslaved by Soviet Russia, to form an army of insurgents, to defy and attack tyrants for years. They alone can imagine what it is for a responsible leader to command a national revolution on the spot, under the nose of Bolshevik bloodhounds and to look death hourly in the face every day for years. If public opinion in the West is otherwise indifferent to the heroic death of this fearless champion of the Ukrainian Liberation revolution, it should at least be warned by it. The same bells that toll in the hearts of all oppressed nations for the death of General Czuprynka are ringing the alarm for a fresh attack and the West would do well to take note of the signal.

General Taras Czuprynka's life is a record of patriotism, duty and conflict. He was born in 1907, his civilian name being Roman Shuhewytsch. Immediately after graduating from the Technical College, he became a leading member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (U.W.O.), to which he had already belonged as a student. In 1929 he took over the military department of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists (O.U.N.). In the years 1938—39 he played an active part in organizing the military association, "Ukrainian Carpathian-Sitsch". In 1943 he was elected chief of the staff of the O.U.N. and then commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army (U.P.A.). In November of the same year, the Anti-bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), uniting the revolutionary movements of the peoples oppressed by Moscow, was founded at his suggestion. In July 1944 he was elected President of the secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.) and general secretary for military affairs in this, the supreme revolutionary organization in Ukraine. He held the Golden Cross and the Golden Military Cross (First Class).

May the memory of General Taras Czuprynka live for ever! His heroic death is a significant milestone on the path of national revolution in Ukraine and other oppressed countries.

Who Defends Europe?

(Conclusion of Article in No. 9)

Weapons alone are not sufficient

Europe would need neither weapons nor men for her defence. What the continent lacks today are **ideas** to inspire her defence and arouse her **fighting spirit**.

If France, in spite of glorious military traditions, — the Maginot line and the most modern weapons, — could be beaten within a few weeks in World War II, it was not as a result of inadequate arms, but because there was no idea to fight for. France today is not even in a position to take over deliveries of armaments from America because ships cannot always be unloaded in the ports, which is a danger-symptom for the spirit of Europe as a whole.

Leading circles, not only in France, are being deceived by the tricks of Communism and by other disintegrating theories. What use will it be, then, for America to send weapons for hundreds of divisions to Europe? These weapons may possibly be seized by Communists and, on orders from Moscow, used in civil war to fight against compatriots. That is why we should not ask only where steel helmets are to be found for European divisions, but above all where the inspired and fanatic soldiers are, who will wear these helmets.

For whom has Joliot-Curie conducted his great researches on the atom bomb, for France or for the Soviet Union? And about whom was Harry Hopkins more enthusiastic, about Roosevelt or Stalin? Did Dr. Claus Fuchs really serve Moscow for money or because of his communist convictions? Such facts reveal the military impotence of Western Europe. Even de Gaulle and the Catholic Bidault could sit at the same table with Thorez, a traitor and a deserter. Eisenhower, who was commander-in-chief of the Western forces against Nazi tyranny, writes in his "Crusade in Europe" about Stalin, the greatest tyrant and blasphemer against God who has ever lived: "I mentioned that I should like to have his photo from him personally . . . After a few days I received a whole film in Berlin and a photo of the Generalissimo with 'a warm-hearted dedication'. Is this the prototype of the chivalrous, freedom-loving West, of Cromwell, Washington and Lincoln, men who fought ceaselessly against tyranny?"

Neither the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), the Bulgarian Legionaries nor the Serbian Chetnici have ever received a single rifle from the United States; yet they won their arms from their enemies, and have not yielded because their spirit is uncowed. This spirit has not been poisoned by disintegrating ideas of hedonism or materialism and it knows nothing of Sartre's philosophy. Western politicians should

not be so scornful because we have no technical equipment; they should care more about getting the spiritual weapons, the ideas which they lack. If they had those, armored divisions and masses of planes would even now be ready to defend their territory. But the battle-song of these divisions should not be, say, Lilly Marleen"; they should take an example from the Crusaders, from Richard the Lionhearted, soldiers who went to battle without any thought of themselves but in order to liberate the Holy Land. If the Western world continues to pursue egoistic and greedy aims, it will fail in its fight against Bolshevism, and the West will be condemned to lie in ruins.

Who is going to provide Europe's army?

Churchill is mistaken if he thinks that the key to victory over Bolshevism and the salvation of Europe is to be found only in the creation of a German army. Not that we are opposed to Germany taking a share in the defence of Europe. But we do not believe that a German army would be more than a link in the entire system of defence. In order to conquer Bolshevism, the whole world would have to rise, and, in the first place, try to win the nations oppressed by that regime, for the fight against it. The importance of the ideals of national freedom and independence should not be under-estimated, as they alone are able to inspire masses to take up arms against tyranny. As far as Germany is concerned, it would certainly be better to have a German army ready on this side, instead of allowing Germans to be recruited for a bolshevist army. For the German is not at all suited by nature to fight as a partisan.

But the problem of the defence of Europe and the world lies far deeper than the question of how many divisions a people has. That is why Stalin, too, was mistaken when he asked Roosevelt how many divisions the Pope could put in the field. What the Western world lacks today are the symbolic, but all the more powerful divisions of the spirit which Rome could mobilize in the Catholic world, Constantinople, Kiev and Sofia in the Orthodox World, Mekka in the Mohammedan world and the Shinto faith among its adherents, all of them not only on this, but particularly on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

After Spain, Switzerland has the strongest army in Western Europe today. But Switzerland is concerned mostly about its neutrality, for there are still people in Europe who have not yet grasped that there can be no neutrality in the storm that has burst over us. That is why, for instance, the West should be grateful that Spanish divisions are behind Gibraltar today, no matter what her attitude to his regime

is. Although we are against everyone form of the dictatorship we find it paradox, Spain, which could be an important link in the defence of Europe, as a hostile power and to consider as partners the Soviet Union and Tito's Yugoslavia, where more than 13 millions are in concentration camps.

Where is the Key to Victory?

Victory over Bolshevism cannot be guaranteed by atom bombs, aeroplanes and improvised divisions. The key to victory lies in winning the nations oppressed by Bolshevism for the Western cause. They alone might form the decisive third power in the world war which is already in progress. Western states should coordinate their struggle with the underground movements and the insurgent armies of these nations and set up common aims, if they would be sure of vanquishing Bolshevism which threatens the whole world. If they do not mobilize the revolutionary forces of the nations oppressed by Bolshevism and use them as a second front, it is hard to see how the West can win.

Communism has long set up such a "second front" against the West in France, Italy, Greece and other countries, in order to synchronize civil war with the invasion of the red army, when it comes. If the west does not succeed in winning these enormous masses behind the Iron Curtain, if it does not launch powerful, political ideas, there can hardly be a victory over Bolshevism.

Moreover, the Western Powers should not allow themselves to be tied to theatres of war of secondary importance, but should attack the heart of Bolshevism, i. e. Russia in its ethnic frontiers. That would make it possible to mobilize the oppressed nations in every province, so that national revolutions in all the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union would be able to liquidate the tyrant on Russian soil. Soldiers in the Soviet army would of themselves turn their arms against him, if they were sure that they were fighting for the immortal idea of freedom. In order to secure these as allies, the West would have to proclaim its aims clearly in advance and give practical support to the oppressed nations. It is a question of gaining the confidence of the underground movements and the powers of resistance in our oppressed countries who then could give their people a guarantee for the sincerity of the West.

The near future will show whether western statesmen are capable of taking decisive steps. Experience up-to-date is not encouraging. But our struggle for liberation will continue with or without the West, no matter what it costs. We, at least, will not be to blame if the sacrifice is enormously increased both for our nations and for the peoples of the West.

Z. K.

The West Is Led Astray

In the West, and particularly in the U.S.A., people still hope for a change of heart on the part of Russia, or for a change of "system", which would secure peace for the world and restore unity among nations. Some think that Stalin's death will bring the great change, while others propose to erect an impenetrable wall against Soviet aggression from which they hope to force negotiations to establish peace between East and West. All agree that the present world crisis can only be solved from within Russian itself.

And in this they are not mistaken. No pressure from without, say a preventive war, could of itself save the world from Soviet aggression. That danger can be averted only by the mobilization and coordination of powers within the Soviet Union whose aims are parallel to those of the Western World. Strange to say, such powers, although they exist in considerable strength today, have not yet been recognized or acknowledged by the West.

The Western World is astonishingly ignorant of the true state of things in the U.S.S.R. It failed entirely to understand the Bolshevik Revolution and was appalled at its cruelty, though its symptoms were obvious many years previously. Today, history is repeating itself. The world stands amazed at what is only a stage in that revolution. It seems incapable of grasping what happens in Russia until it is too late.

Evolution to Democracy?

The fact that many people in the West hope for much from a change of regime in Russia illustrates how widespread wishful thinking is. In reality, an objective observer must admit that the Russian policy of the West, if it is not steering for a complete catastrophe, will certainly lead to bitter disappointment, in consequence of the general ignorance of conditions in the Soviet Union.

For instance, the West persists in thinking of modern Russia as a free, natural and indissoluble union. In reality, this huge country, as under the Czars, is held together by bloody terrorism. This monstrous empire would fall asunder whenever terrorism ceased. The world must face an alternative: if it wants to see democracy realized behind the Iron Curtain, it must not talk of the unity of Russia, nor aim at establishing it; if, however it desires this unity, then it must abandon all democratic principles and accept as inevitable the cruel terrorism that is exercised by Russia towards all non-Russian peoples within the boundaries of the U.S.S.R. behind the Iron Curtain.

Others in the West put their hope in certain "democratic circles" in the Russian people who might succeed the present regime and establish a democratic system of government. Such an idea

is as ridiculous as it is dangerous. It is systematically spread and supported in the West, its chief propagators being the Kerenski clique. In return for good money they make every effort to persuade public opinion in America of the truth of this, the biggest lie the world has known.

Every student of Russian history knows that during the 600 years of its existence, the Muscovite empire has never been ruled democratically. It has no democratic traditions. It is no accident that the names of Russian rulers, from Ivan the Terrible to Stalin, who has earned the epithet of "Bloody", should reflect cruelty and despotism. These facts are kept dark by the propagandists of a future Russian democracy, in their efforts to persuade the West that it will find an ally in the Russian people when it launches its campaign against Moscow. Nor will the West learn the truth as long as it derives its information from the hordes of "democratic" and "progressive" Russian emigrés who all have their own fish to fry.

The Real Truth of the Matter

The West to often ignores the real situation in Russia and quite unjustly overlooks its own natural and only possible allies against both Bolshevism and Moscovite imperialism, both at bottom the same thing. These allies are to be found in the many subjugated and oppressed nations in Russia whose potential has been clearly shown by the resistance movement behind the Iron Curtain. In order to win these allies for its cause, the West must appropriate the aims these nations hold sacred, namely freedom and independence, the only aims that are worthy of a democratic world. Nor is there any ground for fearing that the West would forfeit the sympathy of Russian "democrats" and the support of the Russian people by helping the liberation movements of those nations. On the one hand, a democratic Russian empire is a contradiction and, on the other, Muscovite people will never fight on the side of the West against Moscow.

The ideas prevalent in the West about the origin and the motives of resistance movements in the Soviet Union, in the event of a conflict, are erroneous. People imagine that resistance would be effective throughout Russia, i. e. also in the ethnic areas of Russia proper, which is absolutely wrong. They also think that resistance would crystallize round social and economic problems. The West therefore suppose, quite erroneously, that mere social, economic and constitutional reform would suffice to solve the problem of the communist regime in Russia.

The main motives of resistance in Russia are not social and political in

nature, but national. They have their origin in the determination of the nations oppressed by Russia to regain their independence as states. For example, if, say, American troops were to march into Russia, they would not find in Ukraine organizations of land-hungry peasants, but, to start with, the well-organized fighters of the Insurgent Army who are prepared to make every sacrifice for the establishment of a free and independent Ukraine. Social problems, such as land reform, and constitutional questions would be secondary. The same thing would happen in other countries oppressed by Moscow.

The only revolution on the horizon of the U.S.S.R. is the national liberation of the oppressed peoples. If there is to be permanent peace in the world, Great Russia, with its brutal terrorism must cease to exist. The freedom of all non-Russian peoples in states of their own must and will come. The great chance of the West in the universal and decisive conflict with Moscow now in progress, is to win these peoples as trustworthy allies.

Z. P.

Where with the Atom Bomb?

John F. Stewart, the well-known Scottish politician and friend of the nations oppressed by Moscow, commented in the "Scotsman" on Churchill's speech which stated that the great stock of atom bombs which the United States possesses, is the best guarantee of peace in the face of threatened aggression by the Bolsheviks. Stewart declared: "As far as Russia is concerned, I have never believed in the success of the atom bomb, and I protest against using it, particularly against throwing atom bombs on towns like Kiev, Odessa, etc., for I should like to remind you that Kiev is the capital of Ukraine while Odessa is the largest Ukrainian harbour. Today the Ukrainians are ready to cooperate with the West to meet the challenge of Moscow. They would be bitterly disappointed if their beloved towns were to be destroyed by atom bombs. And it would never be possible to put an end to Russian terrorism without their help."

Stewart would extend the example of Ukraine to all non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union. If, for instance, atom bombs were to fall on centres of industry in Siberia, today the arsenal of the Soviet Union, he asserts that factories and millions of working people would be killed, but that the latter would not be Russians, but members of other nations who have been deported to these towns as forced labourers.

At the end of his article, Stewart emphasizes he that expects the most efficient support of the West to come from the non-Russian peoples under the yoke of Moscow. "The sooner we try to win that support, the greater will our chances be of reaching our aims."

Georgia's Message to the World

(Extract of Speech in Edinburgh)

Dr. Michael von AHSCHIBAYA, a member of the Georgian National Committee represented Georgia at the Edinburgh A.B.N. Conference. On behalf of his people, he gave an impressive speech from which we quote the following extract:

... According to origin, culture and later religion, the Georgians belong to the cultural life of Europe and have always been a bulwark on the farthest eastern frontier of the Western world.

... Thanks to its geographical position, a key to the Middle East, Georgia was constantly exposed to attack by foreign powers. But, in spite of the raids of innumerable enemies, like Scythian hordes, Persians, Arabs, Mongols, Turks etc., the Georgian people was able to preserve a national identity ...

In order to save itself from falling a victim to the Persians and Turks, Georgia was forced to seek an ally and thought that it had found one in Russia ... But Russia broke her promises to support Georgia in the struggle against Turks and Persians and proclaimed the incorporation of our country in the Russian empire in 1801. ... Thus, for the first time in her history, Georgia lost her independence.

A complete russification of the country commenced. Members of the ruling house and all prominent personalities in Georgia were exiled to Russia. The patriarch and his archbishops were deposed, arrested and exiled. The ancient Georgian Christian Church, a self-governing organization, was suppressed and the Russian synod took charge of church life.

When the first world war broke out in 1914, the Georgians put all their hopes in Russia's defeat and the inevitable collapse of the Russian empire. And when, in 1917, the Revolution broke out with the end of the Russian empire, Georgia separated from Russia and proclaimed its independence. It drew up a democratic constitution and carried out progressive social reforms.

Twenty states including all the great powers of Europe, recognized Georgia de jure. On May 7, 1920, a treaty was even concluded with the Soviet Union, wherein the latter acknowledged Georgia's independence and sovereignty. ... But in February 1929, without any declaration of war, Georgia was overrun by Russia. After a desperate and heroic struggle our country had to yield to the aggressor's superior power ... That was the beginning of the brutal extirpation of the Georgian people which still continues today.

But our people did not give in. Polar risings took place in 1921, 1922, 1923 and 1924 ... In addition to those who fell in battle, thousands and thousands of men and women were cruelly

sacrificed to the Soviet thirst for vengeance ...

A campaign of destruction was launched against the church. The venerable Patriarch Ambrosius, who sent a memorandum to the Conference of Genua in order to draw the world's attention to the persecution of the Georgian church, was arrested, condemned and died shortly afterwards in prison. Nazarius, the Archbishop of Kutais, and innumerable priests were shot. Risings occurred again in 1929 and 1930. In 1935 and 1937 "conspiracies" of Georgian underground movements were discovered and reprisals, in the familiar Soviet manner, followed. Terrorism has lasted in our little country down to the present day.

At the same time Georgia is thoroughly plundered. All her natural wealth is exported to Russia. The peasant people of Georgia clings to its native soil and detests the Soviet system with all its heart ...

The fact that, in the last war, so many Georgians deserted to the Germans and fought in the ranks of the German

army, was not a sign of sympathy with the Nazis, but merely a measure of defence against the hated Soviet regime.

The so-called "Georgian" Soviet government is a mere fiction, being nothing but an administrative authority to receive commands from Moscow. ... The people have no rights whatsoever, but refuse to become slaves. Stalin knows the stubborn spirit of the Georgians and that is why terrorism is so severe in our country ... For some time, the world was inclined to think that we Eastern peoples were allergic to Bolshevism and that this explained the spread of that plague in our countries. The truth emerged later, when a number of European peoples fell a victim to Russia's brutal methods ... No one believed our warnings that the fate of Caucasian peoples could be repeated in European countries; such prophecies were laughed at as ideas of exiled politicians. Now, however, the whole world must admit their truth ...

Our Caucasian peoples stand in the van of the fight against Soviet tyranny. We Georgians will never give up this fight until we have attained our national freedom. We know that we are no longer alone in the field today and we are prepared to fight this universal battle as long as we have breath in our bodies.

The Golden Words of Karl Marx

Some golden words, written by Karl Marx 1853-56 dealing with the events of the Crimean war, are of high actuality for our time, the time of a new pressure of Russian imperialism against the West:

"Russia is becoming a conquering nation ... Let Russia get possession of Turkey, and her strength is increased nearly half, and she becomes superior to all the rest of Europe put together. The maintenance of Turkish independence ... the arrest of the Russian scheme of annexation is a matter of the highest moment."

"Russia is a semi-Asiatic power in her conditions, manners, tradition and institutions."

"In all essential points, Russia has steadily, gained her ends, one after another, thanks to the ignorance, dullness and consequent inconsistency and cowardice of Western governments ... The action of Western powers has either been nullified by squabbles among themselves mostly arising from their common ignorance of Eastern matters and from petty jealousies ... Or that action has been in the direct interest of Russia alone."

"If the other Powers hold firm, Russia is sure to retire in a very decent manner."

"The total acquisitions of Russia during the last sixty years are equal in extent and importance to the whole Empire she had in Europe before that time."

"Counting on the cowardice and apprehension of the Western Powers, the Czar bullies Europe and pushes his demands as far as possible."

"There is nothing more striking in the politics of Russia than the traditional identity of her objects and of her manner of pursuing them. There is no complication of the present Eastern question, no transaction, no official note, which does not bear the stamp of quotation from known pages of history ... The stereotyped mannerism of that policy proves the intrinsic barbarism of Russia herself."

"Russia has gained prestige without firing a shot, she has established her power in the East ... she has humiliated England and France in the eyes of their own subjects and of the population of the East."

"Pan Slavism is a movement which would tend to undo what a thousand years of history have created. It must subjugate Europe ... to realise a great Slavonic Empire from the Elbe to China and from to Adriatic to the Arctic Ocean."

"Not that we think 'holy Russia' unassailable. On the contrary ... The strategy of an attack upon Russia from the West has been clearly enough defined by Napoleon, and had he not been forced by circumstances of a non-strategic nature to deviate from his plans, Russia's integrity would have been seriously menaced in 1817. That plan

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Russia's Expansion in Central Asia

By Lev Shankovsky

Tsar Peter I had set his heart on exploiting Central Asia. Men were sent to explore the possibility of a road to India. At the time, the region around the Aral Sea (Amu-Darya) was the domain of nomadic horsemen called Kirghiz-Kazakhs. They were organized into the Great, the Middle and the Little Hordes. In 1730, the latter two Hordes submitted to Russia. In 1819, all the tribes which had hitherto been independent, accepted Russian rule and by 1842 the lands of Amu-Darya too.

In 1865, an offensive was launched against the Tatar Khans of Central Asia. Chimkent and Tashkent became Russian in 1865. At the end of ten years, the Emir of Bokhara yielded to Russian pressure followed by Samarkand (1868), Khiva (1873) and Kokand (1875). Great Britain became apprehensive of the danger of such activity to India, which was not far away. In 1884 and once again in 1895, British and Russian representatives fixed the boundary between Russia and Afghanistan.

By now, Central Asia had really become a Russian colony. The Russian encouragement of settlement brought over 13 000 Cossacks to the region south of Lake Balkash in 1867 (Semirechensky Cossacks). The greater part of this territory was then formally incorporated in the empire and petty potentates, like the Khan of Khiva and the Emir of Bokhara who were permitted to retain a semblance of their former sovereignty, became obsequious vassals of the White Tsar.

In the reign of Alexander III the expansion of Russian domination in Central Asia received fresh impetus. The territory of the Tekke Turkomans had been subdued by General Skobelev and 1884 saw the annexation of the Merv Oasis. After more than two years of negotiation, further Russian movement toward Afghanistan was halted by Great Britain, but it intensified, instead, in the farther east region of the Pamirs.

The peoples of Turkestan, possessing a distinct and ancient culture, were bitterly opposed to the influx of Russian colonists. In 1916, a general uprising preceded the outbreak of the Revolution. Despite the spontaneous nature of the rising, lack of unity and a common goal doomed the uprising to dismal failure. The leaders of the rebellion fled to Afghanistan, returning only when the impact of the Revolution had reached the Central Asian steppes. Democratic governments were being installed in Ashkhabad, Khiva and Bokhara but the Red Army marched too. The wheels of sovietization were rapidly set in motion in the country, Emir Alim Khan had to flee to Afghanistan and Faizoule Khodjaev became President of the Soviet Republic of Bokhara in August 1920. In 1938 he was shot by the Russians.

In face of stern opposition from the Turkestanian national guerillas — the basmaches —, the sovietization of their lands made slow but persistent progress. The pressure of overwhelming numbers of the Red Army eventually subdued the anti-Russian and anti-communist spirit of the Turkestan people. Still another heavy blow was dealt the Turkestanian democracy by the Entente refusal to recognize the need for aid to the Turkestanian national armed forces in their struggle against totalitarian aggression. Whilst another representative of Russian imperialism in the person of White General Denikin was receiving full support from Great Britain and other Western Powers, the badly equipped and under-armed de-

tachments of the anti-Turkestanian national army received no aid from Churchill's government. No consideration was given to the fact that an independent Turkestan would have always thwarted Russian dreams of aggression against Iran and India.

Turkestan was over-run by the superior Russian forces and divided into the five "independent" republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirghizistan and Kazakhstan.

Having attained her intermediate goal, Russia proceeded to extend her sphere of influence to include East Turkestan (Sin-Kiang). In view of its propinquity to Soviet Russia, this Chinese province with a population of 1,200,000 and area of 633,802 square miles has remained under Russian economic influence for over a decade. Allegiance to China is merely nominal! Russian imperialism marches on!

Fighting in the Dark

A Report on Communist Activity in Western Germany

(Our Own Correspondent Veritas)

Referring to the October elections, Dr. Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, declared: "On October 15, we shall fight for the firm establishment of a people's democracy throughout Germany which will oust Bonn quislings from their post."

Ever since 1945 Communism has been infiltrating Western Germany. They took over important positions in publishing and information services. The following names are typical: Dr. Agricola of the "Rhein-Neckar Zeitung" in Heidelberg, at the same time a director of DENA, the West German news agency, Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, former commentator of the N.W.D.R. in Cologne, Helmut Schneider, former political editor on the staff of the broadcasting station in Frankfurt (Radio Frankfurt), Herbert Gessner, former commentator of Radio Munich, Heinz Seidel and Günther Cwoydrack, both youth-programme editors of the N.W.D.R. in Hamburg, Dr. Bruno Goldhammer, editor-in-chief of Radio Munich in 1946, Dr. Heinz Egel, news-editor of the N.W.D.R. in Hamburg and, in 1947, editor-in-chief of Radio München, and hundreds of others, most of whom are now working in East Germany as radio commentators or editors of Communist papers.

They have quitted Western Germany. But they left agents and informers to carry on their illegal infiltration, espionage and fifth column activities. For proof, we only need to listen to the news and propaganda broadcast by the "Berliner Rundfunk", the "Deutschlandsender", and "Radio Leipzig", all of them Soviet-sponsored radio stations in Eastern Germany.

The case of the former chief correspondent of Radio-Berlin in Munich/Bavaria, who was dismissed in summer 1949, showed what a network of communists had been built up by Dr. Goldhammer, at that time chief of the illegal information service, who handed all material to the S.E.D.-Politburo and to Colonel Mutaladin in Karlshorst.

It should be realized that these connections still exist. On August 5, the "Rheinische Merkur", a weekly published in the Palatinate, reports: "Bavarian broadcasting still employs many persons who belong to the extreme left. Does it not prove the weakness of our policy towards Communism that such people should have the opportunity of directing public opinion and at the same time of propagating the Communist 'peace offensive'."

As a matter of fact we know that a deputy prime minister of a West German Land has sent incriminating information about his colleague, the prime minister, to the S.E.D.-politbureau in Berlin, using a communist agent as courier.

We also know of a local editor of a Bavarian daily paper who is working for an East German paper in Berlin and it is hard to believe that his publishing-house should be ignorant of this fact.

The Korean war may be responsible for a new term in political language: the "Rückversicherer" or re-insurer who insures on both sides. Many people in Western Germany are convinced of the wisdom of taking up a policy with the communists by secretly joining the West German communist party and by

(Continued on Page 7)

ABN-Nations Fighting for Their Freedom

The Resistance Movement in Esthonia

Ten years ago, on November 24, 1940, representatives of various underground groups in Esthonia met in order to organize a systematic fight against the Communist occupying power and restore the independence of Esthonia. As this struggle is still going on, it is too soon to publish details of the activity of the organization that was founded then. But it may be of interest to outline the principles of the Esthonian resistance movement.

Anonymity, a Principle

Nameless heroes from all walks in life cooperate to prevent the extirpation of Esthonia and its population. They seek no advancement for themselves, no positions or wealth, but only to preserve the physical and spiritual substance of their nation. Having first worked out a system of passive resistance, they developed an active campaign after the mass deportations in June, 1941.

Weapons of the Spirit

From the very beginning, Communists have been parodied throughout the country in drawings, jokes and songs. It was a basic principle of this resistance that the tragedy of the nation is easier to bear in proud silence than in wailing and gnashing of teeth. Humour is a great source of strength, expressed in mockery, irony and sarcasm. Not only the "Red" occupants, but native traitors and quislings have been systematically caricatured in song and story, so that the entire people is now immune from the poison of Communism. It is a method that has been particularly successful in keeping the sympathy of high-school youth whose heroism knows no limits.

Effect of German Occupation

Things became more complicated after the Nazis occupied Esthonia in the summer of 1941. At first they were welcomed as liberators. But this enthusiasm was quickly followed by disillusion. The central organization of resistance warned their compatriots from the beginning and demanded the restoration of the republic of Esthonia. But in vain. There were, however, many who were inclined to collaborate with the Nazis and this led to splits in the Resistance camp, a condition which the Communists were not slow to exploit.

Non-party Programme

Finally a non-party programme for the complete independence of Esthonia was proclaimed and, in opposition to the Germanophil press, the resisters advocated war on two fronts, against Nazis and Communists, both out to destroy small nations. At the same time it was made clear that Esthonia is hostile only to oppressors, dictators and bargainers who aim at dividing the country in accordance with selfish interests.

In the winter of 1945/44 when the Nazis recruited Esthonians for their army, the central organization of resistance demanded that Esthonian soldiers should fight only in defence of their own frontiers and never under the swastika. At the same time, efforts were made to preserve youth by sending large groups to Finland to form national troops there.

Activity under Russian Occupation

This, however, did not save the country from being finally occupied by Soviet troops. But underground groups continued their activity and in 1946/47 succeeded in consolidating resistance.

The Fight of the People of Idel-Ural

As little children, Tatars and Baschkirs are told stories by their mothers of their ancestor's heroic struggle against the Russian conqueror and oppressor. From youth up, therefore, our people are fired with an unquenchable national feeling which Russian bolshevism will never be able to stamp out.

Before 1917, Tatars and Baschkirs fought against the despotism of the Russian Czars; with the same determination, the same unerring aims, they continue their struggle today against the tyranny of Russian Bolshevism. In the years between 1918 and 1941 several risings took place in our country against Bolshevik supremacy. In the course of such a rising in 1920 tens of thousands of Russian Bolsheviks were destroyed. On that occasion the insurgents were armed with hay-forks which is why the rebellion is known in the annals of the national liberation of the Tatars, as the "Rising of the Carriers of Hay-Forks". In the Period 1929-1932 throughout Idel-Ural there were frequent risings among the peasants against the Bolshevik system of collective farming.

Intellectual circles among the Tatars and the Baschkirs have always been in the forefront of the fight against Bolshevism. One of their leaders is M. Sultangalijew, who, in the days when Stalin was People's Commissioner for Nationalities, held office as his deputy. Sultangalijew was very popular and had a large circle of supporters in Turko-Tatar areas. During the years of his office, he was able to convince the Tatars, the Baschkirs, the Turkestani, the Aserbadjani, etc. of the necessity for forming a united Turko-Tatar front against their Russian rulers. His ideas spread through the whole of Idel-Ural, Turkestan, part of the Caucasus and the Crimea. But Sultangalijew and tens of thousands of his followers were soon liquidated by the N.K.W.D.

Tatars and Baskirs also continue their struggle against the Bolshevik

The policy of Western democratic powers caused bitter disappointment. But, in spite of all, Esthonian communists and fellow-travellers were warned in the summer of 1949 that the day of reckoning would come one day for them, as well as for their Soviet superiors. This was necessary in order to put a stop to the demoralisation caused by deserters. The answer of the Russian "Komparty" was a thorough purge of all suspect Esthonian communists. A determined effort was made to stamp out all resistance; partisans were deported and the screw of famine was applied to the population. Belief in final victory still lives, though the Esthonian people feels instinctively that it must carry its cross for some time yet, as the conscience of humanity has not been sufficiently aroused to the horrors behind the Iron Curtain.

A. S.

rule of Russia outside of the Soviet Union, using all the means at their disposal. Between 1919 and 1921 tens of thousands fled into exile. Gajaz Ischakij, the well-known Tatar politician and writer was acknowledged as their leader by all Tatar emigrés. From 1928 till 1939 he published the review, "Janga milli jul" and later, from 1939 till 1941 he founded a Tatar paper, the "Milli bejrag" in Harbin. The Tatar National Organization in Exile, which he created, still continues its work, strengthened by the many new emigrés who have been forced into exile by the second World war.

At home and abroad our Tatar and Baschkir peoples carry on their struggle with stubborn courage and will not rest until the freedom of their home in Idel-Ural is assured. If the Russians like the yoke of Bolshevism, let them have it — but alone. We Tatars and Baskirs will no longer be slaves of Russian Bolshevism.

Ing. A. Batu.

„This Struggle Cannot Be Liquidated“

The M. G. B.'s Opinion of the Ukrainian struggle for Freedom

The "SURMA" (No. 22, 1950), a Ukrainian review, contains the following opinion about the national fight of resistance in Ukraine by a certain Soviet Major Petrow of the Prag branch of the M.G.B.:

"The Ukraine's fight for freedom is very dangerous for the Bolshevik regime. The Ukrainians have found suitable means and methods of conducting a successful underground struggle and this struggle cannot be liquidated. The Ukrainians are familiar with the Bolshevik system and the many Ukrainian exiles can pursue an activity abroad that may greatly handicap the U.S.S.R. The revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainians and their Insurgent Army are known abroad. The formation of the

East Europe and Soviet Russia*

A Weekly Bulletin for Concealing the Truth

Of the 501 issues of this weekly which have already appeared in English, we have seen only 9 numbers with 52 pages. These, however, are quite sufficient to give an idea of the whole publication. Although it is written in English and published in London, this periodical is Polish through and through, which indeed, is guaranteed by the name of its editor-in-chief-Colonel J. Kowalewski, a Pole.

It is a mouldy kind of paper, smelling of moth-balls. For the editors, history seems to have come to a standstill about the year 1935. For them, Russia still exists as a powerful and united country, the "Russia" with which the world has got to get along, somehow or other; there is no mention whatever in this remarkable publication of the 2 dozen oppressed nations who are fighting for their freedom within the frontiers of Soviet Russia. The only oppressed nations that are mentioned are the Baltic countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and Albania. The paper considers that the peoples of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia are worth mentioning only in so far as they were independent nations before 1939. A historian under Stalin's regime managed to write a history of the revolution in Russia without once mentioning Trotsky's name. In the same way, "East Europe" manages for weeks to avoid mentioning once Ukraine, Byelorussia or Turkestan or any of the Caucasian nations. The paper considers that the problem of Eastern Europe consists in the liberation of states that existed before 1939 and in the restoration of pre-war conditions, i. e. that Byelorussia, Ukraine etc. must be divided between Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania etc. Do they really believe at 16 Chester Row, London that the wheel of history can be turned back. Nobody but Joshua has ever succeeded in stopping the sun in its course for one brief moment. Colonel Kowalewski will scarcely succeed in doing so.

Z. P.

* *East Europe and Soviet Russia* — a weekly service of information and comment on current events in Russia and in the Countries of Europe at present under Communist domination. — Published by the Countess of Listowel and Colonel J. Kowalewski, London S. W. 1, 16 Chester Row. — Vol. VII No. 292—301.

common front of the A.B.N. is also a great danger for the U.S.S.R. The Ukrainians' struggle for liberation has two fronts, namely in Ukraine and among exiles abroad. Czechoslovakia is one of the main bridges between those fronts. It is the function of the M.G.B. to cut exiles off from their native country and to take measures against each front separately, and thus to destroy the bridge.

A.B.N. Representatives Guests in Caux

Several representatives of the various national delegations in the A.B.N. were invited this year to attend the World Conference for Moral Rearmament in Caux (Switzerland) which closed on October 4. In September, members of the Conference included leading delegates from Hungary, Croatia, Ukraine, Czechia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Turkestan, and Slovakia. The A.B.N. delegates, as representatives of subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain played a special part in the Conference. They met with great interest and received a spontaneous demonstration of sympathy which was addressed to the sadly tried nations they represent. The A.B.N. delegates utilized every opportunity of imparting information about their enslaved countrymen and their anxieties and problems to representatives of the Western world attending the Conference.

The Uniate Church in Ukraine

In March 1946 the Soviets began systematically to liquidate the Catholic Uniate Church in Ukraine. This church, with its 6 million Ukrainian adherents, having partly preserved the rites of the Eastern church after the Brest Union in 1596, recognises the Pope as supreme head and has proved to be such a significant representative of national Ukrainian traditions that the sovietization of Western Ukraine demanded its removal.

Leading dignitaries were arrested and the priests of the Uniate Church forced to join the "Orthodox Church", though they resisted obstinately. In August 1949, Carpathian Ukraine, the last bulwark of the Uniate Church in the Soviet Union, fell when Makarij, the "orthodox" archbishop of Lviv and Tarnopol was appointed head of the diocese of Carpathian Ukraine. There is, it is true, a foreign organization of the Ukrainian Uniate Church in countries like the United States and Canada but naturally it cannot help the Mother Church in Ukraine.

Religious Persecution in Slovakia Continues

(SIS Bratislava) Dr. Michal Buzalka, the Bishop of Bratislava was arrested by the political police. He is confined in the court prison, waiting for a "trial". He is accused of having opposed the pseudo-Catholic campaign and of having "terrorised" priests.

(SIS Podolinec) Disturbing news comes from concentration camps in the north of Slovakia. The priests confined there are being forced to attend courses for "political enlightenment" and to sing Communist marching songs. Whoever refuses, is taken down to the cellar where Communist bullies deal out blows in march-time ...

(SIS Bratislava). Changes are taking place in some concentration camps. It is rumoured that nuns, who have hitherto been undisturbed, are to have their turn now.

(SIS Bratislava). Political training for all theological students has been ordered by the Ministry for Education and courses have started in the Faculty of Theology, Pressburg University. Of the 700 students inscribed in this Faculty, only 6 reported, while the others refused to interrupt their holidays. The course could not be held, but every one is convinced that this passive demonstration will have cruel consequences.

Fighting in the Dark

(Continued from Page 5)

supporting its organizations financially and otherwise.

According to a report published by the "Kölnische Rundschau" in the beginning of August, it has been proved that in some public administrations in Lower Saxony and Hamburg, one-third of all employees are secret members of the West German communist party. The paper considers that the same system of insurance is practised also by businessmen, farmers, workers, tradesmen and intellectuals. These circles provide the expensive organization of communism in Western Germany with funds.

The following bodies are camouflaged communist organizations:

"Free German Youth"

"Social Democratic Action"

"Organization of the Persecutees of the Nazi Regime".

There are also private organizations of ex-regular officers, some of whom were members of the so-called "National Committee for a Free Germany", an organization built up by communists during the war, among German P.O.W.'s in Russia. All members were trained during and after the war in Russian propaganda camps. Most of them now hold high positions in the Republic of Eastern Germany. Others live in Western Germany and cooperate with their former comrades, or at least sympathize with a united Germany and a strong, armored German force.

Since Bismarck's day, German conservative circles have held the opinion that Russia is Germany's natural ally, that Russia alone would be willing to strengthen Germany and that the Germans themselves will find a synthesis of communism and stalinism that will suit Germany.

As long as activities in Western Germany are so little known, there can be little hope of stopping infiltration with its consequent undermining of democracy and safety in the West, as darkness is Russia's best ally.

Comments in the Soviet Press:

The Aim of Soviet Elections

"Elections" in territory under the domination of the Kremlin only serve to mobilize the powers of Moscow's imperialism. This holds also for the coming elections in the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics and in some satellite states. Election tricks are part of the traditions of Russian despotism; they never take the will of the people into consideration, for "successful candidates" are always appointed beforehand by party offices. These elections are always accompanied by an enormous expense of energy and money, which has to be contributed particularly by the oppressed nations. Hundreds of thousands of agitators are let loose on the unhappy population, in order to explain election procedure and to canvass for the best men. Thanks to the "elections" the central government can always put pressure on its local agents and spur them on with threats of dismissal or replacement by more ruthless persons.

The present mobilisation of powers within the Soviet Union points to increased Bolshevik activity abroad. The ratification of the treaty between Moscow and China, promising mutual assistance in all provinces, the treaties between East Germany and other occupied countries and the East German "elections" indicate that the rulers in the Kremlin are preparing to make good their defeat in Korea by new attacks in Asia and Europe.

The Way to Peace

Under this heading, the "Prawda" published a detailed article on the Soviet Union in the plenary session of the United Nations. The paper says that the American and the Soviet standpoints were diametrically opposed. While the Soviet proposal was in the

interests of peace, the acceptance of the American proposal would make the present position more critical and lead to the destruction of the United Nations. Events in Korea had demonstrated that the U.S.A. wished to transform

Successor to General Czuprynka

The U.P.A. Continues its Fight

The press bureau of the foreign agency of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.) sends us the following announcement which was published in July 1950 in all illegal press of the Ukrainian underground movement in Ukraine:

The Information Bureau of the U.H.W.R. is ordered to inform the national underground movement and the whole Ukrainian nation that, General Lt. Taras Czuprynka (Roman Shuhevych-Losowskij) commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who has been killed in action, has been succeeded in office by Wasyl Kowal, Colonel in the U.P.A. now head of the secretariat of the U.H.W.R. and in command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

the United Nations into an instrument for the oppression of national movements for freedom.

It is true that the policy of the United States is directed against national freedom movements of a number of nations: but these are not Koreans or Chinese, but the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. For all that American politicians have accomplished up till now might be taken to mean that the national freedom movements of these people against the despotism of Moscow are to be stamped out.

Too Little Hatred

While the peace drums are being beaten louder behind the Iron Curtain, the organ of the Cominform is calling all communists in the East and in the West to join the fighting front of revolution. Three tasks are placed before communists in the world: 1) to arouse in all communists complete confidence in the absolute victory of Communism. 2) to strive for greater dependence on the Soviet Union. 3) to inspire working-classes with increasing hatred of imperialist warmongers and their agents. In order to carry these tasks out, the press organ demands an intensification of propaganda methods as pursued by Marx and Lenin.

"Prawda" Dreams?

The hungry think of bread, as an old peasant proverb has it. This means that we dream of things that we do not

have. A remarkable illustration of this was contained in a recent number of the "Prawda". Under the heading, "Freedom of the Press", it published an article purporting to prove that in the Soviet Union the Press enjoys complete freedom. In the countries of the People's Democracies (satellite states) papers have huge circulations. The press is rooted in the people, it propagates cooperation with the Soviet Union and is a guarantee of peace.

We see that the Bolsheviks often give their people something to laugh at, and can well imagine how greatly the readers of the "Prawda" were amused.

The Best Hated Man in Moscow

It is no wonder that Gen. McArthur should be one of the best hated men in the Soviet Union. He is represented as the greatest warmonger and war criminal in the world. It seems that General McArthur gathered criminals from all parts of the globe to make the landing in Ynchon, and promised them that they could plunder and rape in Seoul to their heart's content.

This is a strange statement to find in the Moscow press when we remember the conditions of the Russian advance on Berlin in 1945; the German population, and particularly the women, were regarded as fair game.

Nor is McArthur the only figure of the West to be defamed in the Soviet Press. The same Moscow paper wrote shortly afterwards about President Truman that he was a man "with the eyes of a Jesuit and eyes as impudent as Hitler's or Göring's — he is the personification of human meanness."

We should only like to ask if the peoples of the Soviet Union do not see their own "heroes" in such reflections, with Stalin at their head.

Ukrainian Martyrs. According to a report by the Dutch press agency ANP, Stepan Kalytka, a prominent member of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, was condemned to death in Prague on September 25, 1950.

*

Slovakian Memorandum. The Slovakian Liberation Committee (SOC) has sent a memorandum on the suppression of human rights and basic civic freedoms in Slovakia, to the Security Council of the United Nations.

The Golden Words of Karl Marx

(Continued from Page 4)

was to advance to the Dwina and the Dnieper, to organize a defensive position both as to fortifications, depots, and communications, to take her fortresses in the Dwina and to delay the march to Moscow until the spring of 1813. He was induced to abandon this plan, late in the season, from political reasons. His errors are not of a nature irremediable. The fact of his penetrating to Moscow, the march of Charles XII. towards Poltava, prove that the country is accessible, though accessible only with difficulty.

Not only "Capital" or the "Communist Manifesto", but the articles about the Eastern question, about the Russian "Drang nach Westen..." written by K. Marx, could profitably be read by Western politicians... D. D.

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Korea and our National Liberation

By Stepan Bandera

The Role of the U.S.S.R. at the Outbreak of World War II

The war in Korea is only an interlude in the fight of the Great Powers for the positions they won in World War II.

As regards its final aims, World War II was an imperialist war, directed against oppressed nations and aiming at their continued decimation and the oppression of still more free peoples. The Soviet Union played an all-important part in preparing the war and at its outbreak, as it supported German imperialism and drove Germany into an aggressive war. Soviet-Russian imperialism planned to let the Western Powers and Germany exhaust each other in war and then to appear as an umpire and to conquer the whole world by extending the empire of Moscow.

This plan was destroyed when German imperialism turned against the Soviet Union in the middle of World War II. The Western Powers were spared and they emerged from the war on the same level as the Soviet Union and as its partner.

The Soviet Union as "Liberator"

But World War II is not yet over. It has only passed into the stage of a "cold war", by means of which the Soviet Union extends the position it has won, solidifies its points of attacks and concentrates its energy in order one day to open a "hot war" for world hegemony. As in World War II, Moscow needs other hands to begin and conduct the war, so that, at the end, the Soviet Union may appear before the whole world as its final "liberator". That is why Moscow now wants to utilize the colonial and halfcolonial peoples of Asia who are ready to fight for their just claim to national independence. Russian imperialism has succeeded in yoking the liberation movements of these peoples to its chariot.

The West Prepares the Way for the Soviet Union The way for the advance of Russian imperialism has been paved unconsciously by the policy of a number of Western nations with regard to Asiatic peoples; this policy has been devoid of any but imperialist principles. Russian imperialism supports national efforts on the part of Asiatic peoples on the surface only, but in reality, communist parties in Asiatic countries destroy the substance of the national struggle and make more and more nations ripe for Moscow. The aim of Russian policy today consists in involving Western powers and, in par-

ticular the USA, in direct conflict with the peoples of Asia.

The war in Korea which has demanded direct intervention by the US. army, the war which French troops have had to wage against Ho-Chi-Ming in Indo-China, the neutrality of India, Pakistan and Siam in the conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the Western Powers, those are all successful results of Russian policy. Another equally great success is the indifference of the Western Powers, and of the U.S.A. in particular to the national movements and struggle for liberation in the nations oppressed by Russia. (Continued on Page 4)

Who Defends Europe?

(Continuation of article in No. 7)

The West ought to declare its aims clearly!

Western Great Powers would commit a grave blunder if they should consider the coming World War III, say, as another opportunity of dividing the world into spheres of interest. Past practice, whereby the partners in a coalition for war agree in secret treaties about the division of the spoils in the event of victory, a practice which is not a great honour to the victors, must cease in the future.

Secret Treaties and Booty

We all know that Stalin was promised considerable advantages by Hitler in return for his benevolent neutrality in the German war on Poland. The wars between France and Germany were concerned with the possession of Alsace-Lorraine. Jalta was also concerned with the spoils of victory, only, in this case, the Western Allies gave all the booty to the Bolsheviks. The coming war, which has actually started, will be

quite different in character. There will probably be little room for secret treaties and agreements about the division of the world into spheres of interest.

The War of the Future

We are now on the eve of wars and revolutions which will alter the map of the world entirely. It would be foolish to think that the Powers of the West could win nations for the war by making promises which would deprive them of their territories and if these nations could not hope that their long-ling for rehabilitation and compensation for historical wrong would be fulfilled; if, for instance, Turkey were to be induced to take part in the war by promises of territorial advantages to be reaped by dividing the Russian empire up and at the expense of other nations, such a policy of war would not be justified by history. The same would be true of Poland, if it should claim western areas of Byelorussia, Lithuania or Ukraine, or if Germany should seize Czechia, and if France should take possession of any ethnographically alien countries.

The War as a Crusade

The war and the revolution which are fermenting today, and have indeed started, find their historical counterpart in the Crusades of the Middle Ages: then western knights went forth to defend the Holy Land and a holy ideal without asking how many dollars they were going to earn or whether, by means of much bloodshed, they could add to their own territories. The war which is now underway is an inexorable struggle for the existence of the entire civilized world and not for the preservation of the American way of life, or for the restoration of the status quo of 1919 or the age of Versailles. The values now at stake are divine laws and divine truth, the victory of freedom, justice and all the noble values of the human spirit over the powers of destruction, slavery and tyranny. In such an age, treaties dealing with the satisfaction of selfish interests are of no importance. In such historical times we must make a bold stand, with categorical ideas, but not with scraps of paper in the style of the Atlantic Charter which never was, and never will be respected.

Political Sovereignty and Independence for All Nations. To put it concretely, the device of the crusade of the West must read: political sovereignty and national independence for all nations in the world within their ethnic frontiers, and particularly for the nations within the U.S.S.R. If Poland were to demand Wilna or anything similar, such desire for non-Polish territory should be prohibited just as much as any claim put forward by Ukraine to non-Ukrainian areas. The war and the revolution now underway are being conducted for historical truth and justice and not for a new creation of "minorities" under foreign supremacy. It will be possible to conquer Bolshevism if the free world fights for ideas that are innate in every nation struggling for its national sovereignty, but not with hidden intentions to deceive the weaker. All nations who have been uprooted and deported by force, like the North Caucasians and the Tatars of the Crimea and others must be able to return to the land of their fathers and receive equality of status. Germans who have been expelled by force must not remain people of inferior status, no matter what crimes were committed by nazi Germany.

The Supremacy of Ideals

Truth, justice and liberty are indivisible and must hold for all. Otherwise we should never progress from the state, *homo homini lupus est*. All the nations of the earth must renounce

force and oppression in order to have the moral right to confront Russia, the champion of slavery. It would mean to shed the blood of millions in vain, or for the interests of new imperialists if the fight against Russia, which has put the world in iron fetters were to be waged with promises of lighter fetters, even if they should be of gold. It may be objected that the world was always like this and that it will never change. That may be, but it is an essential of the human spirit and a motive of all creative revolutions to strive for ideals. Revolutions have always brought success to humanity when they have been founded on noble ideas. That is why the ideals of the crusade of the West against godless Moscow must not be dictated by plunderers' instincts or by the desire for spheres of interest, say, to divide the world into American and non-American hemispheres. Victory over Russia and the destruction of its suicidal aspirations must not be followed by any American "World-State", for then all blood would have been shed in vain. In this conflict, nations must see clearly, they must aim at unmistakable truths and have an attractive picture of their own future, if they are to support the West whole heartedly. Otherwise they would go their own way, which might be directed not only against Bolshevism, but perhaps also against the West. In any case, they would pursue their aims and ideals unfalteringly and do all in their power to build up their world of justice, truth and international morality, in which there are neither master nations nor slave peoples, neither higher nor lower races. A world in which all are equally free, all have equal rights, regardless of their size, wealth or race.

An End to Bargaining

The period of secret treaties and diplomacy is past and must be forgotten. Nations must know why they are fighting. The habit of paying one's partner in war with presents of foreign country, must stop, once and for all. There must be no repetition of recent experience when Hitler gave Marshall Antonescu Ukrainian territory of Transnistria, or when he "guaranteed" the British empire and offered to divide the spoil with Churchill, as the price of England's neutrality during his campaign in the East, an arrangement that would have consolidated slavery for centuries. It is true that Churchill refused this offer, thus showing his stature as a statesman; but later he himself made a huge mistake when he allowed Stalin to enter Berlin and when, after the destruction of Hitler, he began to share the booty with Stalin according

Five Year Plan for Sending states to Siberia

The Soviets have worked out a Five Year Plan for the so-called "Colonisation of Siberia" which is to be finished in 1942, and which provides for the transport of 15 million people who have been accused of hostility towards the Soviet regime. This Five Year Plan is mainly concerned with non-Russian peoples. The transports are to include, for example, 3 million Ukrainians, 500 000 Byelorussians, 500 000 Caucasians, 400 000 inhabitants of Baltic states, 100 000 Tatars and other "volunteers".

These "voluntary" colonists are robbed of their homes, separated from their families and exiled to Siberia. As the transports are also sent in winter, there have already been casualties. The percentage of women and children who die on the long way and in the severe climate is very high. When they reach Siberia, those so-called colonists are divided into numerous sectors, all communication between the sectors being strictly forbidden. A considerable number of these colonists is employed in the gold mines at Kolyma. The population of this part of Siberia, which has a most severe climate, has increased by more than 2 millions since 1940, people who lead a miserable existence as slaves. In addition, there are some hundreds of "free men" who supervise and administer the area.

to ancient custom, instead making war on Moscow. Churchill did not grasp the meaning of our age.

The Future Conqueror

It is characteristic for our age that the victor of tomorrow will not be he who is superior technically or in numbers, but rather he who, in addition to his weapons, possesses a just and powerful idea to lead them in battle. Today, the oppressed nations, more than any other, are inspired by such an idea and can therefore face the future with confidence, especially as weapons are being pressed upon them by the victors of today which they will turn against old or new tyrants.

The answer, then, to our question, who defends Europe, is the great and just ideas which we have indicated above. The West must appropriate these ideas if it wishes to lead an inspired crusade against the world of tyranny behind the Iron Curtain. Europe and the West possess arms perhaps, but where are their ideas?

(To be concluded in the next number)

The Military Potential of the Peoples Oppressed by Moscow

(Extract from a Speech at Edinburgh)

The following facts were supplied by Mr. W. Nanuaschwili, Staff Captain:

The following statistics cover only those peoples who were in the U.S.S.R. before September 1, 1939. A glance at official records kept by the Soviet Union will give us an idea of the numbers involved.

According to the census of 1926, there were 147 500 000 people living in the U.S.S.R., of which were:

52% — Russian

48% — non-Russian.

In 1939, the census returns were 170 467 186 people in all, of which were:

58% — Russian

42% — non-Russian.

We must be struck by the fact that, while the entire population has increased considerably, the percentage of non-Russians has decreased; this may be explained, partly by the decimation of the oppressed nations, and partly by the Soviet endeavour to disguise the real proportion of strength. Taking even these official statistics, we see that at least 42% of the recruits for the Red Army came and still come from non-Russian peoples. When the second world war broke out, the Soviet Union had 11 years of completely trained recruits who included 4 158 000 soldiers from oppressed nations; at the very beginning of the German-Russian war it was obvious that the actual percentage of non-Russian soldiers was higher than that to be expected from official records. This is a problem which must be far from pleasant for Moscow in a third war, as experience in the last has shown.

The Morale of Non-Russian Troops

In the last war all the nations oppressed by Moscow were decidedly anti-Russian, both at home and in the ranks of the Red Army. Moscow did succeed in arousing patriotism in Russian members of the army, but their efforts met with no success in the case of recruits from the oppressed nations. Indeed, the very opposite happened and these soldiers were fired with patriotism against Russia. This was why the most important military units, such as armored troops, artillery, field-police, etc.

Military Importance of Oppressed Nations

The question arises of the military importance of the oppressed nations in

any future war. If we take the average figure of three divisions for every million of the population, we find that, according to statistics for 1939, the 71 million inhabitants of the oppressed nations would yield 213 divisions. In the case of war, and according to the course of the events of war, these divisions could be collected by opponents of the Soviet Union in two stages, organized and utilized in the field. The first stage would consist of collecting and training non-Russian members of the Red Army who had been captured, while the second would consist in the use of these troops in their own countries, when they would be supported by their own people, which would reveal their actual strength.

The Experience of World War II

The second world war was rich in experience as regards the organization and use of these troops. In consequence of Hitler's negative attitude to the fight of liberation waged by the oppressed peoples, the majority of non-Russian prisoners of war were left in prison camps. Some of them were allocated to German units, others to the road-building organization of Tod and Speer; only very few were used in the formation of small, national battalions. Although there were sufficient cadres of soldiers from the nations oppressed by Russia on the German side, Hitler's policy of exploiting the East ruined the chances of developing their potential to the full.

Military Aims of the Soviet Union

The concrete strategic and political advantages which would accrue to the opponents of the Soviet Union from the use of the war potential of the oppressed nations in a future war are clear if we consider the probable Soviet war plan and its weaknesses. The Soviet Union's military aims will be as follows: the conquest and domination of Asia, Western Europe, the Dardanelles, the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Alexandria. With the exception of Western Europe, those are all old Russian aspirations. But even if Russia should attain all these aims, its position will not be stronger, but will inevitably reveal weak points.

But in this case, Russia would have to deploy its armies in the great space between the Atlantic and the Pacific, would have to take troops from its northern areas where there are enormous

concentration camps filled with members of the oppressed nations, strengthen the occupying forces in freshly conquered areas, protect its territory and its slender network of railways against attack from the air, overcome enormous difficulties in keeping up supplies and in transportation, etc. Russia will be compelled to make up for its weakness in technique and equipment by flinging enormous masses of men into battle, which actually suits the Moscow policy of destroying nations very well. But the stress put on infantry regiments, most of which consist of non-Russian soldiers, will at the same time greatly increase the number of deserters to the enemy, the first condition for the organization of troops belonging to the oppressed nations.

Geographical Factors

As regards the possibilities of using such troops, we should like to refer to the triangle Odessa-Astrachan-Tula, where Russia's vital interests are concentrated. In a future war, this area would be an important link between the various Soviet war theatres; it is decisive for the control of the basin of the Black Sea, the Middle East and Central Asia, as well as for the possession of the Soviet Union's store of oil, minerals and grain; here, too, would be the meeting-place of the front-lines of Ukrainians, Caucasians, Turkestani and the inhabitants of Idel-Ural. If this area were once drawn into the maelstrom of war, the troops of all oppressed nations would appear in a flash and make it difficult for Russia to hold her line against Central Asia and the Middle East.

Soviet Propaganda

Soviet propaganda operates with lies about the alleged advantages of the Communist system and with the falsehood of "national liberation". These weapons ought to be used against Russia and this could be done most successfully by the oppressed nations. As long as Moscow preaches the national liberation of colonial peoples, but oppresses multitudes of foreign peoples within its own confines, Russia is in great danger. No adequate estimate can be given of the military value of Caucasian, Ukrainian, Turkestanian, Idel-Uralian and other divisions when they fight on their own soil for their own national liberation and with the support of their own people.

Korea and our National Liberation

(Continued from Page 1)

Half a century ago Russia occupied Korea, with the notion of subjugating it; present events in Korea are merely a continuation of the old plan.

The war in Korea, a fresh stage in the continual advance of Russian imperialism, once more makes us oppressed nations examine the strategy and tactics of our fight for freedom, to find out if this fight could not be exploited otherwise than in the interests of our nations themselves.

New Methods but False Aims

When the U.S.A. intervened in the war in Korea and sent troops there, a new stage in the relation between the Soviet Union and her former allies began. This is true, not only for the methods, but also for the aims of the West's anti-bolshevist policy. These aims remained false as before, being, to divide the world into spheres of interest and to **stabilize relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union**. This means that the West continues to take no interest in the nations oppressed by Moscow and that it intends to accept as a necessity the existence of an imperialist and Bolshevik domination on the part of Moscow.

The Western Powers only want to preach defence against the yoke of Bolshevism to peoples whose freedom and independence are worth being defended according to Western opinion. For the rest, the West seems willing to accept and maintain the present limit between spheres of interest, although this limit, often, as in Korea, cuts clean through the living organism of one and the same nation.

The Third Power

The political position in the world today is conditioned, not only by the Bolshevik camp on one side and the camp of Western powers on the other. The liberation movements of oppressed nations throughout the world who fight for independence and sovereignty as states, are already a **third power**, which will increase in importance as time goes on. At present, many nations are in a state of spiritual ferment, in which the national idea takes the foremost place; they are beginning to demand that the world of the future should be based on the principle of nationality. The revolutionary fight for freedom that is being waged by the nations of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is being carried out by these peoples themselves, and without help from the West. The Anti-Bolshevik front of our nations is the third power, distinct in aims, qualities and fighting methods

from the two powers who are now confronting each other on the stage of the world.

Up till now, Western policy has ignored our national fight for liberation and its aims which, as is well known, are the destruction of Bolshevism in every form and the restoration of independent states among all oppressed nations.

Unwise Western Policy

The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, certainly do not wish either stabilisation or peace. They have no intention of slowing down the progress of their expansionism.

A short breathing-space might ensue, if Moscow wishes to gain time and allow the Western World to disarm again. Then there will be a renewal of Moscow's old methods of aggression, with the difference that Soviet positions of attack will have improved, while those of their opponents will have deteriorated.

To stabilize the present position and reach an understanding with Moscow is a foolish policy. It means reconciliation with Bolshevism at the cost of all these peoples who have already fallen a victim to it. This policy is not only damaging for our peoples, it is just as damaging for the defence of the rest of the world against Russian imperialism and for the Western Powers themselves. Although we must recognize the new methods pursued by the West — their military resistance against Soviet Russian aggression — as positive, we are nevertheless forced, to state that the aims of Western policy are no better than they ever were. We can only hope that in consequence of the influence of the revolutionary war of liberation being waged by the oppressed peoples and of a possible outbreak of conflicts in different regions of the world, **the aims of Western policy will be changed accordingly**, in the same way their methods have already been altered.

The only possible solution

Antibolshevist action and even military campaigns by the West, as long as they do not aim at the complete destruction of Russian imperialism, will not have the significance for world politics and world peace that is enjoyed by the national struggle for liberation being waged by the oppressed nations.

As the cleft between the Soviet Union and the West widens, the latter will approach the standpoint of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and will more readily adopt A.B.N. principles.

We who have always stood in the van of active resistance against Russian imperialism and Communism will not have to seek common ground with a general anti-bolshevist movement, as the West will have to do. As long as Western Powers do not proclaim the complete annihilation of Bolshevism and Russian imperialism and the restoration of the independent states of all oppressed peoples on the ruins of the Moscow dungeon of nations, there is no way of coordinating our fight for freedom with its policy and its conflicts.

And this coordination can only take place when other Powers treat us as their allies, i. e. when they take the aims of our struggle into consideration and therefore assume the duty of supporting our front.

By their long struggle against Russian imperialism, and communism, our peoples have contributed not a little to the defence of the entire world. Every drop of our blood shed in the fight against Bolshevism, however, will have lasting meaning only if it falls on the soil of our native countries.

All our efforts abroad, whether in the political or the military field must be directed towards supporting the revolutionary fight for freedom at home from all continents and by every possible means.

New Victims

Among the soldiers in American units who have fallen in Korea, there are also, according to a report from the American Department of War, soldiers bearing Ukrainian names. This fact is explained by the "Ukrainec Czas", a Ukrainian paper published in Paris, which says that these Ukrainian soldiers are, it is true, members of the American army, but are at the same time, soldiers of the Ukraine. The paper also states that more than 100 000 Ukrainians fought in World War II in the ranks of the American Army for peace, freedom and justice throughout the world, having also fought in their own country. There were 35 000 Ukrainians in the Canadian army. In addition, some 20 000 Ukrainians fought as Insurgents (U.P.A.) in the Allied Cause, and had therefore contributed to victory.

Collectivisation in Ukraine

According to a report broadcast by the Kiev station, most of the area round Kiev has been collectivised. 605 000 hectares form 939 collective farms. A peasant working for a collective farm gets 8 pounds of grain for his day's work. Peasants who refused to join a collective farm voluntarily, were deported to camps for forced labour.

The World at the Cross-Roads

By Dr. Stjepan BUC

It is one of the most fatal errors of the present to accept the lie that we are living in an economic and not in a political age, a lie that is propagated either deliberately or unconsciously. False conclusions have been drawn from this false premises and these have finally turned the world "upside down". When they awoke from their lethargic sleep, people had to realize the great danger they had plunged into without thinking.

The facts are, however, so clear that even the blind must see them.

Communism itself is the best proof that the present is a political and not an economic age. While it is preparing to conquer the whole world and concentrating on its last blow, Communism is treating what it openly calls the "degenerate bourgeoisie" with all kinds of opiates, till the time comes for liquidating it. One of these opiates is the lie about our "economic age".

Marxist Theories Monopolized by the Kremlin

"All theory, dear friend, is grey ... facts are created by the fist", Uljanow-Lenin said to me in Zürich, early in 1917, when I was discussing with him

From the Spanish Press

In its number of July 2, 1950, "EL MUNDO", a leading Spanish weekly published a long, illustrated report on the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The author shares the view of the A.B.N. that some of the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" can be received by nations oppressed by Moscow as a direct provocation. In its number of August 12, 1950, "PUEBLO", the leading Madrid-daily, published an article headed "Five Generals Who Did Not CAPITULATE" in the fight for freedom in Ukraine, Hungary and Croatia. The writer emphasizes the stiff resistance put up in Ukraine and the cooperation between liberation movements in Eastern Europe. He states among other facts, that "General Taras CZUPRYNKA is today one of the most popular men in Ukraine, with the halo of a hero". Stress is also laid on the great services rendered by Stephan BANDERA, who at the moment, is in Western Europe for the purpose of informing the Western World about the fight for freedom on the other side of the Iron Curtain. This fight, it is reported, is being waged under the leadership of CZUPRYNKA, BANDERA, BOBAN, DRINJANIN and FARKAS, who will never capitulate.

in the "Centre for Social Literature" my objection that there was little prospect of introducing socialism into Russia then, if we observed the logic and dialectics of Marx. There is, indeed, no European Marxist system today, at least, not in the ranks of Communism. Moscow has annexed and, as it were, monopolized the theories of Marx. They are interpreted and applied today by the Eurasian Byzantine in the Kremlin, in accordance with his own peculiar racial, national and philosophical interests; being a thoroughly political person, he has been able to forge a first-rate political weapon out of these theories which has stood him in excellent stead. In the West, on the other hand, decisive factors prove that Western Powers are incapable of recognizing these facts and adapting their conduct to suit them. The world that is still free is in great danger of being helplessly exposed to the aggressor. Communism has succeeded not only in leading the world spiritually astray but has also prevented it from attaining a political, and therefore a military strength in keeping with the times.

The National Idea

This failure to grasp realities can be seen clearly in connection with another problem, namely, **the importance of the national idea**, a problem that contains a decisive political factor. That is why Communism has given itself much trouble to combat the national idea in all its manifestations and with all possible weapons. It attempts to lump nationalism with fascism, Hitlerism, imperialism and militarism, in order to compromise and destroy the fatal weapon which the West could use against it. The naive observer who believes every word of Communist propaganda as gospel, might possibly conclude that in a Communist regime there is room neither for national oppression nor imperialist tendencies. But it is sufficient to glance at the two definitely communist states in the world today, Russia and "Jugoslavia", to see that both are also the most cruel oppressors of other peoples. And we notice something still more characteristic, — in spite of a uniform ideology, the differences and the conflict that have broken out between "Great Moscow" and Belgrade's "Small Moscow" are exclusively political.

The Effects of World War I

The greatest, the most important reality of the present, therefore is the national right of people to self-determin-

ation, i. e. a purely political factor, of prime importance in the East and South-east of Europe (but also in Asia, and everywhere). In World War I, the Western Powers succeeded with the help of this very idea in bringing about the collapse of the empire of Austria-Hungary, whose peoples were promised freedom and self-determination by Wilson's 14 points. That was, indeed, the "atom bomb" of that time, whose power exceeded that of our present "hydrogen bomb". But its effect was limited to destruction, and, as America withdrew from Europe after the war, the hopes of small nations were deceived. Where there had been one conglomerate of nations, several artificial formations were founded on the ruins of the Habsburg empire, states like "Czechoslovakia" and "Jugoslavia" that could not possibly exist, seeing that they were founded on the oppression of peoples, as their names show. And the numerous nations living within the Russian empire, who had fought for and won their freedom for a short time after World War I, were again handed over to be dominated by one people. Thus a state of evil was established that was worse than anything that had preceded it.

The Choice Today

Today the world is at the cross-roads and must choose between freedom or death. And there is no *deus ex machina* to take the situation in hand. Salvation lies in the hands of Western statesmen alone. They must realize that the great problems of the present are political and that Communism attempts to disguise this fact, as it touches its weak spot.

Communism can be dealt its death-blow by political weapons only

Military and technical procedures can only be pressed into service as a support. The oppressed peoples must be supported in their fight for freedom, all the more because their desire for freedom is invincible. If responsible agencies in the West grasp this and help oppressed nations to regain their right of self-determination and erect their own national states, then a democratic system would be realized, and solemn promises — Wilson's 14 points in 1917 and the Atlantic Charter in 1940 — would be kept. In addition, Western statesmen would thereby deal a fatal blow to the enemy of mankind, by causing the volcano on which this enemy sits, to erupt and swallow it up. The world has not much time left for decision.

Byelorussia's fight for an independent State

By Dr. Stanislaw Stankiewicz / Extract from Speech in Edinburgh

... In spite of our present name, "Byelorussians", our people, has nothing in common with the Russian people. On the contrary, our people is quite separate, a people which possess its own language, its national culture, and its own history. The Byelorussian people from the beginning of its history possessed its own independent state: till the XIIIth century in the form of several separate princedoms, and since the XIIIth c. in the form of the Great Lithuanian Princedom, which was actually the Byelorussian national state. Only at the end of the XVIIIth c. did this state become a victim of Russian imperialism.

From that time, the systematic endeavour of Russia to assimilate the Byelorussian people completely begins. Russian imperialism even uses such means of slavery and persecution as forbidding the public use of the Byelorussian language, as official prohibition of the printing of Byelorussian books and newspapers etc.

The freedom-loving Byelorussian people never accepted this slavery, but has always fought fearlessly against it. For example, during the rule of the Czar Nicolaus I (the second quarter of the XIXth c.), according to Russian statistics, 605 local insurrections were registered as taking place in Byelorussia. In spite of the terrible terrorism, this struggle in one or another form did not stop. When under the pressure of all the people under Russian slavery the Russian empire had fallen into ruin in 1917, the Byelorussian people renewed its political independence. On March 25th, 1918, the Council of the Byelorussian Republic which was the powerful representation of the whole people, proclaimed Byelorussia a Free Independent Democratic Republic.

The Byelorussian people, having no support from the Western Powers, soon became a victim of Russian imperialism again, this time in its red communist form. The terrible persecutions of the Byelorussian people destroying its national, cultural, and religious treasures began again. The physical devastations of the Byelorussian people were now colossal. Even according to Soviet statistics, by 1941 about 2 million Byelorussians were killed, imprisoned or deported to prison camps in far Eastern and Northern districts of Siberia.

The Byelorussian people, although exhausted from the last world war, has answered communist persecutions with a great struggle. On the territory of all Byelorussia a great guerilla fight broke out, and the Soviets, in spite of great attempts, are not able to restrain it. Two chief causes are favourable for the great activity of the Byelorussians in their fight against the Russian occu-

pants: firstly, there are the natural peculiarities of the Byelorussian country. This country is covered with the large forests which give good shelter for the insurgents and prevents them from being liquidated by the Soviets. Secondly, — and this is most important — the Byelorussian people is really heroic. It took up arms many times during the long period of occupation — first against Czarist Russia, and later against Communists — and therefore it has been hardened in the struggle and become brave, decisive, and fearless. The best proof of that may be the fact that during Hitler's occupation of Byelorussia was fought the greatest guerilla war in all the countries of East Europe was fought there, which, as the Soviets even confess, contributed greatly to the rout of the German army in the East. Hundreds and thousands of Byelorussians fought fearlessly against Hitler. They did not fight, however, for Stalin's victory, but only for the liberation of their native country. Stalin has been forced to admit that himself. He said in his speech to the officers of the Red Army on May 24, 1945 that in the extremely difficult war against the Germans the only people among the 50 peoples of the Soviet Union who remained always faithful to the Soviet government, was the Russian people.

We know very well that several partisans units are active in Byelorussia today, among which the strongest is the unit known under the name "The Black Cat". Much was written about this unit which reckons over 50,000 insurgents and is led by General Vitushka, well known not only among Byelorussians but also among other peoples. The exact number of insurgents who are now operating in Byelorussia cannot be fixed even by the insurgents themselves. It is only known that one part of them is operating in the forests and acts systematically against the Bolsheviks. But the majority of them normally work at collective farms, factories and offices, and only in case of necessity are they secretly called together in order to fulfil the various tasks which are given them.

Why does the Byelorussian people fight? The answer is clear. He fights against the Russian-Communist occupant who brings him national and physical death. This struggle, however, has not only a negative but also a positive side. The Byelorussian people fights for the right to be the manager of its own fate in its own country. It fights for the renewal of its independent democratic state which, as was already mentioned, was proclaimed on March 25, 1918. For this reason, all the insurgent movements is coordinated and subordinated to one management — to the Byelorussian National Centre, the national-political organization well-known long ago, and to the agency of the Government of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic.

Red "Missionaries" in Asia

Some time ago the "Iswestija", the official Moscow paper, published an article by the Soviet poet Mirso Tursunade, describing his journey through countries in the East. He wrote: "Religious conflict continues in India." "In Bengal 5 million people died of hunger and the government of India is constantly buying new arms, instead of helping the starving population."

For years Moscow has been sending its "missionaries" to countries in the East, and when they return to the Soviet Union, they are supposed to convince the peoples oppressed by Moscow that there are peoples who are still more oppressed. One of these missionaries published in the Soviet paper, "Prawda Wostoka" ("The Truth of the East") an article entitled "A Journey to India" in which he writes: "There is more misery in India than anywhere."

When these Soviet henchmen come to India, they tell how happy the people are in the neighbouring Soviet Turkistan. But, they forget to add that almost 4 million people, at that time 20% of the entire population of Turkistan, perished during the famine that was

artificially organized by the Bolsheviks in the years 1952—1953. They forget, further, to say that during the collectivisation of farms in Turkistan, which was carried out by force, all prosperous Turkistani peasants were stamped as "kulaks", plundered and exiled, that the educated classes of Turkistan were destroyed under the pretext of the "struggle against traitors of the country", and that in 1956—58 the Purge of bourgeois nationalists in the country cost Turkistan its best schoolmen, economists, scholars and artists, and that this purge was continued after World War II as a "fight against cosmopolitanism" and that our people today is poor and radically plundered.

How fanatically Turkistani fight for their freedom and independence is obvious from the fact that the Bolsheviks took 6 years to stamp out our movement of liberation, "Basmatschestwo" and to force insurgents to lay down their arms. As a measure against the resistance put up by our country, our united Turkistan was divided by the Kremlin into 5 Soviet republics, which were declared to be "independent" states.

A. Akram

The Writing on the wall

By Alex Wilson Smith

The recent failure of the English Student delegates, along with their fellow delegates from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Denmark, and South Africa, to make any real impression at the Student Congress in Prague serves to underline the total lack of understanding which prevails amongst Western peoples towards the cynical, anti-social, anti-democratic and anti-Christian methods so fanatically adopted by Communists whatever their race or origin. Controlled by, and acting on orders from their rulers in Moscow, the Czech Communist Students gave a demonstration of Stalinolatry such as could hardly be equalled in a black magic circle ceremony of adulation to the Goat, or devil; god and symbol. The young English delegation's leader courageously denounced the exclusion of the Yugoslavian delegates from the Congress as typical Communist hypocritical "democratic" methods.

It is evident that Communism is in itself a direct manifestation of the evil powers festering in the world, holding over millions an evil power such as no drug could possibly produce. In the territory of Russia proper and in the subjugated countries of Ukraine, unhappy Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Germany and others, this power is held by pure terror alone — Secret Police or N.K.V.D., being the chief agent of Bolshevik Imperialistic rule — but owing to the complete isolation of the lands behind the front-lines of Germany and China, this "paradise" of the working classes is not fully appreciated by Western countries. The monotonous bleatings from Moscow radio (which the masses of the Soviet people seldom listen to as they have long since reached saturation point) protest that this lack of appreciation of Russia by the West is motivated purely by jealousy of the Russian workers' "paradise". Moscow propaganda ceaselessly calls upon the workers of the West to join them in making the Utopia in Russia available to all the masses throughout the world.

But the time has arrived for all free and freedom-loving peoples in the world to prepare for the great day when Communism will be at last met squarely with overwhelming strength and smashed out of existence, thus liberating the peoples of the Soviet Union, the subjugated countries from the Bolshevik yoke. Already the free world is being helped by the valiant fight of Christian democratic elements behind the Iron Curtain who are prepared to give their all in the fight for independence and freedom. There is no other way. Those who have suffered already under the terror, because they wanted only to live their own lives and bring up their children to be decent,

educated and peace-loving Christians, cry out to the free world for succor to their families and peoples still struggling to survive Russian domination.

The favourite Moscow Communist parrot cries imitating the inane utterance of the arch-parrot Lenin that "Religion is the opium of the people" serve to emphasise that the Communists realise full well that religion and religious principles are the fundamental essentials of a democratic and civilised community where, and where only, real Peace and Harmony can exist. To World Communism peace and harmony are anathema and Moscow's determina-

tion to conquer the world and all its riches in order to create a Communist society which would destroy the freedoms, culture and ways of life which we have struggled for centuries to uphold, is still being pursued with relentless ferocity and fanaticism.

It is possible that unknown powers are coming into play answering the tragic prayers of suffering millions in the East, because we in the West are at long last preparing for the struggle which Russian Imperialistic Communism has forced upon us and we have seen the light.

We in the United Kingdom and Commonwealth will not fail the free world but will with our allies, lead it to victory as we have done against other tyrants of the Stalinistic breed at many critical times in world history.

Strategy in the Third World War

By General Hinko Alabanda

The world has probably recognized by now that Communism and Democracy cannot exist side by side in this world. Either the entire globe will be enslaved by Communism, without any prospect of liberation in the near future; or, if that is to be avoided and all that is worthy of man is to be saved, the free world must make a great common effort to destroy Communism at its root, i. e. Russian Bolshevism, and for good, in order to establish a worthy way of life on the basis of national and individual freedom.

The struggle against Communism and Bolshevism, however, cannot be waged according to current military rules, or on the model supplied by previous experience in wars. War must be conducted against Bolshevism in a totalitarian spirit and on all fronts — against Soviet military units, but also against the guerillas in the background, and all open and disguised fifth columns which are responsible for the destruction of morale and for acts of sabotage and are thus a great danger in the conduct of war against Bolshevism. Neglect of this factor by the West is at present being paid for by the blood of American soldiers in Korea. And the world must be convinced that this war is but a prologue to the Third World war. The great battle has already started and must be fought to a finish, if humanity is to be saved and enslaved peoples liberated from imperialism, Bolshevism and Communism.

The Atom Bomb

Much has been said and written about the atom bomb in connection with the Third World War. If it is to be used, then surely not against the peoples who are living in Russia enslaved and oppressed by Moscow. These nations ex-

pect support and liberation from the West, above all from the U.S.A., but not destruction.

Lessons from Hitler's Campaign

We know today that the main reason for Hitler's defeat in the East was that he did not recognize or appreciate the potential of these oppressed peoples and their struggle for freedom and that he denied them support. If this fatal error is to be avoided, all their underground movements for liberation must be energetically supported today with all possible means and their armies must be recognized as regular fighting forces in accordance with the Hague Convention.

Help for Underground Movements

Above all, these movements of resistance must be supported by the allocation of arms, equipment, medical supplies etc. If Russia has been doing the same for years with its fifth columns, openly and before the world, why should the Western Powers not follow suit, seeing that the freedom of the world and of their own countries is at stake.

The general staffs of the Western Powers should contact military experts in these oppressed nations as soon as possible, in order to organize national armies of emigrés as units which could train deserters and prisoners of war in the future struggle. If these formations of exiles were ready for action when war breaks out, they would more than repay all the costs of their organization. The next world war will not be decided by the atom bomb, but above all by the spirit and enthusiasm of soldiers under arms who are ready to fight and to die for their own freedom.

Press Conference in Frankfurt

On August 31 there was a press conference of the A.B.N. in the Vereinssaal of the Börsenkeller which was attended by representatives of leading Western press agencies and newspapers, more than 28 being present.

Leading representatives of the national delegations in the A.B.N. reported on the military and economic problems of their peoples and on the aims of the common front of resistance of the oppressed nations represented in the A.B.N. In addition to Yaroslav Stetzko, the president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. the following representatives of oppressed nations were also present: General Ferenc FARKAS (Hungary), General John GEORGE (Rumania), General Hinko ALABANDA (Croatia), Prince NAKASCHIDZE (Georgia), Dr. D. BALKANSKI (Bulgaria), S. POVILAVICIUS (Lithuania), Dr. W. PEKELSKY (Czechia), Ing. GLASKOW (Cossackia), M. ISMAIL (Azerbaijan), N. BATU (Idel-Ural), Prof. K. KONONENKO (Ukraine).

The press conference in Frankfurt was a great success and was favourably received.

Mr. Don Doane of the Associated Press wrote the following article under the heading: "WEST URGED TO BACK EAST UNDERGROUND" (Stars and Stripes, Sept. 7, 1950).

Anti-Communist refugee leaders have urged the Western Powers to set up a "second front" behind the Iron Curtain by supporting the fight of Communist-ruled nations for national independence.

Without the aid of these subjugated peoples, they warned, the West can never win the third world war which they consider inevitable.

These views were expressed at a press conference conducted by Yaroslav Stetzko, a Ukrainian who heads an anti-Communist association including 22 national groups — some of them ethnic groups within the Soviet

Union and other nations which have fallen under Communist domination.

All these 22 groups demand national independence and freedom from Soviet rule. Most of them claim to have partisan armies fighting underground behind the Iron Curtain.

Cooperation Stressed

"The Western world must cooperate with these underground liberation movements and work for the creation of a second front behind the Iron Curtain" Stetzko said.

He expressed doubts whether underground groups alone could ever throw off the Kremlin's yoke.

But with their aid, he predicted the "coming war" could be localized and shortened.

To obtain their support, he said, the West must abandon its conception of the Soviet Union as a unified nation, and promise national independence to each ethnic group now in the Soviet orbit.

The bloc's leader suggested that the West should not only support partisan groups with arms, money and propaganda, but establish close liaison between them and the Western military general staffs.

Stetzko was flanked by 11 other leaders of the bloc at the conference . . .

Gen. Ferenc Farkas von Kisbarnak, president of the Hungarian Freedom Movement, said more than 100,000 armed men are still fighting the U.S. S.R. behind the Iron Curtain, and many more can be recruited.

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The U.P., D.P.A., Neue Zeitung of 1. 9. 50, the Frankfurter Neue Presse and Frankfurter Rundschau of 2. 9. 50, Buenos Aires Herald of 1. 9. 50, Freie Presse, Stuttgarter Zeitung of 1. 9. 50, etc. brought detailed reports of the Conference.

the support of the Soviet Union, the lot of the citizens of these countries has improved enormously. Poland and Czechoslovakia, it seems, are building a huge electric plant together, economic development is strictly according to plan and public income is steadily increasing.

Why, then, does the number of refugees from these countries continue to increase and why is it the most ardent desire of citizens there to be banished from this "paradise on earth"?

Schools Only for the Children of Capitalists?

In its number of September 2, "Pionerskaja Prawda", the organ of Bolshe-

vist youth writes that, while there are no fewer than 120,000 schools in the Soviet Union, capitalist countries provide no schools for the children of working people. It is alleged that only the children of capitalists receive education there.

The organ of Soviet youth seems to believe that the "capitalist" West has taken an example from the practice of "People's Democracies", where children of parents who are not acceptable to the tyrannical Communist regime are decried as "national pests" and excluded from all regular education.

McArthur Intended to Attack the Soviet Union

In the "Novaja Wremja" (No. 35, 1950) it is alleged that McArthur has for five years been training an army in Japan for the purpose of attacking the Soviet Union.

Why then did poor General McArthur not succeed in immediately crushing the attack on Korea with the help of this great army?

Who Manufactures Instruments of Torture?

In an article published in its number of September 2, the Moscow paper, "Iswestija" describes how troops Korea had found instruments of torture there, after they had "liberated" Southern which had been manufactured in America.

The Soviet paper forgot to add that doves of peace are the only article manufactured in the Soviet Union!

Exemplary Childrens' Homes

In No. 105 (198), the "Kolhospne Selo" published a letter from a woman worker on a collective farm in the village of Krasnosilky, from which we quote: "Forty women-workers on the collective farm, including myself, were unable to work in the fields in the first days, because there was nobody with whom we could leave our babies. At last a childrens' home was organized for forty children from 7 months to 7 years and one person to look after them. There is a great deal of screaming in the house. The matron herself screams and makes the children worse."

It is true that we have no such childrens' homes in the "capitalist" West.

Comments in the Soviet Press

"Free" Art in a "Free" Country

In their numbers of August 26, "Prawda" and "Iswestija", the official papers of Moscow, publish leading articles urging Soviet playwrights to write dramas about Stalin, Lenin and the "War for the Fatherland" and also on Anglo-American "war-mongers". At the same time, Soviet writers and artists are clearly told what subjects they have to treat in their works.

There is no doubt about the "freedom" of art in the Soviet Union.

"A Paradise on Earth"

In its number of August 30, "Iswestija" extols the progress being made in all "People's Democracies". Thanks to

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A.B.N.-Organization and its Purpose

Statement by Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., at the Press Conference August 31st, 1950 in Frankfurt

I should like to draw your attention, and through you the attention of the Western nations, to the importance of the movement this body represents. These are the movements of national liberation and resistance against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism in general. The A.B.N. is composed of the underground resistance movements of the following nations: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Albanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North Caucasus, Georgians, Armenians, Asserbaijanians, Turkestanians, Idel-Uralians (Ugro-Fins and Turko-Tartars), Siberians. A.B.N. speaks also in the name of the insurgent armies of the above mentioned nations.

We are convinced that we are on the threshold of the inevitable III. World War. In this impending war there would be not only the Bolshevik front on one side, and the Western front on the other. There would be also a third front, namely that of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. These peoples have long been neglected by the Western World, and particularly by the U.S.A. The basic idea of the Western World is that there exists only one, big, united Russia, and that the main problem is to destroy Bolshevism and to achieve the so-called "democratization" of Russia.

Yet, in our view, the victory of the Western World will depend decisively on the coordination and synchronization of the political and armed fight of the Western World with that of the Russian subjugated peoples. Coordination, however, is only possible if the Western World will accept as its own the ideas and the aims of A.B.N. The basic aim of A.B.N. nations is: 1. the dismemberment of the Russian Empire, 2. the creation of so many independent

states within the ethnic frontiers of the nations involved.

The coming 3rd. World War will be only won by the West if it renounces dividing up the world into spheres of interests of the Big Powers, and only if it proclaims the inalienable truths such as sovereignty and independence for every nation, freedom for the individual, and social justice for every

It must be a holy war of liberation and not a war of conquest. Soldiers of the Soviet army, the majority of whom are members of the subjugated nations, inspired by the ideas and feelings of the liberty and freedom for their persons as well as for their nations, will use their weapons not against the West, but will turn them against the tyrants of the Kremlin. The outcome of this

war will depend decisively on the ideas behind the arms.

The Western World must not allow its force to be dissipated by secondary conflicts in Europe and Asia, as is the evident purpose of the Kremlin. The Western World must deal its main blow to the center of the evil: the Kremlin and Russia proper as the source of Bolshevism. Only by striking at the center and not at the periphery of the U.S.S.R. will it be possible to thwart the mobilization of the Russian powers in the rear. This means that the territories inhabited by the subjugated nations must be spared destruction.

As historical experience shows, Russia never can be defeated only in a war from outside, but with the help of

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The Atom-bomb is not Enough

By D. Donzow

One phenomenon must strike every one who not only observes facts but can meditate about them: the last war did not bring us peace, but degenerated into a civil war in China, in Korea, in Indonesia, as formerly in Greece. In the countries of the West civil war breaks out from time to time in France and in Italy, and behind the Iron Curtain — this war is scientifically organized by skilful muscovite specialists: in Poland, Hungary, the Balkans, the Baltic countries and in the Ukraine, opposed by the great resistance movement of the oppressed peoples. Spain had its civil war before the 2nd world war.

The world under the sign of civil war:

Can not we make a real peace? — ask the Western pilgrims to the "sacred place" in Moscow, — as it was made after the defeat of enemy in 1815 No. because our generation is living not in the period of 1915, but in the period of 1789 or 1793. In France, in Ger-

many, in Italy, as it was in the Russian Empire after 1917, — nowhere can the parties agree upon the basic problems of their respective countries for the same reason that the Girondists and Montagnards or the three Orders could not in the States General at the time of the French Revolution. How could these Orders agree upon anything in the parliamentary way, if one of them, the *Tierce Etat* claimed to be the one true representative of the Nation and the two others must be sent to the Guillotine?

Is that not so nowadays?

There was at that time in France a little party, which with great audacity and determination made up its mind to rebuild all the social, political, moral and religious order of the country by ballots or by bullets: *la liberté ou la mort!* Such a party exists now in every country of Europe and Asia, and in America too. To try to make any

agreement with it, with Torres Togliatti, Eisler or any other actual or presumptive **gauleiter** of Stalin's or with the "boss" himself, would be as hopeless as to attempt a compromise between the Girondists and Robespierre or between the free European States and Napoleon.

How is the world to face such a situation? Mentally and morally degenerate politicians have a naive faith in the possibility of an appeasement or durable settlement with the modern Montagnards. The only result of their attempts is the dangerous growth of the 5th Column in their respective countries and the double-quick march of Russian imperialism. From the other side the A-bomb is proposed as an all-healing cure. Certainly if you are fighting with a dangerous gangster, any weapon is admissible, if it secures victory. Does the A-bomb secure it? The bomb is a material thing and the communist aggressor has at his disposal a vastly stronger weapon, but it is a **weapon of a spiritual nature**. What would be the damage produced by the A-bomb in comparison with the action of Tores, Curie or of those not yet unmasked Eislers and Fuchs, who could destroy all the war-potential of the country by acts of **sabotage**, in munitions factories, in navies, on railways and even in the different war-offices?

The force of the Devil and his servants is a spiritual force. Therefore they try to influence the soul and spirit of their adversaries, by inflaming class, national, racial, political and religious hatred among the different peoples. What we see with our physical eyes, — the agents of the 5th Column, the spies, the millions of indoctrinated, stunned members of the Communist Party in Europe, the North Korean army, etc. — is nothing but the materialisation in our physical world of those spiritual forces which have

been created or strengthened by the Devil's servants in the Kremlin and abroad: which other spiritual forces are the West opposing to the spiritual forces of Evil? Where are they? Where is the spiritual source of the West to oppose the new religion of the reds? Where is our force to oppose Moscow's efforts to break our combative spirit, her propaganda against our "militarism"? Where are our efforts to oppose her "internationalist" propaganda, trying to kill our patriotic sentiments? Where is our force to paralyze her efforts to make us unfit for even defensive war by the propaganda of the false "pacifism"? Where is the manlike reaction against different traitors and spies of the Kremlin?

Only one example: in Germany, in Japan, in China, in Korea, in Poland etc. the Muscovites exalt the spirit of militant nationalism in order to use it for the political aims of Moscow, as we see, with great success. But the same nationalist spirit is alive among the peoples oppressed by Russia and hostile to her. **Does the West use this spirit**, this great spiritual political force for the purpose of its own defense against Russian imperialism? Not at all! On the contrary, the Western powers try to disarm physically and spiritually the German and Japanese people. They try to extinguish this spirit in China and in Korea and they do not deign to perceive the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people against Russian tyranny... they have no spiritual forces of their own to oppose the spiritual forces of the Devil and they do not appreciate the existing spiritual forces in Europe and in Asia, which are fighting against Russia and for the West. This was the policy of Hitler during the 2nd. world war. We know where this policy led his State and people. The A-bomb is not sufficient in the spiritual war. The Christian West must produce its own spiritual force against the Devil or die.

Mr. John F. Stewart

Mr. John F. Stewart, the chairman of the council of the Scottish League for European Freedom who contributed greatly to the success of the Conference in Edinburgh and who works indefatigably in the cause of the subjugated nations asks us to thank all those who congratulated him on the occasion of his birthday — 1. 8. 1950. In view of the great number of telegrams which Mr. Stewart received from representatives and members of these nations, he regrets that he cannot answer them all personally.

Western support; the adoption of their aims and purposes by the Western powers, the political, moral and technical support rendered by the West to these subjugated nations would strengthen this second front within U.S.S.R. and will help to localize the impending World War.

Europe, and first of all the subjugated nations of Russia do need not American tanks so much as rather a great revolutionary idea. The question is not so much where are the steel helmets for the European divisions, but where are and what are the just ideas to fill the brains of the bearers of these steel helmets? If Europe possessed these ideas, she also would possess the weapons. The national insurgent armies fighting Bolshevism and Russian imperialism behind the Iron Curtain take their arms by force from the enemy, because they are inspired by their great ideas of liberty and freedom. They appeal once more to the Western World to support their liberation struggle and to recognize their ideas. The nations of A.B.N. are not bound to work for the disintegration of the World. They are for the unity of mankind within the framework of the United Nations, but only on the basis of liberty, equality and sovereignty for all nations of the world. They always will fight the Russian Empire in every form and shape. They refuse to adhere to the United Nations through the form of the Russian Empire. 150 million people behind the Iron Curtain expect no "democratization" of Russia, because this would be no solution of their most vital life problems, but expect full national and social liberation. This liberation is not and never could be compatible with the existence of the Russian Empire. It is now up to the Western powers, and first to the U.S.A. to gain 150 million allies, or masses of human beings disinterested in the aims and purposes of the Western World. May it not be too late!

A.B.N.-Organization and its Purpose

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national liberating revolutions and social upheavals **from within**. There is no social liberation without the simultaneous national one. Thus, the A.B.N. puts its fath in national and social revolution **within** the U.S.R.R. If the coming war with Russia and her Communist satellites throughout the whole world is to be victorious for the Western World, then that World has to draw consequences from the well established historical fact that in 1917/18 Czarist Russia was not defeated by the Central Powers, not by the Grand Army of the German Kaiser, but the national revolutions in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Northern Caucasus, Asserbaijan, Georgia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Cossackia,

Idel-Ural, Siberians etc., when these national states had been formed. The Western World has got to cooperate with these underground liberation movements and work for the creation of a second front behind the Iron Curtain.

It is to be expected that tomorrow Moscow's air-borne troops, with the help and assistance of red partisans in the rear, will launch a universal anti-Western campaign. What is the West's answer? Where is its second front? The confidence of the Russian subjugated nation in the Western powers has been deeply shattered, and even lost, because the Western World traded with our liberty and freedom delivering our countries to Russia. The Insurgent Armies of the nations subjugated by Russia are operating today without any

Who will Defend Europe?

Stalin's Aim in Sponsoring Aggression against South Korea

The aim of the aggression in Korea is to involve the Great Powers of the West and the U.S.A. in particular, in a long drawn-out conflict with Asiatic peoples. This will absorb the energy of the United States and their Western Allies so that Stalin will be able to attack at another point. So much for strategy. As for the political side of the problem, Europe and America are to be presented to Asia under the banner of "Asia for the Asiatic", or "Drive the white robbers out of Asiatic countries where they have no right to be". Russia makes use of nationalist slogans for this purpose, such as calling for the independence of Asiatic nations and at the same time deceitfully combating the colonial policy of Western powers. Russia also makes capital out of the backward social conditions in colonies and in some of the free countries in Asia and recommends herself as a social liberator. Throughout Asia, Russia has now taken the offensive, not only in the military sense, but also in the field of ideas and politics. For it is no accident that, immediately after taking the capital of South Korea, the Communists should have started to divide up the land among the peasants without a word about collectivisation. In Asia they are applying the same fraudulent policy as in 1917, in the old prison of nations that was Czarist Russia. And with success.

When Mao attacks Formosa, Russia will involve the Allies, or rather, the United Nations, in a war with her Asiatic satellites — not with the real originator of World War III. In accordance with Russia's desires, the masses of Asia are to rise against the West, a flood which it will be practically impossible to dam, especially as the West at the moment has nothing to counteract Russian ideas. The age-long errors of Western policy in Asia are being cruelly paid for. What have the Allies proclaimed as the aim of their intervention in Korea? "Back to the 38th parallel" . . . Was there ever anything so futile and ridiculous as to talk of restoring the status quo in a battle which will decide the fate of the world? Russia, on the other hand, proclaims as her aim, the "sovereignty" and "independence" of Korea. That this is a lie is of no account whatever; it is an effective battlecry. And what is the reaction of the West? How can it hope to gain the support of the North Koreans, if it is not at all interested in conditions there? The Allies will never gain general confidence if they make the same mistakes that Hitler made. In the Second World War, the idea of freedom for all was proclaimed. And the result was that all territories that were freed from occupation by Japan were

handed over to Russia — that is, they exchanged one occupation for another . . . Has not the same thing happened with Poland, Czechia, Serbia, Slovakia etc.? How could any nation have confidence in the Allies who turned it over to Stalin? This procedure recalls Lloyd George's words: "One can trade even with cannibals" — at the price of millions of martyrs!

Nowhere is the danger of Allied policy towards oppressed peoples more obvious than in the case of Korea. Is it not an irony of fate that, although formally it is the United Nations who are conducting the war against North Korea, it is really the United States of North America who are actively engaged, while Russia has formally created a situation of "non-participation", from which she can withdraw, if necessary, at any time, without any important complications? Today, the U.S.A. is at war with Korea, and tomorrow, perhaps with Mao-Tse-tung. Russia has managed to threaten American prestige. MacArthur, as Commander-in-Chief, is known to all. Meantime Marshall Malinowskij, who is behind the Korean Command, attracts no attention at all. Russia's double dealing here is obvious. It is only too familiar to the subjugated nations in Russia; but the Western World, and the United States in particular, unfortunately in the thrall of the almighty Dollar, do not even take the trouble to learn from the experience of those peoples.

For instance, we have often raised the alarm and pointed out the importance of partisan activity. We have demanded the creation of a second front behind the Iron Curtain. Individual resistance movements already exist there without any help from the West. We have drawn attention to the fact that Russia will synchronize and coordinate international with civil war and that she always operates with a second front behind her opponents. The main reason for the retreat of American troops in Korea today is that Bolshevik partisans, about 80,000 in number, have created a second front in their rear. Up till now, the Western Powers and the United States have put all their trust in the atomic bomb, as Hitler did in his Stukas, and have neglected entirely the importance of movements of resistance, though they have been growing rapidly in spite of progressing war techniques. Korea demonstrates how right our opinions and prophecies have been, and how erroneous the policy of Western Powers during and after the Second World War.

Lack of Confidence in the West

If the West assumes the burden of responsibility for the world's fate, it must give a clear picture of the world

order for which it stands. Stalin, the arch-criminal, leaves no doubt about what he stands for. And the Fifth Columns that are active all over the world show indisputably what they are aiming at. And what is the answer of the United States? — To divide the world into American and Russian spheres of influence. What was the sense of Roosevelt's policy of allowing Russia to advance to Berlin? Who won the Second World War? What was the sense of fighting in order to depose one tyrant and replace him by the greatest tyrant of all time? And what have Western statesmen learnt from all these fatal mistakes? They keep repeating them, though nations have sacrificed so much blood for them. And we realize constantly that Western statesmen are completely ignorant of the actual situation in the East and have no desire to profit from the bitter experiences of nations behind the Iron Curtain. Must Europe really fall a victim to Bolshevik cannibals before its leaders come to their senses and save their people from the pit of destruction?

Lord Vansittart is Mistaken

Churchill continues to repeat his old opinion that the atomic bomb will save the world from Bolshevism. He hopes that it will do so in three years. Lord Vansittart and Paul Reynaud declare in this connection that it would be best to drop atomic bombs on Moscow, Leningrad, Magnitogorsk, Kiev, Odessa, and Dnieprelstan, for this would exercise the requisite pressure on the Soviet Union. The opinions of these three Western statesmen prove clearly how far the West is from understanding the problem of the East and the present situation there. Russia is advancing today with the atomic bomb and with an idea, even if it is a destructive one, and the West has only the atomic bomb with which to stop the advance. Has it not occurred to Lord Vansittart to consider the reaction of the Ukrainians to his project of bombarding the capital of their country, the capital of a nation that has been fighting against Bolshevism for 30 years? Thanks to the struggle of the Ukrainians and other peoples, in the A.B.N., Great Britain has long enjoyed security from Bolshevism. Does this policy differ at all from Hitler's suicidal attempts to liquidate with his bombers both anti-Nazi and anti-Bolshevik movements among the Ukrainians, the White Ruthenians and other nations?

The people behind the Iron Curtain expect the West to give them an inspiring ideal, a finer and nobler picture of the future, the vision of a new world of liberty and justice, worth living and dying for. They do not expect the West to drop atomic bombs on towns which

neither Stalin nor Hitler succeeded in destroying. If Mr. Churchill and Lord Vansittart wish to find the right solution for the problems of the East, they must pay heed to the ideas which inspire the movements of resistance behind the Iron Curtain; otherwise they will never be able to conquer Bolshevism. The West should ask itself what reason the inhabitants of Turkestan, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Aserbeidschan and the Ukraine have for fighting? Simply to change their fetters, as they did under the nazis? But who handed Poland, Manchuria, China and Korea over to the Bolsheviks? Why do Asiatic nations hold aloof from the West, why do they seek refuge in neutrality, or, like the misled Chinese, sometimes side with Mao-Tse-tung? Germany was defeated, but Poland, Chiang-kai-shek etc. were among the conquerors. It is not the nationalism of the nations of Asia that is to blame for the absence there of a united front against Bolshevism, but the West itself for not supporting the struggle of these nations for freedom. By dividing Austria and Germany into two, the West has created a situation where Bolshevism is in a position to bargain. Why? Why did the West refuse to support the inhabitants of the Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Turkestan, Caucasus, Cossackia, and the Idel-Ural territory in their national struggle for liberation in 1918 when it would have been possible to put an end to Bolshevik aggression? Would Bolshevism not have been confined to the ethnographic areas of Russia where it would have stewed in its own juice? As long as the West does not see the error of its policy towards the nations subjugated by Moscow, there can be no question of a successful struggle against Bolshevism. For Bolshevism cannot be combated by bombs, but only by ideas.

Bolshevism is attacking the world, the entire globe, while Western ideology clings to the unhappy 38th parallel. The degree of latitude is the sum total of the "Voice of America", the B.B.C. and "Free Europe". This degree of latitude is the symbol of United States policy which plans to liberate satellite states only, while nations that have been subjugated may continue, they say, to remain under their yoke. For Mr. Koller, who is in charge of "Voice of America" has stated plainly that it is not in the interest of the United States to liberate the Ukraine and other nations, that such an aim could only damage American policy. It is no wonder that the Bolsheviks make effective use of such a statement in the Ukraine. Similar errors are made by other powers in the West.

It ought to be the essential aim of Western strategy to direct a concentrated attack, not against a little country like Korea, but against the ethnographic territory of Russia, the representative of Bolshevism and the source of Moscovite expansionism. That is why atomic bombs should be dropped on

Provocation gets the Right Answer

A certain George Knupfer, who pretended to be a Russian, sent a letter to John F. Stewart, the chairman of Scottish League for European Freedom, from which we quote: "Thanks to information from some of my Russian fellow-countrymen, I have learnt that your League is not only an organization of anti-Communists but of anti-



John F. Stewart
Chairman of the Scottish League

Russian separatists, adventurers and quislings who represent nobody except themselves. It is clear that you and your League are not, we suppose, really familiar with the nature of these Cossacks, Ukrainians, and other separatists. You are obviously not aware that, by attacking Russia and the Russians, you are driving them against your will into the arms of the generally hated Red regime, as Hitler did, too. In any case, the enclosed memorandum may help you to a better understanding of the real facts of the case . . .

Mr. Kupfer assures the addressee of his own and his countrymen's readiness to cooperate with the League, but only on condition that the League does not attack Russia. In concluding,

he writes: "As a representative of the majority of Russians, I assure you that we desire to remain always on terms of genuine friendship with your country and others, but if we are attacked, we shall defend ourselves. Don't repeat the mistakes of the nazis by driving the people into the arms of tyranny by being anti-Russian rather than anti-Bolshevik. At least it seems so. Drop all the quislings who always come to the surface of events in times of crisis and tension. Clean work should be done by clean hands.

Yours truly,

G. Knupfer."

*

John F. Stewart sent Mr. Knupfer the following answer:

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of the 3rd inst. I know very well with whom I have to do for hundreds of telegrams and letters from large and small organizations showed me whom these communications represented. Besides, I have more than 20 years' experience and knowledge of Soviet Russia and of all the countries on its western frontier. I know the Russian people as well at least as you and know what they want. I cherish great love for all these people.

In any case I strongly suspect that you and your friends represent nobody but yourselves and that the Kremlin and not the cause of freedom is behind you. Your language is like the language of the "Prawda", the Moscow radio, the language of Molotov, Wyschinski and company. But it is not the language of the simple people with whom I have entered into close contact. It would be very strange if you who use the same language as the Kremlin, should have no connection with it.

Politeness demands that I assure you that your statements will receive due attention, but under such suspicious circumstances you will probably not be astonished that we do not desire to maintain further connection with you and your friends.

Yours faithfully,

John F. Stewart.

Moscow, Leningrad, Magnitogorsk etc., but never on Kiev, Minsk, Tiflis, Taschkent etc. At the same time, the second front of the oppressed nations that are struggling for freedom and national independence should be generously supported and aided by the West.

Bolshevism is advancing on all fronts. Who is in a position to hold it up in Europe today? Where are Europe's solid divisions and armies, held together by a great, just ideal? Europe is torn by international dissension; higher wa-

ges, social questions bread prices, king's crowns, strikes and sabotage put the real, fatal danger for Europe into the background, i. e. Bolshevism. At a time when our civilisation and culture are at stake, when it is a question of deciding whether slavery and terrorism or freedom and democracy are to prevail, these other problems are of secondary importance. The most important and decisive question is, who is to defend Europe and how is it to be done? . . . (To be continued)

Z. K.

The Economic Potential of the Subjugated Nations

By Alfred Berzins, formerly Minister in Latvia / Extract from speech in Edinburgh

The majority of the countries under Bolshevik power are, according to the occupation of their inhabitants and their national resources — agricultural countries.

"An economic reconstruction of Europe is almost inconceivable without an active participation of these countries and their population. As definitely agricultural countries they were, before the second world war, the suppliers of agricultural products to the industrial countries and, in their turn, valuable consumers of industrial output, thus creating favourable conditions for a healthy exchange of goods amongst European Nations. But, while these Countries are occupied, suppressed and exploited by the imperialist Moscow Bolsheviks, a European economic stability is unthinkable.

Of course, it was possible to create in Western Europe after the war, by artificial means, a certain alleviation of the situation or even an apparent prosperity, but this will never have the character of a healthy economic stability. Without the agricultural countries of Eastern Europe, the industrial countries of the West will not recover economically. This fact is not unknown to the Bolshevik general staff for world domination — the Politbureau of the Bolshevik Party in Moscow — and is used as an important weapon for the destruction of Western Europe. Europe is one organic unit, which either can free itself of the Bolshevik menace and, by joining forces, reconstruct the destroyed European economy and give to Europe a new, healthy conception, where freedom, human rights and justice find their genuine expression, or go down completely in battle. It is an aimless undertaking to try to find a third way, allowing Bolshevism meantime to destroy and annihilate one free Nation after another, thus decreasing the forces and chances of victory of the still free Nations.

The smaller states: Is economic independence possible?

Presuming that in one way or another Moscow Bolshevism were destroyed, the natural question arises: what shape should be given to liberated Europe? — Looking for an answer, sometimes the opinion is voiced that the smaller Nations are not capable of maintaining themselves economically. Some circles particularly emphasize this point when the question is raised of those smaller Nations, which have been subjected to Russia and who wish to regain their lost independence, or of people who wish to live a free life in their own free State within their ethnographic borders. Some "hearty friends" recommend to the Nations oppressed by Russia (and surely

not in the interests of Russia, but in their own) to remain with Russia in a union, federation, or even to be satisfied with some sort of cultural autonomy. Such views are held either through insufficient knowledge of the real facts and prevailing circumstances, or they are the result of Moscow's imperialistic propaganda. It has been said sometimes that the endeavours of the smaller Nations to separate themselves from the supremacy of Moscow is not quite to the liking of some economic groups in Western Europe, since they assume that an undivided Russia would be a better and more convenient business partner, than the smaller states separated from Russia and a thus weakened greater Russia.

In order to give a reply to these questions, we are not obliged to indulge in theoretical speculations. We have precedents, very good and convincing precedents. They are the three Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which, by separating themselves from Russia, regained their independence in 1918. These three small Nations won their independence and erected their new states in possibly, the worst circumstances which could be imagined, after the first world war and the bloody Russian revolution, and after nearly two years of war for their liberation when they had at certain periods to fight on two fronts — against the Bolsheviks and against the Germans. The devastation which the war inflicted on the Baltic States, and particularly on Latvia, could be compared only with that suffered by the North of France and Belgium. In Latvia 10% of all buildings were damaged, but 15—20% were ruined. However, the worst of all was the loss in people. From 2.5 million inhabitants in 1913, the first census in 1920 in Latvia showed only 1.6 millions left. Most of the states which had suffered during the war, received material or compensation financial for the inflicted war damages, or credits on favourable terms for the restoration of their economy. But the Baltic States had to rebuild their destroyed economy by idealism, patience and through enormous expenditure of energy. The Baltic States also do not possess easily accessible natural resources. But even that was compensated by the untiring energy of their citizens, which in new Nations originates from the determination to sacrifice all for their liberty and their homeland. And what was the situation 20 years later?

The Evidence of Statistics

Let us examine some figures which will clearly show that the Baltic States, during this comparatively short

period not only repaired war damages and succeeded in organizing their states, in which exemplary order prevailed, but that they had reached also a notably high standard of life. In comparison with 1913, the crops in 1937 had increased by 50%, the production of milk by 25%. In Estonia the export of butter per year and per head of the population was 21 lbs., which raised her to the second place in Europe, and Latvia with 20 lbs. occupied the third place. Latvia exported 19,211 tons of butter a year, thus occupying the 5th place in Europe, while enormous Russia exported only 14,662 t. in the same year. The budgets of these States and the external trade were balanced. The gold reserves covering the issue of Bank notes exceeded the rate defined by law. State debts per head were small. For instance Lithuania's state debt was £ 1:12:—, per head of the population and so far as debts were concerned, she occupied the last place in this particular statistical column of Europe. Latvia's debt per head was £ 3:0:0, and Estonia's £ 5:10:0. The Baltics States paid these debts with 1% of their budget, while the average in other European countries was 12.9%. In order to understand the significance of the Baltic States in the World's trade, it would be interesting to note that Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania with their total population of 9.5 million, in 1938 participated in it with goods worth 586.5 million dollars, but the Soviet Union, with her 180 million inhabitants, only with 512.5 million dollars. According to Swedish sources, the import and export figures in 1931, calculated in gold crowns per head were: Estonia — 57 and 55, Latvia — 49 and 49, Lithuania — 32 and 34, the Soviet Union — 5 and 5. 70—80% of the export of the Baltic States went to the West, chiefly to the U.K. and Germany. I have reviewed some aspects of the economic situation in the Baltic States in a more detailed way than of the other States suppressed by Moscow, not for sentimental reasons, but because I feel that the example of the Baltic States is so very convincing and incontestable and gives at the same time such a clear answer to all, who endeavour to allege that the Nations now under Moscow's domination are economically incapable of existing separately and that for this reason it is not only in their own, but also, in the interests of the World's economy, to remain linked with Moscow.

The Position of the Russian States

Statistical data about White Russia are not so easily accessible, because her economy is so thoroughly absorbed by the Soviet Union. But

knowing the diligence and energy of her people, particularly in agriculture, it is possible to assert with conviction that the people of Byelorussia would not only be capable of solving their State, but also that the management of the different economic branches would not create for them unsurmountable difficulties, and they would reach in a free state a much higher degree of welfare, than they are enjoying now, being degraded, similarly to the other Nations under Moscow's heel, to the Status of a colonial people.

The economic significance of Ukraine

The Ukrainian Nation occupies quite a special place amongst the other Nations, which desire to free themselves from the Bolshevik yoke and to live their own independent life. Fortune has bestowed on this Nation a rich and beautiful land, but has made her at the same time an attractive object for conquerors, especially after the discovery of her natural riches: coal, iron, manganese ore and very fertile soil. In 1938, 26 million hectares were under cultivation in the Soviet Russian part of Ukraine (Eastern Ukraine), of which 7 million ha produced 16 million hundredweights of wheat. Under sugar beet were 900 000 ha, and under cotton — 200 000 ha. In 1938 the Ukrainian pits supplied to the industry of the Soviet Union 68.8% of her coal, 65.6% of iron ore, 61.2% of cast iron, 74% of coke, 70% of soda, 24% of her electric power. Her agricultural products occupied a similar place in the economy of the Soviet Union. So, in 1938, Ukraine supplied to the Soviet Union 70% of her total output of sugar.

These few figures, which concern only that part of Ukraine, which was already before 1939 under Soviet rule, show clearly enough the economic possibilities by which the Ukrainian Nation would benefit if it were not the object of exploitation, but could lead her own life in her own free State. These figures completely contradict the unfounded opinion that Ukraine could not exist economically as an independent State, and they prove that as a free State, on the contrary, she could, with her agricultural and industrial natural resources, become a notable economic partner amongst European Nations and the other free Nations of the world. In order to show the particular significance which the "high-ups" of the Kremlin attach to Ukraine as an important economic base for their plans for world conquest, I wish to mention the words of Lenin on this subject: "You know that the Don basin constitutes our only genuine economic base. There is no question of building up heavy industry or even socialism, before the possibilities of production of the Don basin are raised to the necessary level."

The important significance of Ukraine, not only for Russia, but for the whole of Europe, was also understood

The North attack a surprise?

(from our special reporter in U.S.A.)

Since the very first moments, when Red-sponsored North Korean troops started the "shooting war" — invading their Southerner brothers a yet unanswered question is being put all over the world, particularly in America and is occupying the minds of more and more people, namely, how could it happen that the Americans were caught unaware, unprepared? For it is now obvious — irrespective of further military developments — that the first heavy defeats were the results of unpreparedness.

Commonly such a phenomenon is explained by "the surprise attack". But one does not need to be a military or strategical expert to grasp that nothing else could be expected but a "surprise". Note how Korea lies next Manchuria; on the North the maritime provin-

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

ces of Siberia border on the Korean peninsula. Manchuria was the key to the Far East with an important strategic point, Hunchun, where for years during the Japanese occupation, strong revolutionary forces existed, most of them under Russian influence. This little place was an important base. Hunchun by the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam agreements was put under Russian control and thus the fate of Korea was sealed. An Manchuria free of any Communist interference, guarding its own boundaries, with an army provisioned with ample American equipments could have been a retarding or deterring factor. The Russians would have had far more difficulties in organizing a Soviet Korean Army north of the 38th parallel. Oddly enough, this policy was shaped by the Americans ...

Putting geographical polemics aside, there have been many warnings from outstanding politicians and journalists in the United States, pointing out the dangers in the Far East. These warnings date as far back as 1945, but no heed as paid to them however obvious they were. We give as an example the joint

telegram of 12 former Ambassadors of the United States to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relation of the United States Senate on November 24th 1947. In that message they pointed out the menace to the U.S.A. if China should fall under Communist domination and urged that essential help should be given in military equipment as well as in goods and money. Among the signatories were men of long experience such as William C. Bullitt, James Gerard, Adm. William H. Standley.

From the events in the past two years, it is easy to guess that not the slightest attention was paid to all kind of warnings. The Patriotic Americans' plea fell on deaf ears or as one could be rather inclined to think, it was covered by a hidden Fifth Column's paw within the State Department. The whole so-called Far Eastern policy was mishandled by people directly or indirectly under the inspiration of appeasing Soviet Russia, led by a well masked agency of Russia's famous Fifth Column. How could we otherwise explain the appalling unpreparedness of the U.S.A. that has been revealed from the very start of the North Korean attack? The bitter defeats sustained by an inadequately armed American Army could in no way be a result of political ignorance, for there were serious warnings and enlightened views expressed not only from the American side. The free press of the nations subjugated by the U.S.S.R. in the past made several appeals to leading men in the West to start to understand the real meaning of Russian imperialist aims. Washington's inertia, and delay help the villainous deeds of this injurious policy, directed by those, who under peace-loving slogans hide treachery not only to their country but to all mankind.

Summarizing all this, how could we suppose that for the State Department the North Korean attack was a "surprise"? It could not possibly bowl those over, who had planned and carried it through.

The nations subjugated by U.S.S.R., suffering for many years in the Russian "paradise" are most aware of the undermining, treacherous methods of "the bear in a sheepskin". This sad experience, traced in blood taught them to see through all the deception prepared for civvies. No fancy Far East "experts" but the alliance of the subjugated peoples can help America conquer. This alliance is offered on a "give and take" basis.

It is sincerely to be desired that the whole American public should understand the gravity of the situation and insist on changing American foreign policy, for appeasement does not serve peace.

by the German Governments of both world wars, when they endeavoured to possess Ukraine, in order to direct her riches towards their war machinery and to hit Russia in her most vulnerable spot.

The Natural Wealth of the Oppressed Peoples

By Veli Kajum Chan, President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee Extract from speech in Edinburgh

One of the most important motives for the expansion of Russia in non-Russian areas is their great natural resources, the economic wealth of the conquered countries. It is an undisputed fact that the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union are economically the most valuable and the richest. Without them, Russian imperialism would lose the foundations of its power, as we shall show by several examples.

Russia's Share in Economic Development

Let us first, however, deal with the other Russian assertion that the sources of raw materials in the non-Russian areas have been discovered by Russians. That is but a half-truth as the development of modern industry only set in after those non-Russian countries had been conquered by Russia. But industry in these countries was not built up by Russian, but by foreign capital, Belgian and French in the Donetz Basin in Ukraine (Stalino, the capital of the Donetz Basin was formerly called Jusovka, after Hughes, an English engineer), British and German in the manganese ore mines of Tschiatyur in Georgia, British, French and Swedish in the oilfields of Aserbeidschan, to quote a few examples. Was this capital put at the disposal of Russia alone? Would it not have been given to Ukraine, Caucasia and these other areas, if they had been independent national states and not colonies of Russia? And was not the further industrialization of Russia largely financed by returns from non-Russian countries? — by the sale of coal, ore and manganese ore and wheat in Ukraine, petroleum, manganese ore and sub-tropical produce in Caucasia, cotton, non-ferrous metals and coal in Turkestan, petroleum and metals in the area between the Volga and the Ural and timber in White Ruthenia? All these natural resources were pressed into the service of Russian imperialism by Moscow! they were not utilised to increase the wealth and promote the progress of the countries in which they were found.

We shall quote a few comparisons by way of illustrating the economic importance of these non-Russian countries. These comparisons are not based on estimated deposits, as estimates vary and detract from the value of such comparisons, but on actual production. If the latest statistics are not always quoted, i. e. those for 1949, that is not our fault, but the fault of Soviet offices that are unwilling to reveal recent figures. Production figures may have changed somewhat in the last few years but the relation of the different branches of economy in the Soviet Union to one another is still constant so that even variations in production in recent

years will not alter the fundamental facts which we wish to present.

Natural Resources of Non-Russian Areas

Let us start with coal and iron, the base of heavy industry. In 1949 the amount of coal produced in the whole of the U.S.S.R. was about 210 million t. 40% of this quantity came from the Donetz Basin (Ukraine), 9% from Turkestan (the main deposit in Karaganda) and 0.7% from Caucasia. About half of Russia's coal, therefore, came from non-Russian areas. It is true that in consequence of the war and the intensive development of coal production in Siberia, the Donetz Basin in Ukraine has lost its former lead as the source of coal in the Soviet Union, but it is still the most important center in the Soviet Union, above all because of the proximity of coal and iron deposits there (200 km apart) which enables it to produce more cheaply, if economic and not political factors are taken into consideration, than, say the Ural-Kusnez area, where coal has to be brought more than 2000 km from the Kusnez Basin or from Karaganda to the iron ore in Magnitogorsk.

As Ural coal cannot be converted into coke and as the good Kusnez coal is too far from the European areas of the U.S.S.R. the Donetz Basin and even Karaganda are more important for the economic wealth of Russia than would appear from statistics.

Iron ore deposits and Manganese

This position becomes clearer when we review the figures for iron ore. Of the total Soviet Union production of about 59 million t (1949), the ore deposits at Kryvyj (Kriwoj Rog) and those at Kertsch contributed 60%. The remainder is produced almost entirely in the Ural area, at Chalilowo in the Soviet Republic of Baschkir (Idel-Ural) and at Magnitogorsk. And it must be borne in mind that the ore deposits in the Southern Urals, too, are not in country settled by Russians. Magnitogorsk today is an enormous Soviet town of working people, with the stamp of a colony on it, but it grew up on the farms of Baschkir, which were practically unpopulated before the ore was mined. The inhabitants of Idel-Ural maintain justly that Soviet Russian industry has here usurped an area which belonged ethnographically to them. If we adopt this view, and we in the A.B.N. do so as we do not recognize forced settlements, we see that 90% of Russia's iron ore production is from non-Russian soil.

Finally, we refer to manganese ore, an important raw material, without which steel cannot be produced. In 1949 almost 100% of the manganese ore in the U.S.S.R. came from Tschiatyur in

Georgia and Nikopol in Ukraine, which is the richest deposit of manganese ore in the world. These two deposits have an equal share in the production of manganese ore and their former importance for the world market is well-known.

Oil Wells

Then there is oil. Almost the entire production of oil in the U.S.S.R. is on non-Russian soil, the most important fields being at Baku in Aserbeidschan; then come the wells in North Caucasia, at Grosny and Maikop, in Turkestan on the Emba, in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the area known as the second Baku round Ischimbaevo in Baschkir (Idel-Ural area) and finally Ukraine with the wells of Galicia. The oilfields in Russia itself — on Uchta in the North and Sachalin — are small and difficult of access.

Except for those in Baschkir, all important oil-fields are in frontier areas, i. e. in areas populated by homogeneous nations. In view of the increasing motorization of her army, the development of her air force and the extensive use of machinery in agriculture, oil is decisive for Russia. Because of the rising demand for oil, and the stagnation in production (only about 29 million t in 1948) Russia has managed to secure more non-Russian oilfields in Austria and Rumania. In this point, which is all-important for her economy and her war resources, Russia ignores all national wishes. To round off the picture of the part played by the areas inhabited by oppressed peoples as sources of raw materials in the U.S.S.R. we mention a few other important minerals.

Other Minerals

In 1947, 40% of the copper produced came from Turkestan and Caucasia the former being the leading copper area. 80% of the lead in the Soviet Union was produced by Turkestan alone. Caucasia and Ukraine supplied almost 80% of the zinc produced. 80% of the mercury comes from Turkestan and about 20% from Ukraine. 80% of the sulphur is produced in the large plant at Turkmenistan in Turkestan. 80% of all kinds of salt was delivered by Ukraine, North Caucasia and Turkestan. These statistics could be considerably increased by figures for non-ferrous and precious metals, basic chemicals and building materials, but in themselves they demonstrate how decisive non-Russian areas are for the raw material supplies of the Soviet Union.

Claims of A.B.N. Nations

Russia forces all these areas to be part of her large-scale economy, i. e. it

(Continued on Page 8)

Free Expression of the Peoples' Will

A letter under this title from a reader is published in the review. "Ost-Probleme" No. 50, dated July 26, 1950. It is signed by Herr Westrow, Berlin. It is typical for a national Russian that he should wax eloquent about such a subject as the Free Expression of the Peoples' Will in the Soviet Union. Herr Westrow is at least frank and, in the opening lines of his letter, acknowledges that he is a national Russian. That explains his conclusions. Like almost all national Russians, Herr Westrow refuses to see that the problem of Russia is one of combating an inhuman ideology and at the same time of liberating eastern nations from a regime of force and thus liquidating a state based on force. The U.S.S.R. is not an organic and voluntary union of eastern nations, but purely and simply, a prison of nations.

In his article, Herr Westrow also mentions groups of emigrés and denies them the right of speaking on behalf of their native country. According to him, people at home would first have to recognize these exiled groups and, in support of his argument, he actually quotes the Ukraine. The example of France during the Second World War clearly shows how far Herr Westrow is mistaken. When General de Gaulle fled to London, he represented the resistance movement in France. It was not possible for a France that was occupied and under the heel of the German occupation to give him open support and yet no reasonable man on earth will doubt that de Gaulle was entirely entitled to speak "on behalf" of France.

The recent history of the Ukraine is the history of a fight for freedom and independence. Whenever there

was a chance of throwing off the yoke of Moscow, the Ukraine rebelled. But national Russia under its Czars, and Bolshevik Russia under its dictators defeated and crushed this desire for freedom, thus proving that they did not stand for a specific Czarist or Bolshevik principle, but for the principle of imperialism.

If people like Herr Westrow were to have their way, victory over the Kremlin would simply mean a change of prison director and his guards, while Russia, the prison, would continue to exist and the rights of man, which include the self-determination of peoples would once more be ignored.

Herr Westrow also writes that the exiled groups of Eastern nations — with the exception of course of national Russians — represent the view that the "great-Russian people" is on the point of developing a Messianic mission and imperialism. But Russia is not on the point of doing so; this movement is already in full swing. There is no lack of convincing proof for this assertion and it is not necessary to single out examples; Czechoslovakia is one of many!

Does Herr Westrow wish in all seriousness to make people believe that the Ukrainians and the Caucasians, to mention only two nations whom he quotes, have always pursued expansionist aims? It is true that they have a Messianic idea — the idea of freedom and the independence of their nations, or to put it more simply, the right of their peoples to self-determination.

Herr Westrow omits to state that the oppressed nations more than any others and, to abide by the example he

Baltic Nations Warn the West



A postcard spread by the emigration of Baltic Nations

quotes, the Ukrainians, have themselves fought with weapons. In the next sentence he demands resistance, first of all, on the part of the Russian people. We should like to ask Herr Westrow and his friends: "Who, then, are to fight? Perhaps the individual Eastern nations who have been forced into the Russian state, in order to perpetuate their slavery? Or is Herr Westrow thinking of the people whose cradle stood in the old historical area of 'Moscow', i. e. Herr Westrow himself perhaps? And how many fighters against the Kremlin does Herr Westrow think he will be able to recruit from this area?"

The arguments of people like Herr Westrow will not convince either the exiled groups of Eastern nations or the inhabitants of these areas. And Herr Westrow knows this. He aims at something else. He wants to make the free world believe that if once communism was removed, peace and order would inevitably take possession of the East.

But we say:

"Hand in hand with the removal of the inhuman system of Bolshevism, the principle of imperialism must also be crushed; and this is not a phenomenon of Communism but a typically Russian phenomenon, as the history of Russia proves conclusively."

It is only when Communism and imperialism have been destroyed that peace and order will reign, and then not only in the East.

O N

The Natural Wealth of the Oppressed Peoples

(Continued from Page 7)

forces the different areas to accept a division of labour that may perhaps be best from the point of view of Russian hegemony in the world, but which entirely neglects the economic needs of the various parts and is therefore a system of waste and exploitation. The theory of large-scale economy may have its advantages as a means of building a position of power. But we nations, united in the ABN repudiate this theory because it leads to exploitation and prevents the developments of intensive economy; but we also repudiate large-scale economy as an instrument of politics, because it takes neither individuals nor nations into consideration but destroys both. It is connected with forced measures and forced labour which are incompatible with the economic and cultural growth of our countries. This does not mean that we favour economic self-sufficiency for each of these countries. We are oppos-

ed to the idea of economic self-sufficiency. We want free, national economies because they guarantee maximum economic success. We wish these economies to be able to trade with others without customs barriers, and that our country should share in world trade for the benefit of the entire world but not for the benefit of a Russian imperium. We repudiate any federation with a Russian state because we are convinced that such a federation would just mean a new Russian hegemony for us. We wish that the Russian people should develop its own economic resources within its ethnographical boundaries but not that our economy should be utilized by any kind of Russian supremacy to oppress and destroy our nations, or that our economic wealth should be exploited by Russian Bolshevism against the will of our peoples to attack the existence of the free world to which we would belong.

The „Amerasia“ case

“Internal vigilance is the price of liberty“ Demosthenes.
(from our special reporter in U.S.A.)

The notorious “Amerasia” case, which twice jolted American public opinion, again disappeared from the newspaper front pages, causing great triumph to the mendacious worldwide Communist fifth column. After several months of headline battle, based on a courageous charge led by Sen. McCarthy from Wisconsin, the 1945 theft of 1700 highly confidential Government documents found in an obscure office by the FBI agents of a still more obscure magazine “Amerasia” (an allegedly “exclusively scholastic” monthly, dealing with Far Eastern problems, edited by an outstanding Communistic figure, Philip J. Jaffe), was “cleared” once more by the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee, led by Maryland Sen. Millard Tydings, in a report issued on the 22nd of July.

American public opinion accepted this report with a dim suspicion of “fix” similar to the fast whitewash in 1945, when the six men arrested who were involved in the “Amerasia” theft, before a hurriedly performed court session were, partly fined (the highest fine was 2500 \$ paid by Jaffe), while against others even the indictment was dropped.

The reopening of this shocking case of espionage in the USA was urged and requested throughout the country. To expose, it in its full nakedness was essential not only because the United States security law was violated; far more important factors should have been taken into consideration: the international undermining activities of Stalin's treacherous fifth column could have been unequivocally unmasked for good as a “state in a State”. This could have a tremendous significance in jurisdiction and could suffice even to outlaw the Communist Party, this widely spread “cancer cell” so dangerous a threat to still healthy groups of mankind.

Another charge that Communist agents had infiltrated into the State Department, was expected by the American people to call out a united front of all patriots, working shoulder by shoulder to identify and punish them. Instead of the expected large scale investigations on a national security platform, rejecting all party differences, both charges, important for all, started to take a dangerous turn. It is not our aim to intervene in the internal affairs on domestic level. America is considered as the strongest anti-Communist bastion, where the torch of liberty, ablaze with eternal fire, symbolizing the never-dying principles of human dignity, is an inspiration for all who are subjugated and deprived of this God-given privilege. Also our peoples, who have been suffering for years in slavery and serfdom expected

more idealism and impartiality from the high-ranked individuals assigned to this extremely serious investigation. We do not discuss whether or not certain party motives led to the charges above, using them as election cries, but we do know that in the “Amerasia” case mentioned, one of the accused men, Emmanuel S. Larsen had freely admitted that he had removed top secret papers. We do know too, that a number of most important problems

were mishandled in the State Department, thus giving a free hand to the spread of Communism. Whether this was a coincidence or deliberate, the future will show.

But one thing seems to be obvious — something is wrong with the settlement of the “Amerasia” case. The mysterious whitewashes hardly indicate any coincidence, for somebody tried hard to protect somebody. Who is the protector and why are enemies of the USA Government protected? The answer to this question — the American public opinion hasn't got yet. And an answer is very important, for this can decide the role and fate of the USA in the future . . .

D.-N. Th.

The Red Front and the Coloured

Moscow's Military Interest in Coloured Peoples

February 21, 1950 was proclaimed for the first time by all Communist organizations in the world to be a day of “Resistance against colonial oppression”. In the Soviet press, it was called a new stage on the way to world Communism. Shortly before World War I, Lenin, adopting the theories of Hilferding and Luxemburg, said that “colonial” imperialism was the last resort of a capitalism that was threatened by economic crises; the economic order up-to-date after a desperate resistance, would be completely crushed between the two fronts of the “working classes” in the home country and the gradually awakening colonies. Lenin considered it necessary, therefore, to organize the common front of the red and the coloured opponents of capitalism. He emphasized that the leadership of the coloured peoples in the coloured world should not be left in the hands of representatives of native capitalism who are hostile to Europeans and Americans merely for reasons of competition, but that the Communist party should lead everywhere.

The outside world has learnt but a fraction of all that has been done for the Communist leaders of coloured peoples by Moscow, with the help of special political colleges, extensive special literature, arms, economic support and diplomatic means. The victory of Communists in China 1949, the stabilisation of a Soviet regime in North Korea, the conquest of considerable parts of Vietnam by the local allies of Moscow, the appearance of strong native movements under Communist leadership in Burma, Malay, the Philippines and even in many districts of Africa and Central America, are all the fruits of systematic preparation by the central Communist party.

It is no wonder that Moscow's adherents put great hopes in the further development of this coloured front. These hopes are of a double nature: it is expected in the economic world that

markets for the export industries of the West will shrink, if more and more coloured peoples are drawn within the sphere of influence of the Eastern block. Then, in the military sphere, it is hoped that agitators among coloured peoples will be able to completely or partially prevent the U.S.A. and other Western powers from including these territories in their scheme of defence. From the military point of view, Communist activity among the natives of Africa is of particular value, as Africa is most important in the eyes of Moscow as a possible war base for Anglo-Saxon powers. This also explains why Communist propaganda in Europe is concentrating on France in the hope of making that country “colony-tired”.

On the whole, the Russians seem to be enthusiastic about the cause of their coloured friends, in contrast to their somewhat sober assessment of the future prospects of Communism in the great industrial countries of the West. This view, however, is only confirmed in the fields of economics and foreign trade. The military importance of Soviet inroads in Africa and Central America seems to be very small. Strategists in the Kremlin should not consider political, economic and military experts in the West to be so naive as not to be aware of critical points and to be incapable of taking measures to protect themselves.

One of the most genuine and potent bulwarks against the encroachments of Bolshevism in the colonies and among coloured peoples is the existence of a powerful desire for freedom and individualism.

—son

**For God, and a free Home!
For Freedom
of the Subjugated!**

The Background of the Conflict in Korea

North and South Korea are not the only territories that have a Korean population. Within the frontiers of the Soviet Union there is a not inconsiderable group of Koreans which probably plays a considerable role today.

When the Ussuri area in the Far East was opened up, the country was colonized not only by Russians from various districts, but also by Koreans. These were mostly peasants who cultivated rice and vegetables, families who had left their own land to escape the burden of excessive taxation or on account of over-population. In particular, since large areas in Korea were prepared for so-called rice factories by the Japanese "Society for Eastern Colonisation", Korean peasants hurried over the frontier into Russia. In contrast to Chinese dealers, these peasants settled on Russian territory for good.

Koreans in Russian Areas

Russian administration under the Czars did all in its power to combat this immigration from Korea. Condatti, for instance, a Russian Governor General, decreed that only Koreans who had immigrated before 1884 might become Russian subjects, while all others were given the right to settle on Russian soil only for a limited period, after which they had to go back to Korea. In 1915 the number of Koreans in the Ussuri area was estimated at 90,000, a number which has steadily increased since then. During the civil war, 300,000 Koreans moved to Russian territory in the Far East. The Soviet government permitted this immigration, firstly because it was technically unable to close the frontier absolutely, and secondly, because it would have been bad from the point of view of propaganda for the "Fatherland of the Proletariat" to shut its door in the face of Korean proletarians who were fleeing from pressure from Japan. According to records kept by Soviet frontier guards, no fewer than 300 Koreans crossed the frontier illegally every week in the twenties. The number of these illegal immigrants was estimated at about 30,000 annually. We may therefore assume that there are more than half a million Koreans in the Soviet Union today, though the figure given by Soviet authorities is much lower.

Tactical Shifting of Population

It was awkward for the Soviet government that these Korean settlers should remain in the Ussuri area, crowded along the Korean frontier and round Lake Chanka, and that the population of some country districts round Vladivostok should be 100% Korean. Attempts were therefore made to shift the population to Eastern Siberia, and later to Western Siberia and Turkestan. But a mass-shifting, of the type for which the Soviets are notori-

ous, took place only after the conflict between Soviet and Japanese frontier forces at Lake Chanka in 1936. The Soviet government was interested in removing all unreliable elements from its Far East frontier. So in the years 1936-1938 Koreans were shifted **en masse** from the frontier to Turkestan. We have no exact figures for the number of Koreans who were removed in those years into the interior of the Soviet Union. But from the secret decree which was issued at that time by Abdulajew, the People's Commissioner for Education in Uzbekistan, to his local school-directors, it appears that schools and teachers were to be provided for 800,000 Koreans. This was the figure estimated for. Even if the many deaths during transport prevented this figure from being reached, there must still be several hundred thousand Koreans in Turkestan today, settled in the Tschirtdshik valley, round Andidschan and Osh. Here, too, they were settled on rice-fields. It was an advantage for the Soviet Union that Turkestan rice-peasants could thus be freed for employment in the more important production of cotton. The first sign that the peasants in Turkestan received of the presence of the new immigrants was that dogs disappeared, as Koreans have a weakness for roasted dog-flesh.

Koreans Trained as Communists

Other consequences arose from the settlement of Koreans in Turkestan.

There were many intellectuals among their number, who had a good knowledge of Russian. They were devoted members of the Communist party and quickly assumed positions of importance in party organizations and the NKVD apparatus in Uzbekistan and Kirgistan. Kim, the Korean, was one of their leaders; as a member of the central committee of the Communist party in Uzbekistan, he was in charge of propaganda for colonization and reorganization there. Moreover, many Koreans attended the "Communist university for 'Eastern Workers'" in Tashkent, a centre of advanced Communist propaganda, where all members of Asiatic nations are trained for service in their native countries as instruments of the Kremlin. Here they became familiar with the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, the principles of the Comintern, the history of the Soviet Union and of their own countries from the revolutionary point of view. They got to know all the arguments of Bolshevism and were specially trained as propagandists, so that they could serve in the central communist organization at home, or as partisans. Thus at Tashkent as at the similar institution in Moscow, which, however, is better equipped with a staff composed of Communist "stars", the Korean citizens of the Soviet Union were quietly trained as the generals and officers of the Communist party who are very probably active in North Korea today. In the last war, comparatively few Korean rice-peasants fought against the German army. They were mobilised but were held in reserve in case of action against the Japanese in the Far East.

Hans König

A Sovjet Airman's Report of U.P.A.

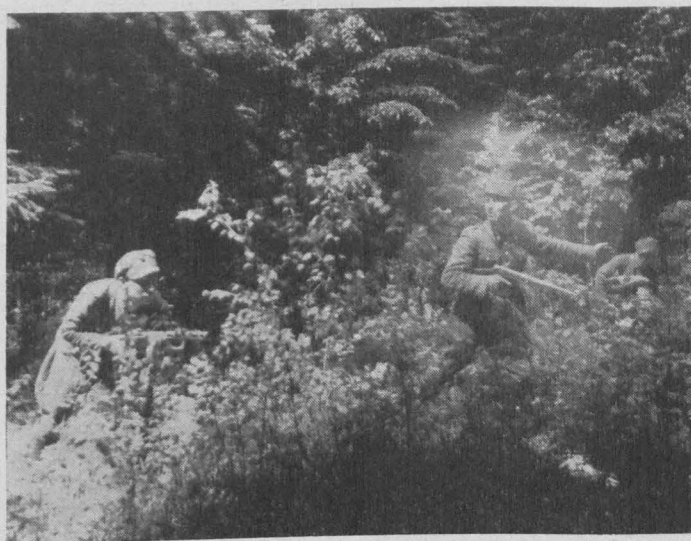
A short time ago, Peter Pirogow, a Soviet Air-Lieutenant published his observations in a book entitled "Why I Flew". From these pages it appears that Pirogow was stationed in the southern areas of Western Ukraine in 1947 and 1948, and had among other duties, to take part in a punitive action against the Ukrainian population. In so doing, he got a clear picture of the fighting of Ukrainian Insurgents, above all in the East Carpathians. Before launching a Bolshevik attack against Ispas, a Ukrainian village in the Kolomea district, a Bolshevik Commissioner gave an address, in the course of which he emphasized that the majority of the population was opposed to the Soviet regime. The officers and men of the Soviet Air Force, he said, had been allocated to Security Divisions, in order to support them in their fight against Ukrainian Insurgents. (U.P.A.) On the way to Ispas, Pirogow asked a Bolshevik who had spent some time in the area, if it was true that the Ukrain-

ian Insurgents did much damage. The Bolshevik answered: "They shoot or hang our men whenever they can get hold of them."

Pirogow gives other details concerning the safety measures taken by the N.K.W.D., who, it seems, were living in constant fear of "underground avengers". Bolshevik quarters were strongly guarded night and day. And yet notices were often found in the morning on the doors of Soviet officials with messages like: "Get out! We can get along without you".

Union of U.P.A. Veterans

On June 17 and 18, 1950 there was a reunion of U.P.A. veterans in Mittenwald (Bavarian Alps). These soldiers had fought their way through to Western Europe during the last few years by command of Headquarters. They founded a Union of U.P.A. veterans, under the name of their patron saint, Jurij Peremoschczj, and office-bearers were elected.

A.B.N.-Nations Fighting for Their Freedom**News of Resistance in Ukraine****U.P.A. Soldiers in action**

The United Press reported on July 31 that broadcasts were being given by the Kiew station describing resistance activity in the Proskurov area and in several collective farms near Winniza, where transports of grain and state silos were being plundered, and the population being urged to resist the power of the state. "Bandits hostile to the state" were alleged to have endeavoured to prevent the amalgamation of collective farms

into larger units. After action by the Soviet organs of security, "Order has been restored."

It is significant that the Kiew station should find it necessary to broadcast such news. It is the best possible proof that the resistance of the Ukrainian people against Soviet violence is still unbroken, in spite of bloody terrorism and cruel measures of persecution on the part of Soviet "organs of security."

Active Resistance in Caucasus

M. Kurasjew, a 24-year old Caucasian, stationed in the Eastern zone of Germany as a sergeant in the Russian army, has chosen freedom and has fled to the British zone of Western Germany. He made a report to British military authorities about the fate of the Chenchenzi and the Ingushi, two North Caucasian tribes, most of whom were deported to Siberia by the Bolsheviks in recent years. These two tribes were organized by the Bolsheviks as so-called autonomous republics, but they had nothing to say in their native countries. Commissioners sent from Moscow exercised power with bloody terrorism.

When Kurasjew went home on leave for the first time after the Second World War, he experienced mass deportations of his fellow-countrymen to Siberia. Those were carried out as follows: On the day which is always celebrated in honour of the Soviet army, men women and children in many places were commanded to attend the celebrations. When they had collected in the marketsquares, they were suddenly surrounded and carried away by divisions of the N.K.W.D. In Siberia they were scattered through wide areas in

order to prevent any communication from the start. The Bolshevik commissioners declared that this was the punishment for collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. The young man who made the report knew nothing about such collaboration.

During his second leave, which Kurasjew spent in Caucasasia at the beginning of this year, he learnt that not all the members of these tribes had been deported to Siberia. Some of them had succeeded in escaping to the mountains where they were conducting guerilla warfare against their Bolshevik oppressors.

A.B.N. Founded in Toronto

According to the "Laisvoji Lietuva", a Lithuanian paper which appears in Toronto, a branch of the A.B.N. was founded in Toronto in June by representatives of the nations oppressed by Bolshevik Russia. A Lithuanian was elected chairman who had been sent by the Lithuanian Movements of Resistance as a delegate to the meeting.

Martyrs of Faith

A short time ago, the Vatican broadcasting station gave statistics of religious martyrs in countries which have been under Bolshevism since 1945. They reveal a tragic picture of the Bolshevik persecution of religion. More than 13,000 Catholic priests, monks, nuns and adherents have sacrificed their lives for Christ.

In Western Ukraine: 3600 priests were murdered, 9 monasteries, 6 theological colleges, 100 denominational schools, 100 Catholic organizations were closed down, 1007 churches were either destroyed or used for other purposes.

In Poland: 700 priests were arrested, 1000 deported.

In Czecho-Slovakia: 500 priests lost their lives.

In Hungary: 1000 priests, monks and nuns were arrested — about 5000 adherents of the Catholic Church have been arrested and deported.

In Rumania: 710 priests have been arrested.

In Bulgaria: 120 priests have been arrested.

In Albania: 715 priests have been arrested.

In Serbia and Croatia: 1954 priests have lost their lives.

Press Conference of the A.B.N. in Brussels

Jaroslaw Stetzko, the president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. gave a conference to representatives of the press in the Ukrainian Club in Brussels at the end of July. Although at that time interest in Belgium was largely concentrated on parliamentary negotiations in connection with King Leopold, many journalists and politicians appeared at the conference, including an official of the Belgian Foreign Office, a representative of the Ministry of Justice, a delegate from the American Embassy, etc.

A report of the conference was published by K. Mulkewitsch, the editor of "The Voice of the Ukraine", a paper published in French and Flemish for Ukrainians who live in Belgium. In the course of the conference, Czech and Croatian representatives criticised American policy sharply.

The official press agency, "Belga" published a report of the conference which was reproduced in a number of Belgian papers. At the same time some Belgian papers published lengthy articles about the A.B.N.

In the Mirror of Press

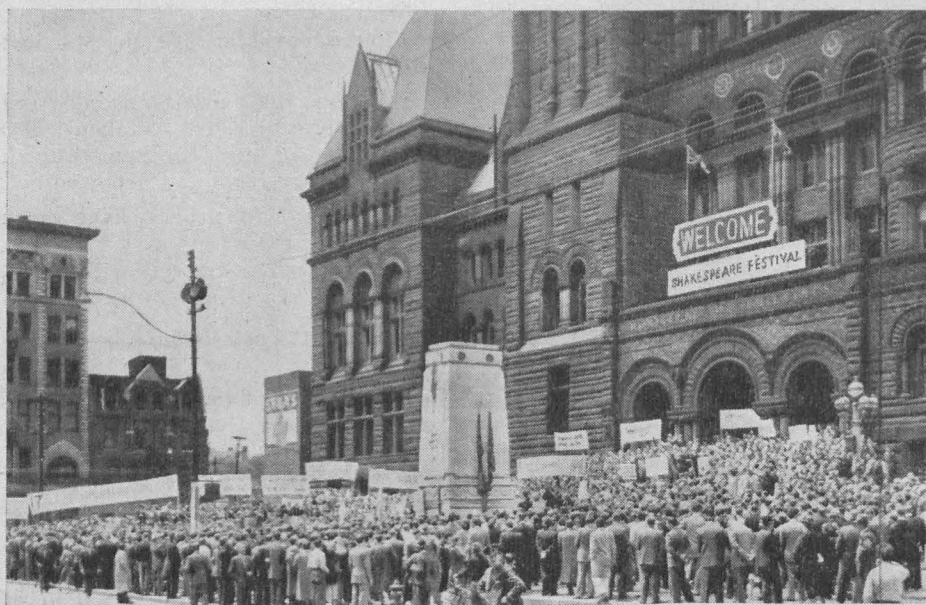
Unaided Resistance

An article in the "Basler Nachrichten" of June 30, 1950 gives details of the struggle of resistance in the Soviet Union, from which we quote:

"Many recent articles in the press have given more or less sensational reports of resistance movements in the Soviet Union. According to the United Press, the centre of resistance is in the Ukraine and its leader is a certain Stefan BANDERA. In conditions where national and social freedom is restricted, there will always be courageous champions with a devoted following.

ants in villages which have not yet ials are taught how to avoid carrying out commands and to see that it is better to take sides with the mass of the population than to be the tools of an inhuman system.

The struggle in the Ukraine and other satellite states is being fought without the participation of the outside world. People there are convinced that there is no sense in joining the anti-Communist front in the West, if this front does not take its the pilgrimages to Moscow, the dispute about



A.B.N.-Demonstration in Toronto

In the Soviet Union, a state where the most primitive freedoms are unknown, resistance has become chronic.

World War II was not the cause of anti-Bolshevist movements; it merely provided the opportunity for their organization and extension. The fact that there is still resistance activity today proves that fighting techniques have progressed since the confusion of the months immediately after the war.

The publications which appear illegally on the other side of the Iron Curtain are a reliable source of information about the underground movements. From a publication, dated 1949, we are able to form a clear picture of the aims and methods of the struggle.

Workmen are instructed how to circumvent the Stachanow system; peasants on colchoses are urged to demand more garden-land and thus bring about a perceptible improvement in the position of peasantry by decreasing the size of collective managements. Peas-

whether communists are democrats or been collectivized are urged to resist amalgamation and fight actively against forced deportation. Even minor officials are taught how to avoid carrying out commands to take sides with the mares.

Illegal literature, technically very simple, shows clearly that the movement of resistance, of which the Ukraine is the centre, makes it an aim to inform the workers by patient propaganda and to mobilize them against Bolshevism. World War III is regarded as a great chance, but not as an essential condition of success. Things must not be simplified too much and resistance understood merely as a struggle against the existing regime. According to our programme, a superstate, be it a "union" or a "federation" is not acceptable, as such a state would only lead to despotism and terrorism at home and to expansion abroad. Russia can exist as an imperium just as little as the old colonial empires."

A.B.N.-Press Conference

On August 31st in Frankfurt a Press Conference was organized by the Central Committee of A.B.N., attended by representatives of the following papers and press agencies:

1. Frankf. Mil. Post S 2 / 2. Kr. 12 K / 3. AP / 4. Agence France Presse / 5. Agence France Presse / 6. DPA. / 7. Deutsche Union Dienst / 8. Ost Probleme / 9. Frankfurter Rundschau / 10. Städtische Pressestelle / 11. Stars & Stripes / 12. Frankfurter Neue Presse / 13. Public Relations Div. HICOG / 15. Information, Kopenhagen / 16. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung / 17. AP. / 18. Gegenwart / 19. OA-Expreß / 20. UP / 21. NY-Times / 22. Neue Zeitung / 23. Time & Life / 24. Reuter / 25. AEP / 26. Stuttgarter Zeitung / 27. UIS / 28.

Press Correspondents of the national press in exile of the nation subjugated by Bolshevism.

The Voice of Turkestan

In reply to hypocritical propaganda in the Soviet official paper, "Prawda" which is constantly talking of "love of peace" and "humanity", the "Neue Zeitung" in its number for August 1, quotes a memorandum addressed by the National-Turkestan United Committee to the United Nations as follows:

"More than 1 500 000 Turkestanis died in the fight against Soviet Russia in the years 1918-1920, partly in action, partly of hunger. From 1932-1934, starvation and the cruel attempt to stabilize the nomadic tribes in this country where the climate demands a nomadic existence, more than 3 million lives were sacrificed. More than 500 000 well-to-do land owners and merchants were forcibly deported to Siberia where most of them lost their lives. Almost all who held office in the years 1937-1939 were accused of being "nationalists" and some 500 000 were thus liquidated. Almost as many were deported to the Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia and no one has ever learned what has become of them."

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK NEWS-LETTER

Vol.1 / Number 6

English Edition

July 1950

The Baltic States

By John F. Stewart

Chairman, Scottish League for European Freedom

I write from intimate personal knowledge. For a number of years until the outbreak of World War II, my business took me regularly to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. For over 50 years my work had taken me to many countries of the Empire, Europe, Americas and Africa. With all my heart I can say that no countries captured my admiration and love as did Finland and the three Baltic States. The latter had, through centuries of brutal Russian or German oppression, retained their nationhood, their language, their culture and their fine traditions. Completely devastated in the first World War by Germans and Russians they had to begin from zero. I could not sufficiently admire them for their hard work, their thrift, their culture, their progress and their passionate love of and pride in their independence. In none of the numerous countries I knew so well did I know a higher standard of living, more abundant, better or cheaper food; to me these three States were an ideal for the rest of the world to copy.

All three States had their independence recognised by the civilised Powers and by the U.S.S.R., which latter, among other things, solemnly bound itself never to interfere in their internal affairs, do anything to endanger their frontiers or independence. But, by the infamous Russo-German Pact of August 1939, which divided Europe between the two age long tyrants and brought on the war, the Soviets ultimately seized the Baltic States, destroyed their whole admirable economy overnight, massacred their leaders, and removed to Russia all the hard-won property that could be moved; there was no resistance — the blow was so sudden

and unexpected. On the terrible night of June 14, 1941 began the frightful deportations of scores of thousands of unresisting and inoffensive peoples, separating wives from husbands, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, old men, old women, pregnant women, mothers with babies, in barred cattle trucks under inhuman conditions, to the slave camps in Arctic Russia and Siberia, and to death.

It is difficult for our British people to realise that such inhumanity can exist in this 20th century. But it does, and the Asiatic Power which is one of the United Nations and which has outlawed war and genocide is steadily destroying three fine peoples who have contributed much to civilisation. It is no remedy to receive the Displaced Persons in this or any other civilised land; the only remedy is the destruction of the Russian aggressor beyond recovery, and the freeing of the Baltic States and other oppressed countries from an atrocious tyranny whose equal has never existed in the history of the world. There are only two alternatives, and it is useless to deny it — the destruction of Soviet aggression with the restoration of freedom, or the destruction of civilisation. The peoples of all three Baltic States are Western peoples; they must be recovered for Europe. Their countries must return to their growing of food, in which they were becoming pre-eminent, and the immensely strong fortifications and bases for an imminent attack on the West which the Russians have erected in them, must be destroyed and the Baltic Sea again opened to the world. Then the world may expect peace and security; till then there can be neither.

Events in Korea

One more country has fallen a victim to Russian Bolshevik imperialism — the Republic of Korea. Disguised as "the defender of peace", Moscow has set another civil war alight so as to extend its colonial possessions and shut one more nation up in its dungeon of nations. But this time the West has answered Bolshevik aggression not by its usual notes of protest but by guns, armoured cars and bombers.

The nations of the A.B.N. welcome the language of this answer of the West to Russian imperialism. It signifies a new stage in the relations of the West to Bolshevism and marks the firm attitude and the unambiguous language of Western powers towards the Soviet Union. The very fact that Bolshevik aggression has been met by armed resistance throws light on Moscow's real plans, strengthens the potential of the oppressed nations and awakes in them hope of a speedy and victorious end to their long struggle for liberty.

Yet we must regret that up till now the West has ignored the fight our nations are waging for freedom, although it has lasted far longer than that of the South Koreans.

The war in South Korea has not changed the defensive strategy of the West towards Moscow. Western powers have proclaimed that their intervention in South Korea is a police action, aimed at restoring the status quo and at clearly defining the various spheres of influence. The West thus wishes to emphasize that it is still ready to find some mode of co-operating with Russian imperialism and prepared to continue to suffer Moscow's oppression of many nations.

The West still refuses to announce political aims of its conflict with Russia, such as the annihilation of Russian imperialism and the restoration of

(Continued on Page 2)

Problems of the World Situation

Between Illusion and Reality

Thirty-three nations signed the Atlantic Charter, thereby pledging themselves, in the event of victory, to observe the principles it contains. America was not the last of these signatories. And they have been victorious.

Only these principles are to be dwelt on here in which nations are particularly interested who could not sign the Charter although they welcomed it with enthusiasm and await the day of its fulfilment with great longing. First and foremost there is the principle which assures all nations and individuals freedom as their inalienable right. The nations who are most concerned here were unable to sign the Charter as they were then, and are now ruled by totalitarian dictators and robbed of all freedom.

The Kremlin as a Signatory of the Atlantic Charter

In the meantime it has been discovered that among the thirty-three signatories of the Charter there is one Great Power which contributed considerably to their victory, but which has prevented and will continue to prevent its principles from being realized. For the power of the Kremlin is based above all on the destruction of the freedom of nations and disregard of individual liberty. Terrorism, fear and famine are the means by which Bol-

shevist despots reign and threaten the world. The condition thus produced has been called the "Cold War" and it is admitted that many minds are anxiously pondering when this Cold War will become the Third World war. And how does the world react to this situation?

A Voice from America

The well-known Washington paper, "U.S. News and World Report" recently commented on the attitude of the key countries of Western Europe to this question, painting the situation in gloomy colours. There is, it seems, no reason for optimism. According to this newspaper, these key countries are striving to "get out of the Cold War. They want Washington to change its policy. If this does not happen, they wish to remain neutral in the event of war between Russia and America".

This attitude is illustrated also in figures. "While America is devoting more than 33 per cent of her budget to armaments, England is content with twenty, France with sixteen, Norway with fourteen, Belgium with eight and a half, Holland, Portugal and the other signatories of the Charter with less." With obvious bitterness, this influential American paper adds: "There is nothing in those figures to show that Europe is ready to stand side by side with America against Russia..."

The Price of an Understanding with Bolshevism

Such an understanding is, of course, possible. But only at the great price of sacrificing the Atlantic Charter, above all of sacrificing the freedom and existence of all the nations engaged in a bitter, unequal struggle behind the Iron Curtain whose representatives are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). These nations must regard Trygve Lie's mission and all the powers and factors behind him as extremely suspicious and undemocratic. For them, an understanding with Moscow is merely the betrayal of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, of the sacred principles of democracy and western culture. We only need here recall the fact that the foreign policy of free nations is conducted by men who are responsible to freely elected popular assemblies. Stalin and his politbureau are responsible to themselves alone, that is, to the imperialist imperative of world aggression. This in itself is sufficient reason to turn every negotiation with Moscow into a defeat for democracy. Trygve Lie's "negotiations" in Moscow must end sooner or later in failure; they will make no difference to the Cold War. Indeed they dare not do so, unless the West desires to give up its liberty voluntarily.

The Role of the A.B.N.

It is all the more necessary that the A.B.N. should continue to show the West and America in particular, where the powers are on which alone it can rely in its fight against the imperialists of Moscow, viz., the nations of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. They have had daily and hourly experience of the hell of Bolshevik tyranny and have had ample opportunity of recognizing that there is only one alternative: a fight to the death! In this fight, imposed by Moscow on the West, whether it desires it or not, the nations united in the A.B.N. stand in an unbroken front against the world menace of Bolshevism, alongside of those nations who set freedom above doubtful and fatal compromises.

The Coming Defeat of Communism

That is why the A.B.N. welcomes all voices which help to clarify these two fronts and to bring home the danger of Bolshevism to the world. Such a voice is, for instance, the recently published book, called "The Coming Defeat of Communism" by James Burnham, an American writer of repute in the field of the philosophy of culture.

The author, who was himself once a Communist and a Marxist, comments on Russia's tactics in dealing with the West. According to Burnham, we are already in the middle of the Third World War, the Cold War being a mere stage of transition; there is actual fighting, he points out, in many quarters of the globe. He mentions Greece, China and Indonesia. He admits that it is a form of war for which we have as yet no name, but it is war! He comes to the conclusion that Communism has been steadily advancing since Stalingrad. Tito, he says, has been the only set-back, and that was not due to American policy.

Anti-Communist Policy

What then does Burnham propose? He demands a publicity campaign to counteract what he calls the hypocritical vox humana that proclaims peace. It is of no use for the West to desire peace when Russia is preparing to attack. The West must set up the idea of human liberties in opposition to Communist ideology. Anti-communist trade unions must be strengthened. Burnham warns American businessmen of shortsightedness, of overlooking their real allies.

Finally Burnham demands close co-operation with émigrés, exiles, refugees and expellees, even envisaging an East European Institute as a centre of the movement for liberation, which he thinks should operate successfully as a kind of Fifth Column behind the Iron Curtain. These demands for an active campaign against Bolshevism are happily becoming more frequent.

(Continued on Page 5)

Events in Korea

(Continued from Page 1)

their national and social freedom to oppressed nations, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. There are even politicians in the West who should like to re-erect the White Russian dungeon of nations on the ruins of the red prison.

The nations that have been subjugated by Russia for centuries are now fighting for a change of colour in their prison. They want to have their freedom and they are fighting for the independence of their countries within their ethnographic frontiers.

If the West persists in refusing our nations their right to independence and freedom, they will forfeit the sympathies of hundreds of millions of people. But we hope that countries still free will join us in our fight until the motto of "Freedom for nations! Freedom for the individual!" has triumphed throughout the world.

Russia and Freedom in the East

A Russian Centralist Government in Moscow, with or without Kerenski, no Guarantee for Freedom in the East

The news that a legion is to be formed of refugee members of Eastern States shows once more that the problem of nationalities in the gigantic prison of the Russian imperium has not yet been fully understood by the West.

Russian History, a Chain of Conquests

Russian dreams of expansion and hegemony are not a creation of Bolshevism, but a typically Russian phenomenon. Russian history is a long chain of conquests and subjugations; not one nation ever voluntarily assumed the Russian yoke. The oppressed nations in the East have only one desire, one aim for which they live and are ready to die, namely, the freedom of their native lands. They cannot understand why the West does not help them to restore independence to oppressed nations and thus solve the problem of Russian imperialism once and for all.

Communism only an Instrument of Imperialism

All that would be gained by only changing the system of Russian government would be to free world of communism and to make way for a new form of Russian imperialism. A country with Russia's enormous area, its masses of people and its inexhaustible natural resources must always be a dangerous power. To divide this great stretch up among the different peoples who inhabit it would safeguard the peace of the world.

Freedom for all Peoples

Neither Czars nor red dictators in the Kremlin have ever succeeded in stamping consciousness out of these nations. Oppression and martyrdom have rather furthered its growth. The powers of the West cannot regard themselves as the champions of the freedom of nations, unless they support all nations in their struggle for national liberty. Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Cossakia, Caucasia, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia and other are as much independent nations as say, Czechia, Poland, Slovakia, Lithuania or Estonia. Nor are there any half-measures in recognizing independence. If the world is to know peace, all peoples must enjoy complete freedom.

It is not likely that the peoples of the East, except for national Russians, will lift a finger to liberate Russia from Bolshevism. But if the freedom and the independence of their own countries are guaranteed (and this is the only reason for fighting against Moscow), all the oppressed nations and even Moscow's satellite states will fight

natically. Now that 33 years have passed since 1917, a restoration of the circumstances that prevailed then would be unthinkable.

Kerenski's Role

The oppressed nations in exile, and still more the active members of underground movements on the other side of the Iron Curtain are amazed that a man with Kerenski's past should be regarded in the United States as the leader of a post-war Russia. He is not the representative of hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples, but the representative of a bankrupt system which paved the way for Bolshevism in Russia. Every country has the government best suited to its character. Centralism is impossible in a country like Russia with its great variety of nationalities. It would always mean tyranny, no matter under what name.

Guarantees for the A.B.N.

It would be well if political circles in Washington would recognize this and would realize the strength of an organisation like the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). It would surely be in the interest of all concerned to give the nations represented in the A.B.N. guarantees of independence and liberty and to utilize their strength. In enlisting the cooperation of the A.B.N., the West would secure two enormous advantages; they would gain

1. an army of fanatic and convinced fighters against Bolshevism, familiar with country, language, and conditions, and
2. the certainty that after settling accounts with the Moscow system, the East would be satisfied and the world could put its house in order.

-son

A Crisis in the Bolshevik Party?

In part of the world press attention has been drawn recently to the fact that in the Soviet Union a number of generals, admirals and higher dignitaries have died somewhat mysteriously. It is particularly striking that the deceased dignitaries were neither very old nor regarded as unhealthy and that they all died suddenly.

It is therefore assumed, not without reason, that a quiet purge is being conducted in the Soviet at present. All of these deaths were actually reported by the Soviet itself, the report frequently emphasizing that this or that dignitary died "suddenly", "prematurely" or "unexpectedly". The following names appear on the death-roll: Peter Anurov, a high official in the Soviet Foreign Ministry; Anatol Kopytow, the Minister for the Photographic Industry; A. Pietuchow, deputy chairman of the organization bureau of the Party; M. Lusin, a well-known scientist; N. W. Sidorow, office chief of the Cabinet of the Soviet Union; General Grigoriew, and others.

Changes in the Provinces

Quite independent of these reports, the "Nowyj Schlacht", a Ukrainian paper appearing in Winnipeg, Canada, prints a most remarkable article on the recent purge in the Bolshevik party. In this case, the purge, which is evidently still proceeding, is concerned less with central organizations in Moscow than with wide circles of the Party and civil servants throughout

Soviet Russia. According to this paper, the Bolshevik Party is at the moment in the throes of one of its most severe crises. The reason is supposed to be a process of disintegration in the Party during the war and the post-war years; in addition, it is pointed out that Malenkow, who is responsible for carrying out the purge, is making great efforts to remove all adherents of the late Sodorow from positions in the Party and the civil service, and to replace them by his own nominees. This purge is said to have caused the removal of several thousands. In Leningrad, for instance, almost the entire staff of the Party Headquarters has been changed. And the same thing has occurred in central party organizations in a number of the Soviet Republics.

Malenkow's Position

Thanks to the purge, Malenkow has been able to consolidate his position. Even if Molotow as Stalin's first deputy has the greater authority, above all in government business, Malenkow has enormous influence in the Party and therefore in Bolshevik circles throughout the world. Now that Stalin is living for long periods outside of Moscow, a kind of regency has been formed in the politbureau, the headquarters of Bolshevism, to which Molotow, Malenkow, Mikoian and Marshall Bulganin belong.

It is worth noting that of the 17 members of the Politbureau, 15 are Moscovites.

Political Kidnapping To-day and Yesterday

By D. Donzow

The press often reports the kidnapping of DP's and other by Russians on the European continent. Such kidnappings are reported from Berlin, Paris, Vienna and Triest. Similar happenings took place before the war; such as the kidnapping of the czarist generals Kutypof and Miller; General Petlura was murdered in 1926 in Paris by the Bolshevik terrorist Schwarzbart.

It must be remembered that these methods, as many others were inherited by the Reds from the old czarist Russia. The kidnapping of Russia's enemies began with the first Ukrainian emigration after the defeat at Poltawa 1709. The best known of these cases are: the kidnapping of Mazeppa's nephew, Voynarowsky and Colonel Herzik. After the battle of Poltawa and the death in Turkey of his uncle, Hetman Mazeppa, Voynarowsky lived in Hamburg with Aurore Koenigsmark, the former favourite of King August II. In this city Voynarowsky was kidnapped by the agents of Czar Peter's diplomatic envoy in 1716. The protest of the Senate of the free city of Hamburg, was of no avail and Mazeppa's nephew ended his eventful life in the snows of Siberia.

Philip Orlik, the Ukrainian Hetman in exile, sent Colonel Herzik in Stockholm to Poland. At the instigation of Dolgoruky, the Russian ambassador in Poland, Herzik was kidnapped 1720 as his diplomatic envoy from off one of the streets of Warsaw near the King's palace, transferred to Russia and imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress of St. Petersburg.

The Russians tried to kidnap Hetman Philip Orlik himself, but without success.

The most famous case of political kidnapping of Ukrainians in the 18th century was that of Princess Darahanow (Tarakanow). This mysterious and charming young person claimed, with great probability, to be the daughter of the Empress Elizabeth by a secret marriage with her favourite, Count Alexins Rozumowsky, the brother of Kyryl, then the Hetman of Ukraine (1742-1763). When she was three years old, she was taken from Ukraine to Siberia, escaped from there to Persia, then to Kiel, London, Paris and Italy, where she lived under the name of Elizabeth, Princess of Wolodymyr. Dame d'Azow and others. Young, blond and beautiful, fascinating and of dignified manners, she had among her friends and protectors Prince Radziwill, the British ambassador to Naples, Sir William Hamilton, Cardinal Albani, and many of the German Princes.

At that time the political situation of the Russian Empire was disturbed. The great rebellion of Pugachof's Don Cossacks, the long and difficult war with Turkey, did not contribute to the solidifying of the throne of Catherine II. Princess Elizabeth found several political circles in various European countries, which were ready to help her in her undertaking. Her plan was to divide the Russian Empire, leaving to Catherine Muscovy, and claiming for herself Ukraine and

Caucasus. She hoped with the aid of the fleet to invade her native land.

At that time, after the battle of Tchesma, The Russian fleet under Orlof, and his two English officers, Elphinston and Greig, was in the Mediterranean. Czarina Elizabeth tried to win Orlof to her cause, but he betrayed her to Catherine in 1775 at Leghorn, enticed her on board his ship and took her to the Czarina in Cronstadt. Some months after her imprisonment at the Peter and Paul Fortress, at the age of 27 the Princess died. No torture or hardship could break her proud bearing or her silence. The English ambassador at St. Petersburg in 1778, saw fit to report her death to his government.

Too Little - Too Late

(With reference to events in Korea)

Local allies underestimated

Events in Korea have proved a severe test of American politics.

The Americans have had experience in training local supporters while Bolsheviks have trained North Koreans for years, just as they have organized support in East Germany and Fifth Columns in all countries. The importance of having local allies has long been recognized by the Soviets.

Like the Germans in World War II, the Americans rely too much on their own power and prestige.

Two Methods

The Soviets gave the Koreans the heaviest weapons and taught them how to use them. The South Koreans, on the other hand only got machine-guns and 10.5 cm field guns. The Americans organized the South Korean national army in regiments and brigades, so that its officers were, at the best, qualified as captains, majors and colonels; all higher ranks, especially in the staff remained in the hands of about 2000 American officers, although the South Korean army was about 130 000 men strong.

The Soviets, on the other hand, organized the North Korean "people's democratic" army on the level of normal divisions and army groups. The North Koreans had therefore completely qualified generals of their own and could operate with larger units and over larger areas.

Practical Results

When war broke out, the difference between those two methods was only too obvious. The South Korean army was powerless against the armored cars, heavy guns and planes of the attacking North Korean army. It is no wonder that the South Korean troops were beaten 48 hours after hostilities had begun. The rout would have been complete, and South Korea entirely

in the hands of the Communists, if President Truman had not ordered the American air force and the fleet to interfere on 27. 6. 50.

Neglect in Asia and Europe

It might have been possible to avoid the victory of the Communists in Korea; America was too slow in realizing that Soviet Russia would never agree to a union of the two sections of Korea on the basis of a popular election. And the military training and equipment given to the South Koreans was not adequate. Such mistakes are costly. America must mobilize huge forces in order to rectify them.

We have a similar situation in Eastern Europe. The army of the "people's democracy" in the Eastern Zone of Germany is heavily armed while the police in Western Germany have nothing but pistols and sticks. If, one day, events in Korea should be repeated in Germany, will the result be different? The Western Powers have still to grasp that nothing short of brute force can make any impression on Bolsheviks.

Such a policy is very expensive, especially for the American people. Would it not be better to help a people at the start and not to wait until they are overrun by Communists and then free them? There are too few divisions in Western Europe and the Americans are slow to open an ideological offensive, as we members of the A.B.N. know too well.

The Main Problem

The main problem in the present conflict is to let nations have the possibility of taking an active share in defending themselves against Bolshevism. Those peoples, in particular, who have been subjugated by Bolshevism should be helped in their war of liberation.

As long as the West does not launch a crusade against Bolshevism, all nations will live under the constant threat of annihilation.

Z. P.

ABN Nations Fighting for Their Freedom

The National Bulgarian Front

Its Nature and Its Aims

The following quotation which we take from "Nationales Bulgariens" (No. 1 Vol 2.), a paper published by the National Bulgarian Front, a member of the A.B.N. illustrates the aims and the principles of the Bulgarian Movement for Liberation.

"The National Bulgarian Front was formed as a non-party organization to unite Bulgarians in exile today. Its objectives are to liberate Bulgaria and to reintroduce the Constitution of Tirnovo and inform opinion abroad of the national Bulgarian cause.

The programme of the National Bulgarian Front contains these points:

It is the function of the N.B.F.

1. to convince the world that the spirit of the Bulgarian people, their traditions and their religion have nothing in common with Bolshevik Moscow; that the Bulgarian people thoroughly repudiates the Soviet regime that has been forced on it and considers that its first duty to history is to remove this regime,
2. to convince Western Democracies that national Bulgarian powers at home and abroad are the most dependable instrument in the fight against Bolshevism and the best guarantee for democracy in Bulgaria,
3. to declare to the world that the Bulgarian people, faithful to its national character and historical traditions insists on an independent Bulgarian state and has nothing to do with any panslavonic adventure whatsoever.

Problems of the World Situation

(Continued from Page 2)

as a recent article in the "Christian Science Monitor" proves. The writer asks when England and America are going to launch a large-scale publicity campaign against Communism; in other words "when are the Fifth Columns of democracy going to appear behind the Iron Curtain to carry out acts of sabotage? Why aren't airborne troops landed in the Ukraine, Coßackia, Caucasia and elsewhere in order to continue the fight against Communism there? The author has in mind such an underground movement in Soviet Russia as existed in various of the countries occupied by Hitler, and urges that such a "home front" should receive every support. The Western World is thus slowly and with difficulty waking up from its illusions to a clearer realization of the actual state of the world.

4. to conduct the struggle for an independent, united and democratic Bulgaria in sincere cooperation with the Western powers and that just as consistently and thoroughly as in the past whenever the international situation demanded that Bulgaria should maintain its national existence."

"In the meantime" the Bulgarian paper continues, "the majority of exiled Bulgarians have accepted this programme. The N.B.F., originally an organization of our emigrés in Germany and Austria, has now spread over all European countries and lands overseas — Greece, Turkey, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, France, England, the United States, Brazil, Canada, Australia.

What we are and What we aim at

"It is we who have fought against attacks on Bulgaria's independence which were launched first from St. Petersburg and later from Moscow; for decades we have stood in the front ranks of the battle against Communism and Bolshevism, a battle for life and death. We kept the people properly informed, we warned them against all Russophile tendencies . . . For decades

we have sought to win the people for our political programme, while others laid bombs in our cathedrals, instigated civil war and persuaded officers to carry out coups d'état. Those who call us "totalitarians" and "fascists" today, while they give all the power to the radical revolutionaries of the Left as "democrats", are putting their money on the wrong horse. The "National Bulgarian Front" wishes neither to found a party in exile nor to make anyone pay homage to any definite person. We demand only an oath of allegiance to our native country and the freedom of Bulgaria. Personalities are on our side who have devoted their lives to Bulgaria and nobody can refuse them the right to speak on her behalf. Our Fatherland needs their right hands more than the dirty hands of those who have put Communist bandits in the saddle. We know that the most of our followers and fellow fighters have fallen as victims of bloody terrorism in Bulgaria. They had to die in such numbers because it is the only way of conquering Bolshevism . . . Once Bulgaria is liberated we look forward to a great victory for the national idea and we are sure that the block now fighting for it will be increased a hundredfold. Millions of Bulgarian men and women who have borne the brunt of Communism and tyranny against which we alone have been fighting from the beginning, are on our side today and will stand tomorrow under the banner of a national Bulgaria."

The Hungarian Movement of Liberation

The Hungarian Movement of Liberation, under the leadership of General Farkas of Kisbarnak and represented in the A.B.N. aims at uniting anti-Bolshevik Hungarians in all quarters of the globe for the purpose of preserving the unity of the Hungarian nation. Some of the Movement's political principles are: the erection of a free, independent and sovereign state of Hungary, the acknowledgement of the supremacy of the crown of St. Stephen's, the fostering of Western interests in Hungary, the acknowledgement of Christian principles as the basis of life, social justice, the bridging of distinctions of class and creed, and the acceptance of the principles of humanity, tolerance, freedom and peace.

The Hungarian Movement of Liberation is a non-party effort. "It is determined", the text of its program runs, "as a union of conscious patriots, to combat every plan, idea or tendency that is opposed to any of the above principles".

Aims of the Movement

The aims of the Movement are:

1. Territorial integrity, freedom and other national rights for Hungarians.

2. To fight for the liberation of the Hungarian Fatherland.
3. To combat propaganda hostile to Hungary and the prejudices and errors it has caused.

The Movement also regards it as its particular function to unite all exiled Hungarians, to encourage the fighting spirit and the perseverance of all still in Hungary, to care for the spiritual needs of Hungarian youth, to supply foreign countries with correct information concerning the fate and the real will of the Hungarian people, to win sympathy abroad for the cause of Hungary, to cooperate with anti-Bolshevik exiles of subjugated nations and to supply Hungarian soil with healthy seed, so that new and fruitful life may take root there.

The Hungarian Movement of Liberation appears as the spokesman of all champions and martyrs of freedom in the homeland who have not yielded to Bolshevik bayonets; by their dogged determination they have proved to the world that they will never give up their Hungarian nationality to become world proletarians.

Slovakia Fights

From the Press Service of Slovakian Liberation Committee (S.O.V.) we have received a pamphlet by Slovakian insurgents, which was recently circulated in Slovakia. We reproduce the complete text:

Men and Women of Slovakia!

Today, after the Second World war, our mountains are full of determined young men, armed with axes and pistols, wearing the white cross and waiting for the moment when they can free the victim from the bloody hands of Prague and the terrorism of Red Bolshevism. The victim is our beloved fatherland, Slovakia!

Brothers and sisters! Do not forget that the beloved father of our nation, Dr. Josef Tiso, our first president, who was murdered by godless Bolsheviks, lies buried in our fatherland. He sacrificed his life for us and we, in turn, must be loyal to him and avenge his death. Let us fulfil his last wish and free our native land.

People of Slovakia! We are in the forests, you are at home. We do not ask you to sacrifice your lives; we beg of you only unity, fraternity and love. Conduct yourselves like genuine Slovaks, who are fighting for their freedom. Help us, the white Slovakian partisans and help the U.P.A. (The Ukrainian Insurgents Army).

Brothers and sisters! Your liberation is approaching; be patient, for the sun of our freedom will shine again and the hydra-headed monster of Bolshevism will be destroyed. Our flag will fly once more over our home and we shall once more be free.

Death to Bolshevik tyranny!

Long live the independent republic of Slovakia!

Dubova, 28. 3. 1950

Slovakian white partisans.

Esthonia Defies Terrorism

According to a report in the "Stimme des Volkes", an Estonian Communist newspaper, EDUARD PAELL, president of the Soviet Republic of Esthonia has been arrested.

As is well known, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. declares that all Soviet Republics, including Esthonia, are independent states with governments of their own and the Soviet Union a free union of such states who can also leave that Union at any time if they so desire. It is therefore a paradox that the head of an independent state, as in this case, should be arrested; it ought to warn the western world that little would remain of the independence of nations in the free world should the fate of the nations of Eastern Europe ever befall them.

What conditions actually prevail in Esthonia is obvious from the fact that Moskalensko, notorious as the hang-

man of the old N.K.W.D., arrived from Russia about three months ago as successor to Kumm, the Estonian Minister of Security. The result of this "change of government" was the final transformation of the "independent" Estonian Republic into a Russian province. Personalities in Estonian public life, including Hans Kruus, "Foreign Minister", Hiion, Minister of Health, Johannes Semper, Minister of Education, were either arrested or removed from their posts and are waiting for arrest. The motto of the purge campaign ordered by Moscow is: the extermination of all "bourgeois and nationalist elements in Esthonia".

Tens of thousands of Estonians have been evacuated from the shores of the Baltic into Russia and their homes now accommodate Russians who have been sent to Esthonia "on a special mission". But the increased terrorism of Moscow cannot cow the freedom-loving people of Esthonia. Strengthened by the solidarity of all oppressed nations represented in the A.B.N., Estonian fighters for liberty are absolutely confident that the hour is near when they will be able to repay and shake off the Russian yoke.

Lithuania's Fight

The history of Lithuanians is one uninterrupted fight against Russian and other imperialism. Up till 1918 the Lithuanian people fought against oppression by Russia under the Czars, from 1940/41 against the first Bolshevik occupation, from 1941-1944, against occupation by the nazis. Today it is fighting against the enslavement of Lithuania by the Bolsheviks, a terrorism that is worse than anything yet experienced. The Bolsheviks are aiming at nothing less than the extirpation of Lithuanians, Estonians and Latvians as quickly as possible and by modern, devilish methods. Massed deportations, enforced Russification and colonisation are proceeding so rapidly that exiled Lithuanians who have managed to escape have reason to fear that they will not be find any Lithuanians left if they ever have the good fortune to return to their native country.

Lithuanians, however, fought for 125 years against the despotism of Russia and they are firmly determined to fight as long against any oppression, however cruel, in the steadfast belief that one day they will gain their independence. The illegal paper of the Lithuanian Insurgents in Pieries (Lithuanian) writes: "Let no one believe that Red hangmen can stop our fight for freedom by terror".

Thus the entire Lithuanian people in the homeland, Lithuanians in exile and a million Lithuanians in the U.S.A. are fighting side by side with the other nations of the A.B.N. for the liberation and independence of Lithuania.

How I Got to East Prussia

After the end of World War II, part of the Ukraine remained under the power of Poland. Immediately the population of this part joined the whole of the Ukraine in its fight for liberation. In a fight there in 1947, with troops of the Ukrainian Army of Insurgents, General Swiertschewski, then the deputy Minister of Defence in Poland, fell. In order to break Ukrainian resistance, the Bolshevik government of Poland began in the summer of 1947 to transport the Ukrainians there to parts of East Prussia that were occupied by Poles. As a result, some units of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army (UPA) were to break through to East Prussia.

On December 30, when we had got billets in two villages near Kentschin we were suddenly attacked by "Polish" troops. We immediately opened fire from all the weapons we had and could withdraw into the woods without giving the Poles an opportunity of cutting off our line of retreat. We found out later that this action had cost the Poles casualties, both dead and wounded. After our unit had crossed to the other side of the wood, we found that Polish troops were camped there too. In the night, we succeeded in escaping through a gap in the ring and twice we had to wade through a deep river so that a coat of ice was formed on our uniforms. That night we had to cover 35 km on foot and it was only because snow was falling that our tracks were covered up so that the enemy could not follow us.

In the first days of January 1948 we contacted Schuhaj's section of the Army of Insurgents and got necessary information. Our unit was split up into smaller groups which were given special tasks and distributed all over East Prussia.

The Ukrainians who had been resettled in East Prussia told us about the fight of the Lithuanian Army of Insurgents had turned up on Polish were told that the Lithuanians were well organized and were operating with sections of 100 men up to a battalion. In February 1948 a group of Lithuanian Insurgents had turned up on Polish territory, north of Bjalostok.

There are only very few Germans left in East Prussia. As in Hitler's time some Poles had called themselves "Volksdeutsche", so now some of these Germans were pretending that they were Poles. They were known as Masures and managed to secure privileges and material advantages under the Polish regime.

The hatred of the German population for Polish Bolsheviks is just as strong as their hatred for the Russian type. They told us of dreadful acts of violence and plunder which they had to suffer at the hands of the Bolsheviks, of mass murder by the Red Army of

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Azerbaijan

By M. Ismail, member of the National Committee of Azerbaijan
(extract from speech in Edinburgh)

For many centuries the Asery-Turks lived as a free and independent nation. Its culture experienced a golden age in the twelfth century, under the dynasty of the Atabek-Pahlewani.

Under the government of Schirwan-schaden national culture flourished greatly. At that time, scholars in the west were familiar with the names of poets and other artists in Azerbaijan.

But at the beginning of the 19th century the conquest of Azerbaijan by Russia started. The struggle of this nation for freedom and independence against Russian imperialism lasted for 30 years. With unparalleled heroism the Gansychynes fought under the leadership of the Dschawatschan. The enemy, thanks to his superior numbers, succeeded in breaking the resistance of our nation that had fought side by side with the other nations of Caucasia and in this way it lost its freedom and independence, and with them, the meaning of its existence.

From this time on, there has been a constant stream of deportations to Siberia, a regular system of persecution and Russification. In spite of these, the efforts of our people to regain freedom and independence have never ceased. There were many rebellions, as that under Katschak Naby and others. We have had many poets, writers, journalists and politicians who have devoted their lives to the struggle for the independence of Azerbaijan.

In consequence of the long fight, Russian imperialism was crushed in

1918, when our people erected a state of their own and thus regained their independence. The first democratic republic in the Moslem world was proclaimed when the national flag of Azerbaijan was hoisted. Thanks to the wide-spread democratic rights of our people, our national republic soon stabilized and developed the country's economic life; a university was founded in the town of Baku and many schools and institutions of culture were opened. Opportunities were created for intellectual circles, for writers, musicians and scholars.

This promising development, alas, was abruptly cut short. In 1920 Bolshevik hordes invaded Aserbeidschan and took away its independence by establishing their frightful dictatorship. They introduced a system of terrorism from the very beginning and, after murdering Fatali Chan-Choj, the head of our national government and hundreds more of our political leaders, they plundered our country completely. After this first barbarous attack by the Bolsheviks in 1920, our people took courage and rose in rebellion.

As is very well known, Azerbaijan is a very rich country; the U.S.S.R. get 75% of their oil from Baku; Daschkesan, Gedabek and other mountain areas are rich in iron-ore. Our country produces good crops of cotton and silk, and has a flourishing viticulture and many subtropical fruits while textiles and the fish and meat industries are well developed. Even the best caviare which the Kremlin puts before its foreign guests comes from Azerbaijan. Our country has, indeed, untold wealth and yet our Bolshevik rulers have reduced us to beggary.

The greatest tragedy is that the terrorism of the Bolsheviks is destroying the very substance of our people, their culture, language, their thousand-year-old traditions and their religion. The soul of our people is being poisoned by the humiliating doctrines of communism, by "education" on the one hand and "assimilation" on the other.

During their regime, the Bolsheviks have systematically exploited the natural resources of our country and plundered our people. In thirty years they have pumped about half a billion tons of oil out of Azerbaijan and have taken great quantities of other raw materials besides. More than half a million of our fellow-countrymen have been murdered, executed or exiled and Russians were sent in their stead. In spite of all, our people, to whom freedom has always been as life itself, have continued to struggle without ceasing against tyranny and the violence of the imperialism of the Reds.

Our bestial enemies found endless varieties of torture for our freedom-loving people, shed much innocent blood and transformed our entire country into one vast Katyn. In 1941, when war broke out against the Soviet Union, our people, like all the other nations oppressed by Moscow, took up the traditional struggle against the cunning foe of humanity. The fight of our units against the Bolsheviks in the Second World War was only the continuation of the struggle of our fathers for freedom and independence. Great is our wrath that, for more than thirty years, the power and the resources of Caucasia have been exploited by the Kremlin in order to spread the plague of communism throughout the world.

We Caucasians who have been fighting for freedom and independence for centuries, would be the happiest people on earth, if, instead of the hammer and the sickle, we had the principles of the Atlantic Charter in our country. We should then create a united and prosperous Caucasia, which would devote its resources to establishing a lasting peace on earth.

Czechoslovakia and Slovakian Liberation Movement

Judging by the informations that have reached me recently, the Committee for Free Czechoslovakia intends to use the above-mentioned action for similar mean purposes. Approbation can be got easily from Czech refugees. Czech refugees are more numerous than Slovakian refugees for the double reason, that: 1) it has proved more easily to escape from the western part of Czechoslovakia than from the eastern part, populated by Slovaks, 2) the Czech territories have a greater population than the Slovakian territories. The Czech approbation, no doubt, is going to serve for the organizers of this action as a "proof" that "the majority of refugees from Czechoslovakia supports the idea of restoration of Czechoslovakia and that they equally agree with the composition of the Committee of Free Czechoslovakia".

It is quite clear that the Czechs have as much right to speak in the name of Slovaks as for instance French have to speak in the name of the USA. nation. I being a refugee from Slovakia, declare herewith that I am against the idea of the Committee for Free Czechoslovakia, I am for the reestablishment of the Slovak Republic, the only formation which guarantees the Slovaks the right to be masters of their own fate. Furthermore, I declare that the whole Slovakian population is longing to live in a State of their own. I declare myself to be a supporter of close cooperation of all nations of Central Europe, which, according to my idea must be the most important pillar of a Europe.

How I got to East Prussia

(Continued from Page 6)

the violation of their women, and even of little children, a tale of woe and misery.

In the parts of East Prussia occupied by the Russians, there are feverish preparations for war on foot. The greater part of the native population has been deported to Siberia. Policing is most severe. No one can go from one place to another without a special permit. The collective farms in the district round Königsberg, now called Kaliningrad, look like regular concentration camps.

Military structures are going up everywhere which the people are strictly prohibited from visiting. The old fortifications round Königsberg are now being reconstructed and extended.

In April 1948 the groups of our section went back to the Ukraine from East Prussia. The operations cost us lives and one of our groups was completely routed by the enemy. But we carried out our task.

E. P.

Mass Demonstrations of the A.B.N. in Europe and America

In the special number of our monthly we published an appeal from the Central Committee of the A.B.N. to representatives the nations subjugated by Russia living in exile to demonstrate their solidarity with the resolutions of the A.B.N. Conference in Edinburgh by holding mass meetings.

We have now received the first reports of such mass meetings in various countries of the world.

On June 18, a demonstration took place in Bradford, England which was attended by 400 Cossacks, Ukrainians and Byelorussian who live there. The meeting declared unanimously its solidarity with the A.B.N. Similar demonstrations took place in other places in Great Britain.

On June 18, there was an impressive demonstration in Alexander-Park, Toronto (Canada), attended by fifteen thousand Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian exiles. This demonstration was organized by the local branch of the Union of Ukrainian Youth (S.U.M.). After a church service, a procession filed through the streets of the town, headed by Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Canadian flags. The astonished Canadian spectators read messages in English on the streamers that were carried by the demonstrators:

"We do not want a Bolshevik peace! We want a Christian peace!"

"Think of the Ukraine Army of Insurgents!" and others.

The procession halted before the monument of the Unknown Soldier. Four speakers delivered speeches: the first was Swatoslaw Frolak, who spoke in the name of Ukrainians; he was followed by Dr. Kaschkelis (Lithuania), Akula (Byelorussian) Mr. Inys, the deputy mayor of the town.

The meeting was a powerful demonstration against the tyrannical rule of Russian Bolshevism.

Soon after some of the delegates of the Edinburgh Conference came to Western Germany, the West German Section of the A.B.N. began to organize a number of demonstrations. The first of these took place in Munich, in the Theatersaal of the Warner Barracks on July 17. The audience included Cossacks, Lithuanians, Latvians, Azerbaijanians, Kalmucks and Croatians. Although the hall could seat 600 people, it was filled to overflowing and many stood at the open doors. The first speaker was General Alabanda, who gave an enthusiastic report of the Edinburgh Conference in Croatian and German. The main speaker was Ing. Glaskow, who represented the Cossacks at the Conference. He spoke in Russian and his speech was frequently interrupted by wild applause.

"There will never be a free and independent Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia etc. if there is no free

The Chronicle

Ukraine, no free Cossackia, and there will never be a free Ukraine or a free Cossackia, if there is no free and independent Caucasia and Turkestan", the representative of the Cossack nation declared amid great applause.

After the appeal and the resolutions of the Edinburgh Conference were read, the Chairman, a Ukrainian, read out the draft of the resolution of the solidarity of the meeting with the motions passed at the A.B.N. Conference and put it to the vote. A forest of hands was raised — the resolution was passed unanimously.

Such demonstrations will often be held in many towns in Western Germany, Europe and America in the near future.

We recommend Western politicians who have been duped by false Russian propaganda to devote attention to such demonstrations. Perhaps they will then understand at long last that it is not small circles of "separatists", but broad masses of the people who demand independence for our states.

A Fresh Purge in the Baltic States

According to the Berlin edition of the "Neue Zeitung", the Soviets are conducting a thorough purge in the Baltic States. In particular, all "unreliable elements" are being removed from districts where bases are being constructed for projectile weapons. It is therefore a kind of measure of security, in the course of which many thousand natives of these states are being deported into the interior of Russia, mostly to Siberia. Many have succeeded in escaping to Sweden.

Death Penalty for Rumanian Peasants

According to a Reuter message from Bucharest two new decrees on the delivery of agricultural produce have been issued by the Communist government of Rumania. They prescribe the death penalty for "cases of sabotage" on the part of Rumanian peasants. Further penalties are: confiscation of entire farms without compensation, imprisonment. The amount of agricultural produce to be delivered is no longer reckoned in the new ordinances according to the harvest, but to the area cultivated, without reference to the actual crops produced. Peasants who do not submit exact figures for the area cultivated, or who are behind with their taxes, are accused of "economic crime". Delay in delivering produce is punished by an increase in the amount to be delivered.

Fate of the Catholic Church in Ukraine

Vatican circles report that, since the Bolshevik occupation of areas in Western Ukraine, 3600 priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been arrested, exiled to Siberia or sent to concentration camps. All West Ukrainian bishops were condemned to long imprisonment, church buildings were requisitioned, and partly handed over to the Russian church. The Catholic Church in the Ukraine, which had more than 5 million adherents, has thus been destroyed. A similar fate is in store for the Catholic Church in the satellite states.

Mass Deportations from Ukraine

According to a plan which has been worked out by the Politbureau in Moscow, a considerable part of the population of Western Ukraine is to be deported to Siberia and Central Asia. They are to be replaced by Russians from the upper reaches of the Volga and peasants from Mongolian areas. The more prosperous peasants from Carpathian Ukraine, from the districts round Lemberg, Kowel and Brest-Litowsk are to be deported first. The first transport, consisting of 1200 peasants and their families left Rowno some time ago. By the end of July, about 100,000 Ukrainians are to be deported in this way. According to the Bolshevik broadcasting station in Kiev, these removals are "voluntary" and consist of peasants who are joining new collective farms "voluntarily".

It was also announced in connection with this action that more than 150,000 persons were removed from Western Ukraine, also in the main, prosperous peasants. It is worth noting that these are the districts where various groups of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army have been operating in recent years.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK NEWS-LETTER

Extra Edition

English Edition

July 1950

The A.B.N. Convention in Edinburgh

To all Nations of the World, who are still free

An Appeal from the Convention of the Delegates of Resistance Movements — Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) held in Edinburgh on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of June 1950, convoked under the auspices of the Scottish League for European Freedom.

We of the A.B.N. who are fighting against Bolshevist tyranny, the most dreadful tyranny the world has seen, want the nations of the world who are still free to realize that there is something greater on earth than peace and prosperity, namely Divine Justice and Freedom.

The Duty of A.B.N.

We of the A.B.N. wish the world to realize that it is the duty of every free people to fight for its freedom and that of the whole world which will either be free in its entirety or fall as a whole under the yoke of the powers of evil, under the leadership of insatiable bolshevist Russia.

We of the A.B.N. want the world to realize that no single nation can remain neutral, to country avoid taking part in this struggle for the freedom of the individual and of tradition.

We of the A.B.N. appeal to the nations of the world who are still free to join us in or battle against the Kremlin and its agents, from within destroying its moral power, its faith in itself and its spirit of resistance.

Our Cause is Yours

Remember that our cause, for which we are fighting to-day, will be yours to-morrow, for which you will have to fight whether you want to or not.

Remember that the fight into which Moscow has drawn the whole world is not only a fight for this or that economic or political system, but a life-and-

death struggle between Divine Truth and the kingdom of Satan.

Remember that Communists and totalitarians of all kinds are leading us into chaos, slavery and ruin.

Remember that by being neutral, or even merely on the defensive, you are inevitably pronouncing your own death sentence as free nations.

We urge that Crusaders in every country should fight against Godless communism. That communist agents and spreading of communist doctrines should be outlawed.

It should be realized that diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and her satellites are morally degrading for the Western world.

A Warning

We warn you that masked communists are disintegrating your public life and preparing your country as booty for the foreign invader. In opposing their dangerous and nefarious work you are not only protecting yourself — you are helping us, as we are helping you. Remember that we are fighting for a common Cause.

The Conditions of Security

Remember that you will never be safe from the ever-threatening nightmare of destruction

until the oppressed peoples in the tremendous Russian Imperium are once

(Continued on Page 2)



Presidency of the Convention in Edinburgh

(Photo Hannan)

Greeting of Insurgent Armies and Liberating Organizations

The Convention of the Scottish League for European Freedom and Representatives of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations send greetings to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc in the native countries, to the Insurgent Armies and detachments and to all Underground Organisations of the nations enslaved by Bolshevism: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, White Ruthenia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Czechia, Esthonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Northern Caucasia, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Slo-

venia, Turkestan and to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its great Commander-in-Chief General Taras Chuprynka, as well as to all the nations fighting against Bolshevism behind the Iron Curtain, wishing them endurance and every success as the vanguard of the universal anti-bolshevik struggle: for God and Fatherland, for the freedom of nations and individuals, for the freedom and salvation of the world.

The Convention hopes that all sound anti-Bolshevik powers of the West will favour the fight of the Underground.

Greeting from the Earl of Mansfield

The following greetings were sent by the President of Scottish League for European Freedom

This Congress, to whose delegates I send the most hearty greetings, is of supreme importance.

All racial, national, cultural, religious and personal animosities must be laid aside, until the Soviet monster is finally destroyed, that threatens the freedom of all mankind. The Resistance and Partisan Movements in all oppressed countries including Russia herself, must be given all

possible control, established and developed between them and their compatriots who have the good fortune to be outside the Iron Curtain.

Already there are signs that all is not well with the Soviet system in its very heart, and this Congress can, and will, do much to bring about the eventual overthrow of the cruellest tyranny the world has ever known.

Earl of Mansfield.

Gratitude of A.B.N. to the Scottish League

We — representatives of the Organisations of resistance of the nations enslaved by Bolshevism, united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, wish to express our sincere gratitude to the Scottish League for European Freedom, and in the first place to its Chairman, Mr. John F. Stewart, as well as to all its members with a deep appreciation of all their great efforts to make this Convention possible and successful.

The Scottish League for European Freedom and particularly its Chairman, Mr. J. F. Stewart, will symbolise to the movements of resistance, a freedom-loving Christian Europe which will never submit itself to tyranny, and we sincerely hope that our underground struggle will find support from all healthy European Powers.

The name of Mr. John F. Stewart, a great friend of the Liberation movements, who understands their ideas better than anyone else, will be greatly appreciated among the fighters for freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is hoping that the appeal from the City of Edinburgh to the still free World for new champions against the powers of darkness will not remain without response.

To all Nations of the World...

(Continued from Page 1)

more free, living within their ethnic frontiers,

until this imperium of crude force, founded on the blood and sweat and the death of many millions and whose underlying principle is genocide, is broken up into independent national states.

Our aim — freedom for nations and individuals!

Our way — fight without compromise!

Our motto — join forces in a common Cause! Help us and we shall help you!

Freedom-loving nations and people of all the world unite in the fight against Bolshevism for the freedom of nations and individuals.

God and Fatherland! is our cry.

The Martyrs and Heroes of the Oppressed Nations killed in the Struggle against the Bolsheviks

Azerbaidzhan: Khan Knoy, Abbas Sahhat, Huseyn Cavid, Bahrambek, Ahund, Madatbek;

Bulgaria: Prince Regent Kyrill, Nikola Pettkoff;

Esthonia: President Paats, Bishop Kuk;

Cossackia: Victor Sewskyj, General Nazarow;

Croatia: Archbishop Stepinac, Dr. Mile Budak;

Georgia: Kote Abchasi, Archbishop Ambrosius;

Hungary: Prince Primate Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty;

Idel-Ural: Sultan Galiew, Babitsch, Galimjan Ibrahimow;

Latvia: President Ulmanis;

Lithuania: Bishop Matulionis, President Stulginskis;

Serbia: General Drazha Michajlowich, Bishop Varnava;

Slovakia: President Dr. Joseph Tiso, Dr. W. Tuka, A. Salat M. P.;

Turkestan: Abdulla Pitrat, Ubaidulla Hodja, Mufti Minauer Kari, Behbudi, Tscholpan;

White Ruthenia: Professor Ihnatowski, Bishop Melchisedek;

Ukraine: President Simon Petljura, Metropolitan Wasyl Lypkiwskyj and Joseph Slipyj, Col. E. Konovaletz, Gen. J. Hrycay, C. in C. of UPA;

Northern Caucasia: Sultan General Klyn Girey, Iman Nazhmudin Hoco, Iman Ali Chadshi, Sherip.

And all Martyrs and Heroes of Albania, Armenia, Rumania, Czechia, Poland, Slovenia and all the other nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

Communiqué

from the Press Bureau of the A.B.N. (Section West) and the
A.B.N. Convention in Edinburgh

I. On June 12, 13 and 14, 1950 a congress of representatives of Resistance Movements among nations belonging to the A.B.N. took place in Edinburgh (Great Britain), under the auspices of the Scottish League for European Freedom, the object being to inform public opinion in Britain on the aims and methods pursued by the people enslaved by Bolshevism in their fight for freedom and at the same time to set their conditions for a lasting peace before the Western World.

The congress was attended by 35 official representatives of Resistance Movements of the following 17 peoples: *Latvians, Lithuanians, White Ruthenians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, Georgians, Aserbaidshani, Turkestanis* and people of *Idel-Ural*; in addition, 15 official representatives, members of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. came to Edinburgh from other countries.

The A.B.N. Great Britain was represented by a full delegation and there was one representative from the organization in the British Zone of Germany.

Numerous members of the Scottish League for European Freedom and other important British guests were present at all the proceedings. There was also a representative of the government of Brazil.

II. On June 12, a press conference was organized by the Scottish League for European Freedom, attended by representatives of the following papers and press agencies: Associated Press, Reuter, Press Association, The Scotsman, Daily Express, Daily Mail, News Chronicle, Evening News, Evening Dispatch, Glasgow Rangers, Daily Record, Near and Far East News Agency, press correspondents of the national press in exile of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

Program

III. On June 12 at 7 p. m., Mr. J. F. Stewart, chairman of the council of the Scottish League for European Freedom opened the conference and read a message of welcome from the Earl of Mansfield, the president of the League. In his address, Mr. Stewart stressed the importance of the conference and mentioned the part played by resistance movements among the subjugated nations in defence of the free world against Bolshevik tyranny.

All the delegates to the conference stood in silence for two minutes in remembrance of all who have fallen in the fight for freedom.

The following speeches were given:

"The Position of the Front of Liberation of the A.B.N. and the World-wide Fight against Bolshevism", by Jaroslav Stetko,

formerly Prime Minister of the Ukraine and president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.;

"The Economic Resources of the Peoples Subjugated by Bolshevism", by Alfred Berzins, formerly a Minister in Latvia and president of the A.B.N.-Nations Council and by Prince Veli Kajum Chan, his deputy in office, and president of the Turkestan National United Committee;

"War against Bolshevism and the Military Importance of the Subjugated Nations", by General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, president of the Hungarian Anti-Bolshevist Liberation Movement and president of the Military Commission of the A.B.N. and by Staff Captain W. Nanuashwilli, president of the Georgian Union in Great Britain.

On June 13, representatives of the various nations gave the following speeches:

"The Fight of the Cossacks against Bolshevism", by Hetman J. Bilyj and W. Glaschow, president of the executive of the Cossack National Committee (Werchownyj Krug);

"The Basis of, and the Power behind the Resistance Movement in Bulgaria's Fight for Freedom", by Stefan Sawoff — one of the leaders of the Bulgarian National Front;

"Lithuania's Fight against Soviet Russia" by S. Poviliavicius on behalf of the Lithuanian Underground Movement;

"Georgia's Fight for Freedom against Soviet Russia" by M. von Alschibaja, member of the Georgian National Committee;

"Aserbaidshan's Fight for Freedom" by a members of the Committee for Liberation;

"The Serbian People's Fight against Communist Tyranny" by Col. Z. Bogdanowitch, an office-bearer in the Serbian Movement of Liberation;

"Croatia's Fight against Communism" by General Hinko Alabanda, an officer-bearer in the Croatian Movement of Liberation;

"Hungary's Fight for Freedom and Christianity" by Dr. Ludwik de Liptaj, formerly Minister in Hungary, member of the Hungarian Anti-Bolshevist Liberation Movement;

"Idel-Ural's Fight for Independence" by Garip Sultan, president of the New Union for the Liberation of Idel-Ural and its Independence;

"The Fight of North Caucasia against Soviet Russia", by A. Bagadur, president of the North Caucasian National Committee;

"White Ruthenia's Fight for an Independent State", by S. Stankewitsch, president of the White Ruthenian Centre (BNZ);

"The Fight of the Slovakian People against the Tyranny of Bolshevism", by I. Bozovsky, deputy-president of the Slovakian Committee of Liberation;

"Turkestan's Fight against Bolshevism", by W. Rachman, member of the Turkestan United Committee;

"Latvia's Fight of Liberation against Bolshevik Russia", by E. Betmanis, on behalf of the Latvian National Committee;

"Ukraine's role and contribution in the common struggle of A.B.N. for world peace and freedom", by Z. Pelenskyj, office-bearer in the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHWR);

"Rumania under Bolshevism", by General Ion George, on behalf of the Rumanian National Committee.

IV. After Mr. J. F. Stewart, chairman of the Council of the Scottish League had read the resolutions of the Congress which were received with applause, the League and the Congress of the A.B.N. sent greetings to the insurgent armies, underground movements and to all nations fighting against Bolshevism. The Congress of the A.B.N. expressed its thanks to the Scottish League and, to Mr. J. F. Stewart in particular for all the trouble taken to organize the meeting.

Up to June 14, the Congress had received 235 messages of greeting from political and cultural organizations, youth movements and others and from prominent politicians in different countries.

The audience during the Congress numbered about 400.

V. After the end of the Congress on June 14, there was an international concert when a programme was given by British, Latvian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Croatian professional and amateur musicians.

The Congress, which was open to the public, has attained its object.

Edinburgh June 15, 1950.

Press Bureau of the A.B.N.
(West Section)

Express your solidarity

The Central Committee of A.B.N. calls the political emigrations of exiles from the countries invaded by the Bolsheviks to organize mass meetings in solidarity with the Resolutions of the A.B.N.-Convention in Edinburgh. The resolutions accepted by meetings are to be sent to the ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Western Powers, to the Scottish League for European Freedom and to the Press.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)
June, 1950

The Positions of the Anti-Bolshevik Front of Nations and the Fight of the World Against Bolshevism

By Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of A.B.N.

(Extract from speech)

... The well-known Russian philosopher Nicolay Berdiayev characterises Bolshevism as follows "Bolshevism is the third form of Russian imperialism of the Russian 'Great Reich'. Bolshevism is a purely Russian phenomenon. Whoever wants to get into the depths of it, must uncover national roots of Bolshevism and explain its genesis on the basis of Russian history".

Communism an Instrument of Oppression

Whenever a particular purpose demands, Bolshevism is ready to stand equally for panslavism and for stalinist orthodoxy, for Islam and for the "liberation" of the so-called colonial peoples etc. And finally for the so-called liberation of the working people of the whole world with only one aim: to subject the globe to the power of Moscow. Communism is only an instrument for pressing misled sections of the Western world into its service.

... In comparison with the position in the U.S.S.R. the life of all workers, as well as all social conditions are incomparably more favourable in the West; yet Communism is able to continue its campaign of unrest and destruction. And this is not all done as a result of money spent by the Kremlin. Indeed, the main responsibility must be attributed to the collapse of a section of the public of the West, to the absence of great ideas which alone provide a meaning for life.

Titoism and Resistance Movements

... Titoism, a variation of Bolshevism, is wrongly regarded in the West as antagonistic to Bolshevism and consequently supported, while underground movements are regarded as not worthy of support, although Bolsheviks have not succeeded in quelling them five years after the cessation of the war, which in itself is Stalin's greatest defeat.

The Best Weapon against Bolshevism

The world will be saved not by the atom bomb, which is or may be also in Russian possession, but by a new faith, a renaissance of religion and the national idea as well as the solution of vital problems in the spirit of national solidarity and social harmony and justice. The attack of materialism can be stopped only by counter-attack, by religious, national and social idealism. Only nations who are inspired by great ideas can conquer Bolshevism.

... Ours is not the time for tactical considerations. We are in the midst of conflict between ideas and creeds, a conflict that causes the fight behind the Iron Curtain

to continue uninterrupted. Millions of men are falling for the sake of a higher meaning of life.

The Enemy Camp

... The Communist camp aims at spreading hegemony over slaves, with no regard for the rights of the individual, the nation or religion. That is the camp of barbarism and slavery. The other camp opposes Bolshevism without compromise, not only by deeds, but also ideas behind history, which stand for man as the image of God, and the freedom of man and its limitation, social justice, excluding the exploitation of man not only by his fellowman, but also by the state.

Dismemberment of U.S.S.R. Essential

... The U.S.S.R. cannot be conquered by a similar, even if superior, form of a universal super-state, but only by an idea diametrically opposed to it, namely the division of the U.S.S.R. into national states in accordance with their sociological development, thus parcelling the world out and giving every nation its independence; only thus can the unity of the equal and the free be assured, with harmony and mutual help among the nations of the world.

... The oppressed nations repudiate every form of the Russian prison of nations, whether totalitarian, "democratic", republican or monarchist, and therefore every form of federalism in the East of Europe and in Asia, because this idea always conceals aggressive motives on the part of its representatives. Such an uncompromising attitude strengthens the anti-bolshevik front, because it inspires it with something that is more just. Nor can it be repudiated by the Russian people, if they are not aggressors, but only by their imperialist section. For there is no power in the world with the moral right to keep nations from fulfilling their longing for freedom.

... Russian pseudo-democrats weaken the anti-bolshevik front, because by protecting the dungeon of nations, they lead the West astray and prevent it from pursuing a logical straight policy of destruction of the prison of nations. And without this destruction there will be no victory over Bolshevism. Bolshevism, not without help from the West, re-erected the dungeon of nations of the Czars, after national revolutions had pulled it down. Now pseudo-democrats are once more asking for the help of the West to save this prison of nations after Bolshevism has been destroyed. Should they succeed thanks to the help of the West, they would hand over the government to

some other tyrant, just as Kerensky, the pseudo-democrat handed it over to despots in 1917. For as Witte, a Russian minister, declared, the Russian Empire can only be maintained by despotism. Whoever is in favour of an indivisible Russia, no matter what its colour, is preparing the way for new tyrants. To put an end to tyranny over nations, once for all, the prison of nations must be destroyed.

Destructive Role of Russia

It is well known that Russia, in the 800 years of her existence, has conducted many wars of aggression for the subjugation of the world — and Russia has not changed, whether under the Czars or Bolshevism. In the course of her conquests, she never discovered new countries, never raised the culture and civilization of the nations she conquered; she always conquered older nations on a higher standard of culture than her own, sucked their lifeblood, profited from their cultural and economic achievements, and degraded their spirit. The economy of the oppressed nations was not supplemented by that of Moscow for the good of all; it was always exploited for armaments so as to subjugate the whole world.

So it always has been. Moscow as a conqueror has never helped the oppressed, but only exploited them. The oppressed nations do not live at Russia's expense, but Russia at theirs. There is therefore no justification for saying that national states, established on the ruins of the prison of nations would not be economically able to exist.

Conditions of World Peace

Lasting world peace will only be established when a state exists among nations in which the independence, the sovereignty, the dignity, the natural rights and needs of every nation are respected. There is no doubt that artificial structures will be always a danger to the world, as they make the collection of immense economic and human reserves possible and thus pave the way for more and more weapons of destruction. The Soviet Union with its Fifth Columnists is spreading chaos throughout the world to-day. Any small conflicts that may arise between nations cannot be regarded as a serious danger to the world's peace.

Independent States

The following states will be established on the ruins of the U.S.S.R.: Estonia, Latvia, Karelia will be returned to Finland,

Belorussia, Ukraine, North Caucasia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural (between the Volga and the Ural) and the Russian state within its ethnic frontiers. States in the west and the far east of Siberia, which have developed in the history of that country, in accordance with the national and political character of its inhabitants and in consequence of its position, also wait for a solution of their problems. (Siberia declared its independence after the collapse of the Czarist regime.)

Sovereignty will be restored to the satellite states which will have to be reconstructed according to national and ethnic principles. Russia is not a homogeneous formation; nor would her division mean splitting up into atoms and chaos, but a reconstruction of the natural and organic order of things.

...The nations organized in the A.B.N. will resettle international disputes on the basis of ethnography, and will also repair wrongs done, by Bolshevism in particular (the return of deported populations etc.)

...We can get a true picture of the whole situation only if we see a number of independent nations instead of the despotic great power of Russia today, nations which can form free connections in economics and culture with independent states throughout the world.

...The connections between all these reconstructed sovereign states will be regulated in accordance with connections between all the nations of the world within world institutions, which will have to be built on the basis of equal rights of all nations; but it is impractical and impossible to fit A.B.N. nations into uniform regional structures, stretching from Tirana to Port Arthur. The nations enslaved by Moscow have gone through hell together and they have learned to respect each other's rights; they will strengthen the moral principles of international alliances.

Security against Aggression

...It would certainly be criminal to lull the Western world into a feeling of security by maintaining that it will be possible to avoid war with Russia thanks to the resistance of the enslaved peoples. The problem confronting us is how to win victory, in order to save our culture and the world from slavery. Bolshevism is advancing aggressively. In the oppressed countries there is an unceasing fight against its efforts to extirpate national life. In the world that is still free, Bolshevism is using its own method: it is fanning the flames of civil war and disturbing peace in every country. A decisive fight is necessary to put an end to this, to put out the flames lit by Bolshevik firebrands in all the countries of the world. The enslaved nations, isolated as they are from the West, rely on their own strength which they are organizing in order to pass from defence to offence when the suitable moment arises, whether it will come from within or outside and bring the complete destruction of Russia and its

partition into independent states, thus creating lasting peace and justice within every nation.

Political emigrants, as representatives of their countries take up their positions in the front ranks of the anti-communist army of defence throughout the world. Victory over Bolshevism, if it is to take place at all, must be universal.

Cooperation on Both Sides of the Iron Curtain

...The enslaved nations, have long experienced the gehenna of Communism in practice, and their own life continues in resistance movements and underground Churches. The Allies found themselves unable to reap the fruits of victory after the Second World War because they underestimated and ignored the experiences of the enslaved nations as well as their desire for independence. Instead of helping these peoples to liberty, the Allies gave them over to Russia, and as the result of this, Moscow to-day occupies the centre of Europe. With an analogical attitude on the part of the West, the Third World War, if even it was won from the military aspect, would mean political defeat, as hidden pro-Russians elements among leading circles would eventually bring about the status quo.

It is very difficult, indeed, to understand why the West seals itself hermetically from the fight for liberation conducted by our underground movements, at the time when the agents of the Cominform, directed and supported by Kremlin are vigorously active particularly in Western countries. There is tragic irony in the fact that the West should regard the representatives of the nations fighting behind the Iron Curtain who are now raising the alarm, as disturbers of peace and international understanding, disturbers of the Soviet Union, while the same Union prepares destruction also for the West. The West has drawn no practical conclusions from our resistance against Germany and our present underground movements against Bolshevism, while the U.S.S.R. with its airborne troops and its Fifth Columns are synchronising international and civil wars and co-ordinating them. The progress of military technique is making great strides, which may help mass risings. The Second World War proved that such risings are not to be liquidated by a few bombs, as Hitler once boasted. The best example is the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which is still fighting unconquered.

A Second Front Already in Existence

...There is no doubt that the Soviet Union will attack the free world. A counter-attack will be successful only if launched on the Soviet Union from all sides, not as an escapade in the manner of Napoleon or Hitler; the better example is the Crimean War of 1854/55 or the war with Japan in 1905, when the ethnographic territory of Russia was attacked as the main objective, and it would also be essential to cooperate such action with the national front of

liberation, i. e. to open a second front in all the areas of the Soviet Union. This national liberating front will set up national armies of its own in the place of the Soviet Army, and will extend even to Siberia, where armies of oppressed peoples will be also organized to liquidate the Bolshevik regime on the spot, and to push Russian armies back to their ethnic territory and march back victoriously into their own countries. So the Soviet Union in consequence of its own contradictions contained in its policy of dispersion and deportations, will fall apart and perhaps even Siberia's cursed land will become the blessed scene of the last blow dealt to the fortress of the Bolsheviks industry by the armies of deportees, the best fighters. The aims set up by the A.B.N. include the possibility of fighting for independence, not only in the native country of the state concerned, as these aims hold for all nations oppressed by Moscow. If war breaks out between the Soviet Union and the West, and if the latter is wise in its treatment of the enslaved nations, the oldest of these are in a position to set up an army of more than 10 million soldiers.

...Russia, which was victorious in 1917 as a member of the Entente, could not stand up against the second front and collapsed under the blows of the national wars of liberation. It was only possible to re-erect the prison of nations because white Russian Generals, the champions of Russian unity, were supported by the Entente, and the Bolsheviks themselves helped, and because the ideal of liberty for oppressed nations was ignored. If such a second front is to be strong again, the West must gain the confidence of these oppressed nations who suffer from its policy and are therefore distrustful of the West.

Call for Maximum Effort

...Bolshevism and Russia can be conquered only by the maximum united efforts of the entire healthy world. There must be no more attempts to find compromises with Bolshevism; there is no such thing as an understanding between a real democracy and totalitarian ideals, between the world of human liberty and slavery.

There can be no ultimate victory over the Bolshevik aggressors of Moscow, unless it is ruthlessly combated in every country, in the name of justice, unless the struggles for national liberty behind the Iron Curtain are supported and unless aims and efforts are actively coordinated.

It is high time, but not too late.

Let us remember the motto: "Volentem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt."

Our call to all the freedom-loving nations of the world is to unite in the fight against Bolshevism for the freedom of nations and individuals.

The War Against Bolshevism and the Military Factors Represented by the Subjugated Nations

By Francis Farkas de Kisbarnak, Col.-General

(Extract from speech)

...It is true, they dispose of no ultra-modern arms and atomic bombs, but when they feel and know that the time of their liberation and independence is coming, they will balance the lack of arms and the achievements of modern technics with their high spirit, fearless bravery and their mental power hardened in the struggles of the last decades. —

This is the most important psychological quality to serve as a basis for being considered as a political and military factor.

It is worth while entertaining the idea of counting with the subjugated nations.

...The military political factor is not only the number of the subjugated nationalities in the Red Army, but also the strength of the forces which the nations ready to co-operate with the West are expected to place at the disposal of the future common actions.

In times of war it is a general rule to calculate with 10% of the whole population. Considering the fact that Soviet-Russia exploits rather a high % of her population, the right number may be 10%. Calculating that the population of the Soviet Union amounts to 120 millions, we find that the Red army may have at last 10 millions of soldiers belonging to the alien nationalities aforesaid.

Furthermore it is very probable that Russia is going to claim the men of her "Allies" so that the territories of Poland and the Danubian states will increase the strength of the Red Army by 10—12 millions whereby the number of the alien elements will amount to 20—22 millions.

Of course, it is quite possible that these forces will be distributed before being employed in serious actions. The Russians will utilize them on the remotest theaters of operations in order to prevent the enemy from approaching them. Although distributed or scattered, these nationalities will remain alien elements in the body of the Red Army and the more you are able to keep awake their consciousness of belonging somewhere else and their feeling that they are not alone and abandoned, the more they will be inclined to do their patriotic duties.

The consciousness of being supported by someone is a mighty moral factor able to overcome any counter-action.

In England's remote history we find plenty of brilliant examples for multiplying her own strength, which is limited by slackening the forces of the enemy. To give you one example I only mention that of Sebastopol during the Crimean war.

Having won the sympathy of the nations opposing Bolshevism one can expect that their co-operation might reveal itself by

sabotage actions. It would be rather difficult to value the effectiveness and possibility of such actions, but according to experiences made in the past they may achieve very good fruits of great significance. . . .

... In our opinion it is impossible to settle without another war all those differences that have subverted the whole system of the world.

The next war will be carried on with all the forces available until the total annihilation of one of the adversaries.

All the world has learned already that the settling of accounts with the Soviet Union is unavoidable. The great speeds reached by modern means of communication have convinced us that there are no distances which aeroplanes of modern type could not fly over within the shortest time. — Seas and continents do not divide any more, the globe has become extremely small, it has no spots which we could not reach.

On this globe which has grown so small there are two groups of countries belonging to two Great Powers: the Soviet-Bloc and the States belonging to the Atlantic Pact.

To give you short information about their general situation I shall limit myself to the most important points of view concerning power, space and time.

The power of the Soviet Union has grown monstrously great after the victorious conquest of China which increased Moscow's war potential by 400 millions of souls. At present Soviet-Russia rules over more than a quarter of the world having 800 millions of inhabitants. Nearly 200 different tribes are trampled down and kept together by terror and relentless oppression. The Soviet Bloc disposes of the largest army always ready for action, its industrial establishments have been working at full speed since the war was over.

The satellites of the Soviet Union form a wide foreground offering a special military security. The network of roads and the good railway system allow armies to march up very quickly, especially against Eastern Europe. An other important factor of security is that the Soviet Union can dispose of the satellite armies as well.

On the other side, the population of the states belonging to the Atlantic Pact, though their extension is twice as vast as that of the adversaries, does not amount to more than 300 millions, moreover they are not adjacent but scattered and far from each other. Their main power and arsenal is the United States of America. This mighty country and Canada form the nucleus and the centre while Western Europe, Western Asia, India and the countries situated in South-East Asia can

only be considered as their large continental bridge-heads. — The Oceans and Africa serve as ways of communication for reserves and supplies. — To the most important industrial centres and establishments of the Soviet Union one can get via the North Pole and the Arctic Ocean.

The factor "TIME" seems to be negligible for the Soviet Union; it can materialise its many-year plans without being disturbed by anyone and make up for the advantages which American scientific and military researches have obtained. — The Soviet Union can accordingly modify military technics, tactics and the way of fighting of the Red Army; it has time enough to reform military training not only of the standing Army, but also of the enormous reserves available. Communist emissaries and spies of all sorts have plenty of time to accomplish their tasks, both secret partisans and fellow travellers recognised as such can organize their actions and provide their men with arms.

Fifth Columns and legions of partisans are working already within the countries of the Atlantic Pact which have no experiences about the methods of Soviet-Russian warfare. — Judging from her preparations Russia intends to conquer Europe with a "Blitzkrieg" unexpectedly. The second case that the Russians after the outbreak of the war, would withdraw into the Russian lowland is hardly believable.

When stating this I must point out that it is always the man fighting for an idea who decides the issue of a war.

Everywhere, behind all the wonderful technical inventions, behind all the machines and arms there stands the man to handle them. There is no overcoming him if he has the firm resolution to fight for his conviction.

Thousands of such men may influence military operations decisively, provided that they are not compelled to become martyrs of their own convictions. — And now it is the right moment to offer the Powers of the Atlantic Pact what they are wanting.

We have plenty experiences about the methods of Soviet-Russian warfare; we have our underground movements working within the Soviet-Bloc.

It is the unbearable Bolshevik rule that offers the Western countries the power to triumph over their enemies. — This guiding star is: the IDEA inspiring the war. — This IDEA CONSISTS IN PROMOTING the liberation of mankind, securing human rights and dignity.

This would be the best way to multiply their fortitude, their spirit of resistance, to display all their strength necessary to become a first-rate military factor.

Resolutions of the A.B.N. Convention

1. The present world crisis is a consequence of Russian imperialism. Disguised by slogans of proletarian revolution it is striving to-day for world hegemony in form of Bolshevism which is hostile to all culture. It is therefore an acute danger to the whole world.
2. The spread of the U.S.S.R. over the greater part of two continents is merely the logical continuation of the old Russian desire for expansion to which a number of small and large nations in Eastern Europe and Asia had already been sacrificed.
3. This new and dangerous expansion of the U.S.S.R. was only possible because the world had put up with the idea that the old, despotic Russian Empire was the dungeon of many nations and because Moscow had been permitted for decades and centuries to exploit and abuse the natural resources of enslaved countries and nations in the service of Russian imperialism.
4. The defeat of these independent national states which had won their freedom in battle in 1917/18 was a preparatory step to later Soviet aggression for which the West was partly responsible.
5. The direct aims of the imperialism of Moscow to-day — and it has not altered a whit — is to destroy the national substance of the oppressed nations and to undermine the rest of the world.
6. A terrorist regime which will be recorded by history as the darkest barbarism draws mercilessly on these powers and means an effective instrument for subjecting the world by force to the law of the Kremlin.
7. At the same time Moscow's Fifth Columns, recruited from the ranks of duped or bribed adherents, are working in all the countries of the world to make them ripe for conquest and to force the majority of people under the yoke of a Moscow dominated minority.
8. The U.S.S.R. is counting for the realization of its plans on the lack of unity, but above all on the tolerance of the Western World which has made it possible for Russia to develop into a colossus that threatens the world.
9. Bolshevism attacks not only democratic liberties, but aims above all at destroying national life in the religious, intellectual and cultural domains.
10. Bolshevik world aggression therefore cannot be met by democratic slogans alone, but, above all, by the eternal inspiration of religion, the national idea, social justice, and by repudiating all chauvinism, racialism and imperialism.
11. The champions in the struggle against Bolshevism, furthermore, cannot be men who are ready to compromise and adapt themselves, and who have at some time furthered Communism but only genuine and convinced enemies of Bolshevism who are fervent adherents of the national idea and who fought and are fighting for it.
12. So-called national communism (after Tito's model) is no guarantee against the danger of Bolshevism for the world, as it is opposed to the ideal of freedom, adheres to the principles of marxian materialism, while its totalitarian regime is just as imperialistic as that of Bolshevism.
13. The crisis in world politics cannot be solved either by the erection merely of barriers against Soviet aggression or by the policy of the so-called balance of power between East and West. The postponing of a radical solution means a loss of time that will have to be cruelly paid for.
14. Understanding and co-operation with U.S.S.R. are a mere illusion and no peace with Moscow can be lasting, even if the Western World were prepared to purchase such a peace at the price of the life, freedom and culture of the oppressed nations.
15. The nations enslaved and oppressed by U.S.S.R. are firmly determined to continue their desperate fight for liberty against the tyranny of Bolshevism no matter what sacrifices they must bear or what attitude the Western World will take towards the Soviet Union.
16. United by a common fate as members of A.B.N. in their resistance and their fight for freedom against Bolshevism, the nations present to-day tremendous disruptive potentialities and as a Third Power will be decisive in the fight now maturing between West and East.
17. The driving power behind these nations' fight is not only their resistance to the Bolshevik regime as a system of government, but above all their repudiation of an alien Moscow supremacy as well as their ideals of national freedom and state independence.
18. The political, economic and military resources of the nations oppressed by the U.S.S.R. can only be fully developed when once their demands for the re-establishment of national sovereignty have been recognized.
19. The proclamation of programmes which are antagonistic to these aims as for instance, the re-establishment, on so-called "democratic" principles of the Russian imperium or the formation of federations as a cloak for the despotic claims of certain allegedly "superior" nations to rule over others, will paralyse the struggle for freedom and weaken the anti-Bolshevik front decisively.
20. An international world order can only be built on the principle of complete equality of free and independent nations and on a foundation of mutual respect and recognition of their innate rights.
The present struggle for freedom in which all nations oppressed by the U.S.S.R. are engaged, has created between them a bond of brotherhood. This bond will constitute a solid foundation for their friendly and harmonious co-operation also after they have attained their freedom.
On the basis of the above facts and in the name of Resistance Movements within the oppressed countries represented in the A.B.N. i. e. Albania, Armenia, Azerbaidshian, White Ruthenia, Bulgaria, Esthonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Cossakia, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, North-Caucasia, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czechia, Turkestan, and Ukraine, the following requests are submitted to the public opinion of the free Western World:
 1. The formation of a common anti-Bolshevik front of all freedom-loving nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain for the defence of freedom, religion and culture against Bolshevik barbarism.
 2. Close co-operation of the Western World with movements of resistance among oppressed nations, and energetic support for their struggle for freedom, which alone guarantees complete victory over Moscow.
 3. The destruction of Russian imperialism and the guarantee of world peace by splitting the U.S.S.R. up and re-establishing on ethnic principles, the independent national states of all nations living under Bolshevik oppression bearing in mind among other things, that whole national groups have been forcibly deported and are awaiting the moment when they can return to their native land.
 4. The public repudiation of bolshevik tyranny and massacre of whole nations as a blot on the life of our century. An international tribunal for the trial of bolshevik despots for their beastly crimes against humanity.
 5. Breaking off of diplomatic relations between the democracies of the world and the criminal regime in Moscow as unworthy of contact with freedom loving civilized nations and peoples, and the expulsion of the U.S.S.R. and the governments of its satellites from the United Nations so that a world organization may be free to operate and fulfil its proper function.
 6. In order to stop their disruptive activities an outlawing in all countries of Fifth Columns, working under the guidance of Moscow.

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Echo of the A.B.N. Convention in the European Press

The A.B.N. Convention in Edinburgh awoke a wide and sympathetic echo in the press of Western Europe. The following are some of the papers that reported the meeting: "Scotsman" (June 13 and June 14, 1950), "Evening Dispatch" (June 12, 1950), "Scottish Daily Mail" (June 16, 1950), "Edinburgh Evening News" (of the same date) (Great Britain); "Süddeutsche Zeitung", "Neue Frankfurter Presse", "Wiesbadener Kurier" (of June 12, 1950) (Germany); "De Tijd" (June 12, 1950) (Holland).

All these papers bring informative and impartial material about the A.B.N., its aims and struggle and about its various leaders in articles, such as "Resistance to Soviet Rule-Millions ready to fight Bolshevism", "Call for Front against Russia in Defence of Freedom, Religion and Culture; Resistance Delegates" ("Scotsman"), "Mr. Stetzko is here to fight the Reds" ("Scottish Daily Mail"), "Resistance behind the Iron Curtain" ("Edinburgh Evening News") etc.

The Germans press, for instance the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" and the "Wiesbadener Kurier" goes further; in addition to information, these papers give short comments and speculations concerning the A.B.N., stating that this new factor should not be neglected by the leaders of world politics to-day; they also point out the lack of necessary support of this revolutionary organization on the part of the West.

"De Tijd", a daily paper, in an article entitled "A.B.N. meets in Edinburgh" compares the A.B.N. with other organizations such as the "Green International" etc., ex-

pressing a genuine sympathy for and a just evaluation of our revolutionary organization. It says that this is the only real political factor in the East nowadays and blames other private movements run by Nagy, Mikolajczyk and Co.

A Polish View

In the column "Points of View" in the "Scotsman" of June 14, 1950, an interesting letter from a Polish Press Agency in Great Britain appears, in which Mr. S. Polasky explains the attitude of Polish political circles there towards the Edinburgh Convention. Mr. Polasky gives the following reasons for the absence of Poland at that meeting "Today any active resistance against Russia would be lunacy: it would bring only bloody repressions, massacres and mass deportations, without the slightest hope of achieving the aim so much desired, i.e. liberation from Bolshevik tyranny. Today all these nations, living under the terror of the most most ruthless and efficient Communist tyranny, and occupied by or even incorporated into the Soviet Union are under no circumstances able to free themselves from within. They can be liberated only from outside and only as a result of a determined effort of the Western Powers. It is therefore the sacred duty of these

Powers, and at the same time it lies in their own interest, to bring that liberation as soon as possible, before it is too late, before all those nations are Communized and forced to fight with Russia against the West. Only when Russia has been forced to withdraw within her own vast boundaries, or when she has been defeated in a war, when the Kremlin tyranny has crumbled, will the time come for the enslaved nations to rise. When such time arrives, the Poles will not be last to rise and overthrow the hated Bolshevik yoke."

We agree with Mr. Polasky that it is "the sacred duty and that it lies in the interest of the Western Powers to bring that liberation as soon as possible", but, having an exact knowledge of Bolshevism and its methods of Sovietization, we do not believe that the way suggested by Mr. Polasky would be able to prevent the process of "bloody repressions, massacres and mass deportations" in which "All these nations will be Communized and forced to fight with Russia against the West".

We are of the opinion that the refined terrorism on which the rule of Russian imperialism is based, can be met only by a wisely organized resistance, because, as experience has shown, this is the only way to save and strengthen national substance. If anybody thinks he can do that by opportunism and defeatism, he is completely wrong and will fail, as many have done before.

Impressions of a Participant

(Extract from a letter, we have received from Holland)

"As an impartial participant in this Conference, I can only say, that from political point of view, it was a most important conference.

Public opinion in the West had the opportunity of getting acquainted with this new Third Power, which is growing more and more, and which seems to have risen in the estimation of those, who not only are determined to fight against the greatest barbarism nowadays, namely Russian Bolshevism, but who also will build a new and lasting Order in the world, based on the highest principles of humanity. Indeed, listening to the speeches of the single representatives, one was deeply impressed by this high idealism, which seems to be native to the spirit of these peoples penetrating all their deeds and words and by their strong belief in their righteous Cause on the one hand; on the other hand the sound and practical methods and ways they suggested for the solution of political problems in the East, were most striking.

One could also feel, that behind these representatives stand really the masses of their subjugated compatriots at home, and assuming that their ways will never change and that the tension of their struggle will never relax, I can only say: they will build a New Order in the East.

At the same time it was also a good opportunity to compare this young and sound organisation with others run by private un-

practical and often already bankrupt individuals, claiming to be the true "representatives" of the peoples enslaved by Soviet Union."

J. R. D.

Press Conference in London

The Press Bureau of the A.B.N. reports that one June 30, 1950, a press conference of the A.B.N. was held in London, attended by correspondents from the following papers:

Yorkshire Post, Glasgow Herald, Time and Tide, Daily Graphic, Sunday Times, D.P.A. and Press of the American Embassy.

The following spoke for the A.B.N.: the representative of White Ruthenia, the representative of Slovakia Ihor Bazovsky, deputy chairman of the Slovakian Liberation Movement (SOV), Chairman of the United Turkestan National Committee, Veli Kajum Chan and the president of the Central Committee of A.B.N. Jaroslav Stetzko. Representatives of Aserbaidzhan were also present.

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(Continued from Page 7)

7. The recognition of the spokesmen of the resistance movements among oppressed nations as the legitimate representatives of their countries and admission to the organization of United Nations.
8. The repudiation of former collaborators with communism as representatives of their nations, not only because by collaborating, they have already denied the fundamental idea of the struggle for freedom against Bolshevism, but because they are unreliable in the future also.
9. The recognition of Insurgent Armies and groups as regular fighting Forces in accordance with the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907.
10. The recognition of workmen who have emigrated from countries enslaved and oppressed by the Soviets as true representatives of the enslaved working-classes of their countries, and acceptance of their membership in the Anti-communist Union of free Trade-Unions.

Freedom for Nations —

Freedom for Individuals!

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The Problem of Manpower and Russian

By D. Donzow

No country can be of great importance without sufficient manpower. And so Britain must seek new ways to increase her industrial and war potential by bringing foreign labour into Britain and making use of colonial manpower in local defence forces etc.

Apart from America, I suggest that the growing disproportion of the population of the United Kingdom and that of USSR has political reasons which are more important than the respective reproduction rates of each country.

The growth of the population of Russia is due not so much to the natural increase of it as to the unnatural expansion of this country, to the annexation of new foreign lands and peoples. This is the reason why in 1801, England had just over 16.5 millions, England had just over 16.5 million and Russia 55 millions, whilst in 1890 the respective numbers were 38 (England), 38.5 (France) and 98 (Russia), and in 1939—48 (England), 40 (France) and 170 (Russia).

But in the Russian territory in the RSFSR there were only 109 millions of inhabitants, of whom only 88 millions are Russians (Statesman's Year Book, 1945). The majority of the total population of the USSR are non-Russians. The percentage of non-Russians in the whole Empire, according to the census of 1897, was 58 per cent., (74 millions non-Russians and 55 millions Russians).

The same facts though a little exaggerated on Russia's behalf, were given by Stalin in his book about national and colonial questions: among 140 millions of the population of the USSR in 1925, he counts 65 millions non-Russians.

If all non-Russians, in the first place more than 40 millions Ukrainians, together with all Russian satellites, were able to live their own independent life and were not compelled to support the cause of Moscow against the West, the strength of Russian people alone (almost 90 millions) would not play so great a role in world affairs, as they do now. And the proportion between the size of the population of Great Bri-

tain and that of Russia, would be reduced to the same proportion as in the year 1801 — one to two.

Many millions of non-Russians of the USSR and Satelites, work and could be compelled to fight for Muscovy. As long as this basic fact exists, the broken balance of man-power between the West and Russia cannot be restored. The West's problem of manpower can be resolved only together with the non-Russian peoples of USSR.

It is very strange fact that while Moscow regards Europe through a magnifying glass, perceiving even the small-

est differences between the races, religions and classes, the West on the contrary looks at all the space between Galicia and Corea, between Finland and Persia through reserved opera-glasses. So that all racial, cultural and political differences of the immense Empire, merge completely in one red as formerly in white-blue-red-Russian colour.

All European fears and disappointments regarding USSR are caused by looking through the wrong end of the opera glasses at the West's "great Eastern alley".

Acute Danger for the World

By Alfred Berziens, formerly Minister in Latvia

The world is confronted by a tragic alternative: it must either succumb to Moscow's tyranny or it must make a tremendous effort to destroy Bolshevik imperialism all over the globe. There is no third possibility. The only possible way to protect the world against oppression is more difficult than it was in 1939. The readiness of Western Democracies to make pacts with Russia conjures up visions of another Munich, especially as the Bolshevik imperialism of Moscow is much more dangerous for the world than was Hitler's Germany.

While national socialism appealed in the main to German national feeling, and, thanks to the racial theories of the superiority of the German nation, even scared other nations off, Moscow Bolshevism means danger for the world in a double sense: ideologically, because it appeals to the primitive instincts of the unenlightened masses of all nations and militarily, because the end of the Second World War brought it an enormous, economy and armaments that enable it to pursue its plan of world hegemony by force of arms.

Details of the present world situation are as follows: the Soviet Union extends

over the two largest continents—Europe and Asia — borders on America and is approaching Africa, a fourth continent. It would therefore be in a position to use modern weapons and attack any spot in an opponent's country, its own territory or from satellite countries, and thus secure the advantage of the aggressor. Another advantage of the Soviet Union is that it would be in a position to shift its most important industries in its enormous country and so, by taking adequate measures of organising food and supplies, be spared far more than, say, a densely populated country. And a blockade from the sea, which might cause Germany great difficulties, would have very little effect on the Soviet Union, because it has a sufficient supply of raw materials in its vast territories today.

Nor must it be forgotten that, when the first post-war Five Year Plan has been completed, Russia will have attained her maximum military development and be ready for a war of aggression. While increasing her military power, Russia is at the same time ruthlessly annihilating the national opposition of the oppressed peoples, which is extremely dangerous for Moscow, as it might

be fatally important in war-time. In their efforts to build up the strongest military power in the world, the leaders of the U.S.S.R. are at the same doing their best systematically and consistently to destroy the moral and economic resources of all non-communist countries, no matter whether they are friendly or not. Bolsheviks in Moscow employ for this purpose, first and foremost, communists, either avowed or disguised, who are under the thumb of Russia. The latter category are by far the more dangerous, as they can penetrate unnoticed into the most important state institutions and there carry on with their task of disintegration. This Fifth Column is mostly recruited from those discontented people who join it either for money or because of their criminal instincts and who are always to be found in every people for some reason or other. Such people would not be noticed in normal times, but in the crises of war, they come up to the

surface and as paid tools, supported from abroad, they can play a decisive part in destruction.

And this is the permanent aim of the tyrants in Moscow as regards the entire non-communist world. With the support of this Fifth Column and utilizing the freedom of democratic states, Moscow finds it easy to spread and maintain a far-flung organization of spies and saboteurs all over the world. These methods of infiltration and importing all manner of occasions for conflict and unrest conceal in themselves the danger of completely paralysing the state at any given moment and of making the country in question easy booty for the imperialism of Moscow.

The situation described above is unfortunately not a mere figment of the imagination, it is a most obvious reality which no one can afford to ignore namely, that Moscow's imperialism has advanced and is today on the threshold as a danger to the whole world.

The Crisis in World Politics and Its Demands

The "U.S. News and World Report", a leading Washington newspaper, recently threw a characteristic light on the situation of world politics:

"Less than five years have passed since the end of a war that was waged to save the world, and now this is what the world looks like: China which we saved from Japan, has now been swallowed by Russia; Japan, that was destroyed by us, is now being reconstructed by us as our ally; Russia, our big war-ally is now swallowing the enormous mouthful of China which we saved at the cost of a war and which we have now lost in peace-time without striking a blow in defence; Germany, yesterday's Enemy No. 1 must now be transformed into an ally. Truly a strange and complicated world; a world not easy for the United States to lead in the right path. On the contrary, it looks as if the United States itself would be disappointed, and already we are beginning to ask if we really do know all the answers, as we imagine we do."

Under the blows of the Cold War the West is beginning to realize that the war alliance with Moscow, to say nothing of the efforts on the part of the Western Powers to continue that alliance after the war, has been constructed and evaluated on completely false assumptions. That the West has now learnt a lesson is obvious from the last great speech by President Truman who declared, among other things, "that American anti-Soviet policy is passing from the stage of defence against Moscow propaganda, sabotage, breach of treaty and aggression to the stage of attack launched against Moscow's terrorism, imperialism and militarism.

Today, the cause of freedom is being threatened throughout the globe by imperialist communism. If we don't help truth to victory in other countries, then our carelessness will have lost this battle for human souls."

For our oppressed nations all these admissions doubtless mean satisfactory progress on the part of the West in the solution of present world problems. But it is greatly to be desired that the appeal of the American President to help truth to victory should refer to help whole truth, that it should be borne in mind that there are still countries and nations whose souls ought to be won.

It would be quite wrong to assume that the East begins where the Iron Curtain fabricated in Teheran, Jalta and elsewhere, cuts the world in two today. It does not even begin where it was, before the war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. started. For a great number of nations who, to use President Truman's expression, are enslaved by "Moscow's terrorism, imperialism and militarism" are behind the frontiers which the Bolshevik despotic empire was able to erect thanks to the 1939/40 pact with Hitler and the later alliance with the Western Powers. But when the first Iron Curtain after the so-called civil war, was erected by the tyrants of Moscow in the twenties the bloody struggle of Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Turkestanians, Cossacks inhabitants of Idel-Ural and Caucasia for religious freedom and human dignity did not cease; it has continued in varying forms down to the present day. Almost thirty years ago, puppet governments such as are being forced on satellite states today, were forced by cunning and brute force on

these nations by the despots of the Kremlin. But at that time there were people in the West, often in important positions in politics and the press, who did their best by word and deed to conceal the actual position behind the Iron Curtain and the truth about these nations' desperate fight for liberty and thus to mislead world opinion. Are things really very different today? Do decisive circles in the West fully realize what these nations under Soviet Russian despotism represent, what their military, political and moral value would be in the fight against "Moscow's terrorism, imperialism and militarism if . . . Yes, if!"

Our nations terrorised and exploited by Moscow and bound together by a common faith, therefore claim the right to shake the Western world out of its sleep, to bring before its eyes the danger threatening it and to demand of it that it should not only throw off the nightmare of Bolshevism but that it should at the same time find a lasting solution for all the problems of Europe and Asia. The Soviet imperium must cease to exist as a conglomerate of oppressed nations, no matter what name or form it may assume. For, as long as it exists, this prison of nations must determine a terrorist regime, while a terrorist regime must continue to feed the flames of Russian imperialism which, in turn, combined with the megalomania of Russian hegemony, will always threaten the peace of the world.

The present demand, therefore, forces us above all to realize the conflict between East and West, which is now at danger point, cannot be decided by military weapons alone. The clash of ideas, political ideals and the effectiveness of spiritual weapons are just as decisive. In addition to the military power of America and the block of signatories of the Atlantic pact who are preparing to ward off the danger of Bolshevism for the world, there is a third power today in the common front of the anti-Moscow nations oppressed by the Soviets, who are determined to make every sacrifice in order to turn the scale in the war of liberation. It is up to the West to grasp the true significance of the problem, and to create conditions in time that will allow the inexhaustible resources of this power to be brought into full play and utilized in the interest of the whole world. The first condition, of course, is to guarantee these people the realization of their own aims to start with and to give them energetic support.

In view of the present situation of world politics, the West cannot afford to repeat the fatal mistakes of the last World War. The world of freedom has only got one card to play and it is time that the leading statesmen of the West should impress the following sentence on their consciences: Policy must be shaped to win a war, and not a war won in order to shape policy! That is the sum and substance of the demands of the present crisis in world politics. K. A.

ABN Nations Fighting for Their Freedom

Freedom for the Ukraine is Near...

R. Losowskyj, the Chairman of the Secretariat General of the **Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHWR)** gave an interview at the headquarters of the liberation movement in the Ukraine which appeared at the time in the "Information Bulletin of the UHWR", published illegally there and from which we quote the following passage:

"The march of some troops of the Ukraine Army of Insurgents (UPA) and some groups of revolutionaries, from the Ukraine to West Germany in the summer and autumn of 1948 was neither a capitulation of these units nor their flight into exile. On the contrary, the march was carried out by command of the Headquarters of the Insurgents' Army and according to directives from the UPA. Its aim was to protest before the world against Bolshevik criminal treatment of the people of the Ukraine and to provide world opinion with convincing and reliable information on the revolutionary struggle for liberation being waged by the nation of the Ukraine.

On their march through Czechoslovakia, these troops of the UPA had to engage in severe fights with the Communist Czech army; nevertheless, they were able to conduct a wide campaign of publicity among the masses of the Czech and the Slovak people.

How great the measures of terrorism are which Russian Bolsheviks have applied to the Ukraine may be best seen from the fact that on three days alone — the 19th, 20th and 21st of October 1948 — no fewer than 150 000 Ukrainians from seven districts of their country were exiled to Siberia in the course of a general purge. The Bolsheviks affixed cynical notices to the train, such as "Evacuated from regions overrun by bandits". But shouts resounded from the carriages: "We shall come back! The Insurgents will avenge us! Long live independent Ukraine!"

The Ukrainian people is shocked that practically no voice has been raised in an international world-organization to protest against the crimes committed by Russian-Bolshevik occupiers of the Ukraine. It was with great bitterness



Captain Konyk, commander of a battalion in the Ukrainian Insurgents Army (with his staff), fell in action against the Bolsheviks at Bircza, Western Ukraine in 1947, promoted after his death to the rank of colonel.

that people in the Ukraine learnt that the representatives of the greatest criminals of all time — the clique of Bolshevik leaders in the Kremlin — have been invited and permitted to join the Organization of the United Nations, have risen in rebellion, in order to throw off foreign yokes that they have Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents endured for centuries. One of the main tasks of the UHWR, after the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state, is to carry out general elections on democratic principles.

I look hopefully into the future and believe above all in the inexhaustible energy and the fanaticism of the masses of the Ukrainian nation and in their steadfast patriotism. In spite of the enormous loss of human life that our revolutionary movement of liberation had to cost, the Bolsheviks of Russia have not succeeded in either conquering or dispersing our underground organizations. A net of the cells of our organization is spread over the greater part of the Ukraine. Much Ukrainian blood has been shed for the independence of the Ukraine and we firmly believe that our national liberation cannot be far distant."

Rumania under the Cudgel of Bolshevism

Many storms swept over our people in the past bringing us the tyranny of alien rulers and the oppression and exploitation that implies. The natural resistance of the Rumanians has been strengthened by the hardships that have followed every storm which has burst in South-Eastern Europe. This alone explains why they have been able to preserve their traditional character (cf. their language) in spite of the bitter defeats and lasting tyrannies of their history. Today, the Rumanian people still constitutes a Latin island in the South-East of Europe.

For Rumanians, the tragedy that has befallen South-Eastern and Central-Europe in the shape of Bolshevik tyranny, is merely the last link in the long chain of century-old suffering. They were also much more alive than other nations to the danger that was threatening them. That is why they spent the last ounce of their strength in the struggle to ward off this danger. More than five hundred thousand young lives were lost on the battlefields in the Soviet-Union, the sacrifice made by our people to Bolshevism. The tragic end of this struggle which the Rumanian people conducted solely for the high ideals of

freedom and Christian values, left our country bleeding from many wounds, but its soul did not bend before Bolshevism, however sharply the claws of tyranny might cut into it, and although it felt that the world had abandoned it.

Rumania today has been converted into an enormous prison. Everything has been plundered to an extent that exceeds what was done in all previous attacks. The system of Soviet slavery has been introduced throughout the country. Practically everything that the diligence of our unfortunate people produces, is transported to Russia. On the slightest protest, the gates of forced labour camps and prisons are opened. All who played any part in politics, all leaders of intellectual or economic life have long lived confined in the dark cells of Bolshevik prisons. King Michael I himself was exiled. A handful of traitors in the pay of Moscow vie with each other in persecuting their own people, in order to curry favour with the despots in the Kremlin or the commanders of the Soviet army of occupation.

The Bolshevik regime is the only law of the land, with its concomitants of prohibitions and oppression. All

***ABN fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!***

public and private life has been seized, some way or other, and given over to the so-called Soviet-Rumanian Societies. The work done by these Societies, and their property are Rumanian but they must sacrifice their entire income to the Russian Moloch.

The leadership even, of the churches has been committed to persons of questionable repute, while their legal leaders drag out a weary existence behind prison bars. No one may write or say anything, unless by commission of the tyrants of Soviet Russia.

In spite of all, the despots over our people do not have peace for one minute. The prisons are not big enough to contain the growing number of rebels.

Great numbers have taken refuge in the mountains and the forests, which, as in the darkest days of our history, have once more become the stronghold of the thousands of fighters for freedom. A desperate resistance is being set up, though it costs great sacrifices. For the

deep ravines of our country still preserve traditions a thousand years old, of uncompromising battle against the oppressors of law and faith. However difficult and dangerous this fight was in the past, it was always ultimately successful.

By some chance, the number of those who have sought refuge abroad is not great. Only few Rumanians enjoy the privilege of freedom in other countries. But they are all the more aware of the urgent duty which this entails, the duty of speaking to the entire world in the name of the people at present powerless in the great prison Rumania and also of waking the conscience of humanity to awareness of the criminal terrorism under which their brethren at home suffer.

They require the moral support of the world in order to mobilise all the energy required to fight with success against the fiend of Bolshevism and to destroy it for all time. Gen. J. G.

very moment when the Bolsheviks got hold of the power, the Cossacks proclaimed their separation from Russia on December 10, 1917.

In the course of the years 1917—1918 several Cossack republics were created and juridically sanctioned Don, Kuban, Terek, Oural, Orenburg and Astrakhan. On January 5, 1920 all Cossack republics voluntarily formed a state Union with the name of Cossackia.

A conflict broke out. And then we realized that Russian revolutionary politics with regard to us were worse than those of the old czarism. The Bolsheviks attacked the Cossack Republic. Unhappily, our situation was considerably complicated by the part played by the leaders of the "Whites", General Denikin and Wrangel on behalf of the Cossacks. Besides our cause was harmed by the Great Powers that made Cossacks Armies subordinate to the Russian anti-revolutionary command.

So it came about that while the bulk of the Russian people yielded to the Soviet power, the Cossacks found themselves alone against the whole of Soviet Russia. Defeat was inevitable; and of course, it has come.

This failure left in the Cossack hearts not only bitter regrets, but also a certainty that there is no other way, than the way of independence.

At present our country is occupied by the Russian Bolsheviks. Dreadful is the regime of the conquerors in Cossackia. They are without mercy to their adversaries. But, in spite of all persecution, the feeling of national individuality, grows among the Cossacks. And no repressions will be able to exterminate it...

The awful terrorism practised by the occupants and the double wall with which the Moscovian rulers have isolated the country from the world make it our moral duty to raise our voice in defense of our Cossack mother country. The bond between us, Cossack emigrants and our unhappy brethren at home is not broken and we have to continue the struggle for freedom that began in 1917—1918. We are obliged to express before the world Cossack ideals and claims. And that is why we want to tell the foreign world the truth about the Cossacks.

After the breakdown of the Russian czarism the Cossacks again restored their republic; and again it was based on the principles of true Democracy. But the Bolsheviks, those implacable enemies of liberty and all "sentimental prejudices" ruined Cossack freedom.

Yet Cossack will is not broken. Stifled as their voice is, in their own country, it will resound here, among Cossack political refugees, who feel it their duty to proclaim Cossack rights.

What are Cossacks - What are they Fighting for?

The world does not know much of the Cossacks, nor is the little that is known always true. For this knowledge is taken from a second or third party which is not always interested in giving authentic information. Here we are speaking about ourselves and on our own account.

We shall not relate the continual struggles in defense of our rights in the past; neither shall we describe the immeasurable endurance of our population under Soviet occupation, nor will we mention our actual hardships as political emigrants. We do not wish to bore people by our own misery. But we would like to make European nations know something about our historic fate and our aspirations. We want to tell them how keen our desire for liberty is, how we wish to live normally, as other nations do, exercising self determination for our present and future... We want to be heard and, to be understood.

The Cossacks belong to those Slavonic tribes which inhabited the steppe areas between the Volga and the Don, on the shores of the Azoph and Black and Caspian Sea, in remote times when Kiev Russ was created on the Dnieper and later Moscovia on the wooded north of the great East European plain.

By the end of the 17th century Moscovian expansion coming nearer the Cossacks' frontier, a gradual swallowing up of the Cossacks' land began, which later went on under the Emperors of Petersburg. A great blow was given to the Cossacks by Peter the First in 1708. He exterminated the political independence of the Cossacks' republics.

The Cossacks have lost their independence. But they did not lose at once

all their autonomic rights. The liquidation of the autonomy of the Cossack Country lasted about two hundred years owing to a stand made against these politics.

At the outbreak of the revolution in the year 1917 the Cossacks still preserved some remnants of their autonomic rights and did not mingle with the population of other parts of the Empire. This fact explains why in 1917 the Cossacks with such easiness transformed their ancient autonomy into a democratic rule based on the will of a self-governing state. At the



Cossacks at the ABN-Demonstration in Munich

Cossack political emigres who are united in the whole world and are under the Supreme President, Supreme National Representation and Supreme Executive Council, have to pursue the task of developing and propagating the Cossack program.

What is the program?

It is very clearly expressed as a program of liberation for all the lands of the European Cossacks from the Soviet-Union and of the regeneration of a separate independent state Cossackia.

This program is not new. In the course of the years 1917-1918 the question of establishing a Cossack state-union was put to the Cossacks.

A Voice from Oppressed Slovakia

Our correspondent interviewed a refugee from Slovakia who succeeded recently in getting into Western Germany. The impressions he gave of his enslaved native land are not without interest:

"As is well known, we Slovaks can look back on an ancient culture of our own. Up to 1945 we were allowed to live in our own independent state. Then, without asking whether we wanted to live with the Czechs in one and the same state, or not, we were degraded by Benesch and his clique to the status of a colony and were treated accordingly. Under Benesch, more than 60 000 Slovaks were deported to Siberia and 300 000 were forced to settle in Sudetenland. The names of Benesch and his accomplices will always be pronounced by us Slovaks with abhorrence. The civilized world ought to be ashamed that the independence of our people was taken away by force, while nobody in the West took the slightest notice

What would this formation — Cossackia — be like?

The area of Cossackia is approximately 870 000 square kilometres. The population on the territory amounts to nearly 10 000 000.

In bringing them forward before the world we hope this time they will meet with comprehension and sympathy from all friends of justice, freedom and progress. We hope they will realise our position of animosity against the potent poison of communistic practice — this animosity being dictated by our instinct of preservation for our own people. We would like to believe that in the future struggle, the Cossacks will meet not only with understanding, but good will and help from other free nations.

of the unanimous protests raised by the Slovaks. Ukrainian and Croats have proved good friends and no one understands our position as they do. The news that members of the Ukrainian Army of Insurgents had crossed the frontier into Slovakia in 1947 spread through our country like fire, with the report that, having freed great areas of the Ukraine from the foreign tyranny of Moscow, they were now coming to liberate our land.

Czechs and Slovak Bolsheviks fled from our villages into towns wherever the Ukrainians had crossed the frontier; they were afraid to spend the night in their houses. A popular song of the time tells of the fear of the Bolsheviks and the coming of the Ukrainians.

I can report the following episode as an eye-witness. It is an excellent indication of the mood of the Slovakian nation. In September 1949 thousands of Slovaks from neighbouring villages had gathered for the great religious ceremony of the "Birmowka" before the church in the little town of Borsky Swaty. The communists wished to make use of the occasion, in order to make propaganda for their regime, and one of them tried to deliver a suitable speech to the crowd. The enraged populace, however, attacked the speaker and the communists and even the sixty members of the Safety Police who had appeared to protect the communists, were beaten and had to take to flight. Thereupon no fewer than 1200 men of the communist militia, armed with cudgels struck down all who were in the streets women and children included, while a military plane soared over the town. A boy and an old man of 70 were beaten to death and a number of people were thrown into prison for an indefinite length of time.

As a means of breaking the resistance of the Slovak people, new contingents of Slovaks are constantly being transported to the Sudetenland, which for them, is as bad as exile to Siberia.

From their traditional alliance, above all with the 40 million Ukrainians and from their common cause with all nations oppressed by the Soviets, the Slovaks derive great hopes for their future. We are firmly convinced that we shall thus succeed not only in bringing our own problem of Slovakia before the forum of the world, but also in satisfying our desire for a free national life in a state of our own.

Aserbaidshchan Warns the West for the Moscow

A. F., the President of the Committee for National Freedom for Aserbaidshchan, who has been staying for some time at the Headquarters of the Grand Mufti Hadji Emin El-Hussein in Cairo, is at present in Europe in order to discuss questions concerned with speeding up the activity of the ABN and its publicity in the West.

He was elected president of the committee for national freedom for Aserbaidshchan as early as 1943 at the first great conference of representatives of the people of that country outside of its boundaries, at which it was resolved to continue to fight for the independence of the Aserbaidshchan people. This fight is conducted today under the ABN, in which the people of Aserbaidshchan are most active as one of the strongest groups of Caucasians.

According to A. F., Hitler's greatest mistake in his campaign against Bolshevism was that he not only ignored the power of the nations striving for freedom and independence in the Soviet Union, and of Caucasia in particular, but that he himself wished to rob them of all freedom and independence.

He says that Aserbaidshchan is not only supported in this fight by other nations in the Soviet Union; it also enjoys the sympathetic help of kindred nations, such as Turkey and Persia. It is greatly to be hoped, the President said, that the mistakes of the Second World War will not be repeated in the coming contest between the democracies of the West and the tyrants of Moscow. It is necessary that the ABN should interest the West more than has been the case in the ideas behind its struggle and that it should supply the West with objective and reliable information about the East and its problems. But a fight against Moscow, he said, could only be successful if all the powers were mobilized for this fight that are striving for freedom and independence. It is necessary to make clear to the West that the ABN is a very welcome reservoir of such powers.

War against Moscow, the president concluded, is a common cause for all nations who strive for freedom and independence and who see in the realization of their ideals the best guarantee for a genuine and just peace.

Military Distinctions for Members of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement

As we learn from the Information Bulletin of the UHWR which appears illegally in the Ukraine, an Order has been created by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHWR) for "fighting under specially difficult circumstances". The name of this Order which is to be conferred on fighters belonging to the Ukrainian revolutionary movement for freedom, is explained by the fact that the battle waged by Ukrainian fighters for freedom against Russian Bolshevik occupiers of the country is generally waged in circumstances that demand superhuman physical and moral efforts. The new Order was created to distinguish the courage and special merit of such fighters. Headquarters of the Ukrainian Army of Insurgents reserve all details concerning the award of the Order.

Documents of the Fight Against Bolshevism

To all Soldiers, Sailors, N. C. O.'s and Officers of the Soviet Army!

Freedom-loving Nations and Men of the Entire World Unite to Fight against Bolshevism for the Freedom of Nations and Man!

Read this and pass it on to your comrades!

On the anniversary of the so-called "October Revolution", when the Stalin clique of Party leaders and the fifth columns in all countries directed by the Cominform praise the success and visible achievements of "October", all of us must consider those successes and achievements. If, at first, some people were in doubt, surely by now all have grasped that Bolshevism is a premeditated and conscious lie.

When seizing power in October 1917 by demagoguery, provocation, deceit and terror, the Bolsheviks promised the nations oppressed by the Czars, full freedom and independence i. e. "self-determination up to secession"; but what they introduced was ever greater exploitation and oppression in the illusory independent "Soviet Socialist Republics", where no question as to secession from or abandonment of the Union, or free use of local resources for the needs of the republic concerned, is permitted. Everything is for Moscow alone and only the crumbs from the table of the red lords are given to the workers of the "independent republics". The people's most harmless cultural requirements are regarded as "nationalist crimes" and punished by arrest, forced labour and deportation.

Before they seized power, the Bolsheviks promised freedom of speech, press, worship, religion and assembly etc., but when they had the power they cast anyone saying an incautious word into prison or concentration camp. When preparing the way, the Bolsheviks promised the workers all the blessings in the world, a joyful and happy life, but what they gave was endless queues and intolerable living conditions.

Stalin's words are a mockery when he says: "life is better now, life is merrier". Every man in the Soviet Union knows that only the lives of the Soviet magnates are better and merrier, not those of the working classes.

In 1917 the Bolsheviks promised the workers factories, the peasants land, the intellectual freedom in their professions and facilities to make work a pleasure. What they gave was slave's work for a beggarly remuneration.

The new bondage law introduced by the Bolsheviks is the most cruel re-

gime that ever existed, and surpasses even the slavery of the ancient world. The soldiers of the Soviet Army who have seen European countries know how workers, peasants and the intelligentsia lived there before the war. Life in Europe was a thousand times better than in the "Soviet paradise", although nobody regarded it as wholly perfect.

The Bolsheviks shout to-day about the pretended Western preparations for war against the Soviet Union, but in reality they themselves are preparing a bloody massacre, and want to attack other countries, as they did Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, West White Ruthenia, West Ukraine and Bessarabia, before their war with Germany.

From day to day the World understands better that the Bolsheviks bring destruction to European culture and Christian civilisation. The ruin of Bolshevism and of the clique of Kremlin tyrants comes nearer! The liberating revolution of nations under the leadership of A.B.N. — the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — is coming!

On its flags A.B.N. has written: "Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual". The fight for these ideals is a fight:

1) For the liquidation of the prison of nations — the Soviet Union.

2) For the right of each nation to live in its own independent state, within its natural ethnical borders.

3) For a just social order protecting the interest of the working classes, for true democracy, for a real government of the people, without exploitation and slavery.

Therefore we have chosen as our war-cry: "Death to Bolshevism!" Long live our free and independent democratic states! Long live the free and independent states of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia! Long live the free and independent states of the Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Turkestan, Cossackia, Siberia, Russia in its ethnographical borders and all other nations suffering to-day under the pressure of the imperialistic clique of Bolshevik tyrants!

Long live the U.P.A. — Ukrainian Insurgent Army — and the revolutionary national liberation armies of all oppressed nations!

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)

*

This pamphlet in Russian was distributed in November 1949 among soldiers and officers in the Red Army in USSR.

Proclamation to the Conscience of the world!

(Condensed)

In the Bolshevik Protectorate called Czechoslovakia, ten prominent representatives of Roman Catholic religious orders — two abbots, one Provincial Minister, two professors of theology and five monks — have been arrested, and incarcerated.

The imprisoned priests have been tried by a Communist tribunal. They have been charged with "crimes" with which the whole world is today only too familiar. The Communist destroyers of law and justice have even twisted the criminal law of the country to serve their sinister purposes.

The "judgment" pronounced on the defendants is a shameful mockery of law and justice. They have been sentenced — on the Communist pattern for "high treason and espionage". The Communist regime needed this "trial", as a prelude to further trials of the same kind, the sole purpose of which is the intimidation of the people, the overwhelming majority of whom are in opposition to the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

And thus, on the eve of the solemn week, when the whole of Christendom commemorates the Passion, and the Triumph of the Son of Man, the prisoners were shut on these ten faithful sons of the Czech nation and of Christ's Church.

We appeal once more to the conscience of the civilised world to put an end to dastardly Communist terrorism. There has been too much bloodshed, too much cruelty and torture! When will another Abraham Lincoln arise who would break the chains of hundreds of millions of slaves suffering under the Communist yoke.

We believe that the day of liberation is at hand! Therefore, we send this message to our oppressed brethren, especially to those languishing in Communist prisons and concentration camps: Do not lose your faith and hope! We pray to the Lord that He may give to you at home, as well as to all of us abroad, the gift of perseverance and steadfastness.

Truth will finally prevail! Kyrie eleison!
The Czech National Committee, London

Freedom for the Ukraine - Memorial Day

(June 30, 1941 — June 30, 1950)

Long before World War II the Ukrainian people was fighting for freedom under the motto: "Destruction of the Russian Prison of Nations and Reconstruction of Independent National States for the Peoples Imprisoned."

War broke out between Germany and Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941, and in the last days of that month, Ukrainians in Ukraine had in many places deposed the Russian administration and set up one of their own. On June 30, 1941 a temporary Ukrainian government, with Jaroslav STETZKO at its head, was set up in Lwiv, the capital of Western Ukraine, and the independence of the Ukraine as a state was proclaimed. The broadcasting station in Lwiv was in hands by Ukrainian troops of the Army of Insurgents and a proclamation on the re-birth of the Ukrainian state was broadcast.

The enthusiasm with which this was received by the Ukrainian people is obvious in the message of Metropolitan Andrei SCHEPTYZKYJ, at that time head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church which he sent the Ukrainian people the next day: "By the will of God, almighty in His kindness, a new epoch in the life of the independent, united Ukraine has set in . . . The People's Assembly, which met yesterday, confirmed this historical event. We promise obedience to the new government and recognize Jaroslav STETZKO as the head of the state in a free Ukraine. We expect wise leadership and just directives from his government." The message issued by POLYKARP, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Luzk, runs: "Our longcherished dream has been realized. The broadcasting station in Lwiv spread throughout our towns and country the joyful news of the resurrection of an independent Ukraine . . ."

But this temporary Ukrainian government did not last long. A few days after its formation, Hitler issued an ultimatum annulling the proclamation of June 30 and dissolving the Ukrainian government. When this was categorically refused, Hitler's SD (security service) had the members of the government and thousands of activists and members of the Ukrainian Army of Insurgents sent to concentration camps, where many died. The survivors, including Jaroslav Stetzk, were imprisoned until the end of the war.

As a result of these measures of Hitler's and the oppression of the German Occupation, Ukraine's fight for liberty, which at first was directed exclusively against Moscow, was now waged against the German conqueror of the country as well.

The following extract from the proclamation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which

was widely circulated among the Ukrainian people on June 30, 1944 illustrates the situation:

"Three years have passed since the day when the resurrection and independence of the Ukrainian state was proclaimed. This historical action demonstrated the will of the Ukrainian people to make use of its sacred right to an independent state, after two decades of oppression by Russian Bolsheviks. It gave striking proof of the immortality of the Ukrainian nation which has never renounced its sovereignty or abandoned its fight for independence since the heroic war of liberation in the years 1917-1921, in spite of a continued regime of terrorism.

. . . A wave of great joy and enthusiasm passed over the masses of the Ukrainian people after the proclamation of June 30, 1941. But the counter-blow followed immediately. Just as the Bolshevik imperialists of Russia refused to recognize the independence of Ukraine in 1918, and sent Murawjew's bandits against the young republic of Ukraine, so also did the German conqueror strike the resurrected Ukrainian state down and liquidate its government.

Both Moscow and Berlin seek in the Ukraine today cannon fodder, in order to subjugate our country more thoroughly. But liberty for the Ukraine cannot be won by Ukrainians who are mercenaries, either in the German or in the Bolshevik army, but only by the independent Ukrainian army of insurgents . . ."

In this spirit and loyal to these ideals, the UPA has continued to fight with heroic courage on the soil of its re-enslaved Ukrainian home.

The Chronicle

Protest against the Bolshevik oppression

"Sleaford Standard" of April 1929, 1950 writes: "Two thousand Ukrainians from all parts of the Midlands attended a religious rally staged in Boston's Central Park on Saturday. It was held, according to the speakers, to 'draw the attention of the British people to the measure of persecution which the Ukrainian nation has suffered at the hands of Red Russia . . ."

. . . The following resolution of protest was carried: "We Ukrainians assembled at the religious rally at Boston strongly protest against the persecution of our churches by the aggressive Moscovite imperialism of Soviet Russia . . ."

. . . A requiem mass for Ukrainian

victims of Soviet persecution was said, and the gathering was addressed by Dr. O. Fundak, President of the Ukrainian Association. Among other addresses was one by a representative of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

Meeting by the ABN

In the course of May, this year, various demonstration were held by the ABN in several DP camps in West Germany, e. g. on May 1, in the crowded theatre hall of the barracks in Freimann-Munich and on May 14 in Landshut, where representatives of the ABN spoke on the aims and tasks of the organization. In Landshut, a representative from Turkestan gave a lecture on the subject of "Turkestan and the ABN" to more than 200 people, most of whom were Ukrainians, Hungarians, Serbs, Latvians, Lithuanians etc. The applause of the public at these demonstrations proved once more that the cause of the ABN is received with great enthusiasm and sympathy by the masses of exiled nations.

The President of the ABN Visits England

Jaroslav Stetzk, the president of the Central Committee of the ABN, accompanied by one of the committee members, lately paid a visit of two months to England.

On the occasion of his visit, several meetings of ABN branches were held in London; there was also an enlarged conference attended by delegates from national groups living in exile.

Re-election of President of Hungarian Liberation Movement

We got information that General Ferenc Farkas of Kisbarnacki, president of the Hungarian Liberation Movement was re-elected for three years more, in the recent election carried out among Hungarians living in exile in Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, England, U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela and Australia. We understand from the office of the ABN that General Farkas will continue to represent the Hungarian delegation in the General Committee of the ABN and at the same time, be at the head of the ABN Military Commission.

ABN in Australia

A First Committee of the ABN has been formed in Australia and has immediately started to publish a weekly in English. The aim of this paper which appears in Sydney is to win the people of Australia for the ideas of the ABN and at the same time to bring members of the ABN nations who have emigrated to Australia into a united front to fight Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

The editorial staff of the "ABN Correspondence" sent all good wishes to their comrades in Australia.

The Progress of the Russian Road Roller...

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| <p>1487 Subjection of Greater Novgorod by Ivan III and expansion of Muscovites to the Arctic Ocean.</p> <p>1553 Conquest of Khasan.</p> <p>1556 Conquest of Astrachan.</p> <p>1558-61 Expansion through White Ruthenia to Latvia and Conquest of Smolensk.</p> <p>1582 Beginning of expansion to Siberia.</p> <p>1617 Peace of Stolbowo and partition of Karelia between Moscow and Sweden.</p> <p>1667 Peace of Andrussov and partition of the Ukraine between Moscow and Poland.</p> <p>1689 Advance to Kamtschatka</p> <p>1696 Conquest of Asow.</p> <p>1700 Treaty with Turkey to settle cession of Asow and adjacent territory.</p> <p>1703 Foundation of St. Petersburg in Ingermanland, conquered by Sweden.</p> <p>1721 Peace of Nystadt with Sweden. Acquisition of Latvia, Esthonia, Oesel, Ingermanland and West-karelia with Vyborg.</p> <p>1723 Acquisition from Persia of western coast of Caspian Sea with Derbent and Baku.</p> <p>1739 Cession of Asow by Turkey.</p> <p>1743 Peace of Aabo. Annexation of other areas of Finland, to the Kymene River.</p> <p>1773 First partition of Poland and occupation of greatest part of White Ruthenia.</p> | <p>1774 Peace of Kiutschük-Kajnardschi. Annexation of Black Sea Coast from the Don to the Bug and the Karbada.</p> <p>1775 Suppression of Cossacks in the Ukraine.</p> <p>1783 Annexation of Crimea.</p> <p>1791 Peace of Jassy. Settlement of Dniester frontier.</p> <p>1793 Second Partition of Poland and occupation of all Ukrainian territory, with the exception of Eastern Galicia, and of the remainder of White Ruthenia and Minsk.</p> <p>1795 Third partition of Poland and occupation of Lithuania, White Ruthenia and Courland.</p> <p>1801 Annexation of Georgia.</p> <p>1809 Peace of Fridrikshamm. Sweden cedes the whole of Finland and the Aaland Islands.</p> <p>1812 Peace of Bukharest. Cession of Bessarabia by Turkey</p> <p>1815 Congress of Vienna. Incorporation of Congress Poland</p> <p>1828 Peace of Turkmentschai. Acquisition of Eriwan and Nachitschiwan from Persia</p> <p>1829 Peace of Adrianopolis. Annexation of Danube Delta and the greater part of the Black Sea coast of Caucasia</p> <p>1858 Annexation of Amur</p> <p>1860 Annexation of Assuri</p> <p>1864 North Caucasia Finally subjugated and Circassians expelled to Turkey</p> | <p>1868 Beginning of advance to Turkestan and conquest of Samarkand and Bukhara</p> <p>1873 Occupation of Chiwa-Turkestan</p> <p>1875 Acquisition of Sakhalin</p> <p>1876 Occupation of Kokand (Turkestan)</p> <p>1878 Congress of Berlin. Annexation of Southern Bessarabia, Batum Kars and Ardahan</p> <p>1881 Subjection of Turkmenian area</p> <p>1898 Lease from China of Kwantung with Port Arthur and Dairen</p> <p>1900 Occupation of Manchuria</p> <p>1939 Annexation of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia</p> <p>1940 Annexation of West Karelia with Vyborg and other parts of Finland</p> <p>Annexation of Bessarabia and North Bucovina</p> <p>Annexation of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia</p> <p>1944 Attack against Finland from Leningrad and capitulation of Finland</p> <p>1944 Renewed Occupation of Esthonia and Latvia by the Red Army</p> <p>1944 Occupation of Western Ukraine</p> <p>1944 Occupation of Balkan states: Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary</p> <p>1945 Occupation of Lithuania and Poland</p> <p>1945 Annexation of all Ukrainian territory in the Soviet Union</p> <p>1945 Foundation of People's Republics in Czechoslovakia, Albania and Jugoslavia under influence of Russia</p> <p>1945 Eastern Germany drawn within sphere of Soviet influence</p> <p>In The Far East</p> <p>1945 Occupation of North Korea and Manchuria</p> <p>1949-50 China under Bolshevist influence</p> |
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Conference of the ABN at Edinburgh

By invitation of the "Scottish League for European Freedom", Edinburgh, an influential organization of leading personalities in the public life of Great Britain, a conference is being held in the Scottish capital from June 12 to June 14, attended by members of the Central Committee of the ABN and delegates of the various countries it represents. As is well known, the "Scottish League for European Freedom" is particularly interested in the burning problems of the day and has always been alive to the danger of Bolshevism for the world.

The program of this important conference, details of which will be reported later, includes the following three principal reports, each of which is seconded by two speakers:

1. The Aims of the ABN and Ways of Liberating the Nations Oppressed by Russia — by Jaroslaw STETZKO (Ukraine), President of the Central Committee of the ABN;
2. The Economic Resources of the Nations Oppressed by Russia — by Alfred BERZINS (Latvia), Chairman of the ABN Peoples' Council;
3. The Military Reserves of the Nations Oppressed by Russia — by General Ference FARKAS (Hungary), Chairman of the ABN Military Commission.

In addition, the delegates of all the nations represented in the ABN will give brief reports on the special problems of their nations with reference to the struggle for liberation.

Press conferences have also been arranged with representatives of the British and foreign press. The Conference will pass various resolutions and issue a manifesto to the general public. Concerts of national music of the peoples represented have also been planned.

We understand that the Scottish League has also invited representatives of all Western governments and leading personalities of political, religious and public life in Great Britain, who have signified that they will be present at this, the first conference of its kind.

ABN-Correspondence

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In the course of centuries, Russian imperialism has therefore expanded, has continued to absorb new countries and peoples and now extends over Europe and Asia. The world ought to ask itself:

Whose turn is it now?

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK NEWS-LETTER

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Where is the Antibolshevist World Revolution?

The West has no time to lose ...

Recent political developments in the West, indeed its whole attitude of mind, give grave cause for anxiety. The inevitable clash between the West and the bolshevik-controlled East approaches with giant strides, but very few seem to ponder over the fate that must befall the world if Soviet Russia meantime succeeds in winning the armament race. Once in possession of the hydrogen bomb, the Kremlin would not hesitate an instant to force its law upon the world, even if the latter had first to be laid in ruins. Instead of strengthening its united front and its power of resistance so as to ward off the danger in time and overcome it once for all, the West appears to be slipping back into old errors. Lethargy increases, dissensions multiply and the entire structure is becoming weaker.

It is true that the experiences of the "cold war" which Russia has been waging against the West for a good five years have led there to a practically unanimous repudiation of the Communist idea and its realization in the form of Soviet world hegemony. But this repudiation is, to a great extent, purely platonic; it has not been followed in the practice of politics by any logical consequences. On the one side, we still have the extraordinary discipline of the Soviet world that pursues its aim with rigid single-mindedness and, opposed to it, the undecided West, torn by internal wrangles and riven asunder by conflicting tactics. The strategists of the "proletarian world revolution" in Moscow rub their hands in satisfaction over the "contradictions within the capitalist world" and hope to be able to utilize the internal friction that is rife there as the trump card that will win the game. And this hope might, in certain circumstances, become tragic reality.

Causes of Western Weakness

The western world of Europe and America today is like a patient who has been stricken by an insidious disease, but who cannot make up his mind to recognize it and take the necessary steps for his cure. Stalin

keeps raining blows which the West try to dodge by putting up a feeble defence; it never strikes back with any force. And the worst thing is the hope that "Uncle Joe" can perhaps be talked over and world peace assured. Meanwhile, the plague spreads and keeps infecting new parts of the world's body. The West cherished the illusion that nothing but "Russian appeasement" could protect it and in its attempts to pacify Stalin, it has practically played into his hands. Not even has the loss of China roused the West to decisive action. It is now the turn of Indonesia and Burma; to-morrow it will be India's turn. If this goes on, are we not right to wonder whether the West will not overlook the moment when it simply must pull itself together?

The lack of internal unity in the West was particularly obvious in the case of China. Stalin knew how to sow dissension between the Anglosaxon partners by making the recognition of Mao Tse Tung palatable for London, while at the same time slamming the door of Red China in the face of the USA. In addition, American foreign policy, hitherto consistent and united, seems to have stumbled, so that the line taken by Truman and Acheson in foreign affairs can only be continued with the support of the Republicans. The American Senate is today faced with complicated differences, which not only paralyze American foreign policy but threaten to have a disastrous effect on the whole question of Western defence against the danger of Bolshevism for the world.

The Open Door in Europe

There are probably very few people today still under any illusions about the actual state of affairs in Western Europe. There is nothing whatever to keep the 150 Russian, and, if necessary, Chinese armoured divisions from rolling over the rest of Europe, if once they were set going from the Stettin-Trieste line. One does not need to be a military expert to be somewhat sceptical as regards the soothing words uttered by America's Minister of Defence, Johnson: "If Stalin attacks at 4 in the morning, the U.S.A. will hit

back with all its force at 5." Encouraging and strengthening as those words may sound to some, we might perhaps be permitted to ask with what instruments of war the U.S.A. proposes to beat back the waves of red armoured divisions which are standing ready and prepared to destroy Europe? Up till recently, the western world clung to the fond illusion that, as soon as the Russian attack started, American atom bombs would be dropped a few hours later on military centres in Russia which would lay out the red hydra-headed monster in no time. But how is it today, now that Russia is also in possession of the atom bomb?

But, even supposing that armament centres and cities in the U.S.S.R. were reduced to ashes and rubble on X-Day, the Russian "steam-roller" of armoured divisions would still continue to move west. It would be difficult to use atom bombs against Russians in the towns of Western Europe, unless Americans decided that Western Europe would also have to be destroyed. In this case, Europe is surely quite justified in doubting whether there is any sense in thinking about the coming war.

At any rate, it must be obvious to every European that, if once the flood of Red Army armoured divisions is released, it will not take more than a few weeks to swamp the continent. The attack will receive energetic support from Togliatti's two million followers in Italy, the one million French disciples of Thorez, fifth columnists in other countries, under whatever name, and from Soviet air-borne troops. In the light of this perspective, the consolidation of economic and social conditions in Europe by means of the Marshall Plan appears to be but a drop of water on a hot stone.

How to get out of the Slough of Despond

Yet, in spite of this gloomy prospect, there is no need for the 250 million inhabitants of Europe to despair. Neither need they bow before Soviet armies. If Europeans seriously desired, and if they would act accordingly, they could not only stop the Russian steam roller; with American help, advancing

from the rear, they could utterly destroy it. The question is whether they seriously want to do so.

Communism is no longer Europe's only enemy. The more dangerous enemy of freedom and European culture is rather a fatal, western defeatism. Its ranks are recruited from the lethargic worshippers of prosperity who "are content", who only want a comfortable tworoomed flat, a glass of beer, a movie, a girl and, above all — peace — all those, that is who from fear of war and revolution, confront Bolshevism with folded hands and thus complacently commit suicide.

The most generous supplies of American arms would avail little, if there is no desire to seize a weapon and use it. Could anyone seriously maintain that the spirit of Western European youth has been prepared for the part it should play? Will these young people help to stem the tide of Communism? In France many would say: "Mourir pour Berlin? Quelle folie!" They will surely wait till it is the turn of Paris, for they do not yet grasp that today, Danzig, Warsaw and Kiev have become suburbs of Paris. And British troops will probably only be ready to help from the security of their own island home.

The Revolution Europe Requires

What the world requires is a complete and overwhelming revolution in Europe in the name of freedom and unity and on the basis of national solidarity. The whole of the West ought to cooperate in this movement and should overcome an egoism that is now outliv-

ed, and the present, undignified state of affairs. Only such a revolution could clear the way for a will powerful enough to deal with Bolshevism successfully, and to create a world of free nations and individuals. Without it, the best American armoured cars would rust or, what would be worse, would sooner or later be manned by Russians and Chinese.

Today, as always in the case of revolutions of world-wide importance, it is less a matter of arms than of the spirit inflaming and inspiring the masses. The decisive driving power will always be the strength of the belief in the sacredness of the cause for which one is prepared to stand and to die. If it is impossible in the last hour to awaken this belief in Europe and throughout the world, to arouse a fixed determination to resist, and to raise the fighting morale of the present generation, things will be bad for Europe and the world. For, once the Russians have overrun Europe, it is not only Europeans who will wonder what has become of their peaceful lives, of their happy hours; England will then miss her "balance", France, her "security" and German her supernationalism. And when once Europe has become bolshevik and when the British Commonwealth has collapsed, it is very doubtful whether and for how long the United States will be able to enjoy prosperity undisturbed.

That is why there is only one way left to save the world today and that is by an antibolshevist revolution in the name of "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!" Z. P.

The Sixth Column of Russian Imperialism

By the Sixth Column of Russian imperialism we mean all Russian and Russophil groups which today are once more appearing on the stage of politics; there they try to exert an influence on contemporary events by a "psychological rapprochement" to the governments of the West and on the other hand with oppressed nations in Russia. The leading personalities in this column — Kerenski, Tschernow, Zeretelli, Dnjeprow and others — try to exploit their hostility to Communism in order to realize Russia's plans of imperialism. The well-known fifth bolshevist column, which we regard also as the Fifth Column of Russian imperialism, has been unmasked and is more and more losing its chances of attaining the aims fixed by the Kremlin. That does not of course mean that it can no longer do any harm. There are still more Joliot-Curies, more men like Fuchs and Caplon to unmask. More "partisans of peace" will have to be dealt with before real peace is won... But the very fact that Western Powers have allowed

themselves to be convinced of the existence of these columns and have taken steps to eliminate them from government circles gives us hope that the health of the western states will, in time, improve.

While we must not lose sight for one moment of the Fifth Column, we must prepare for a struggle against the new Sixth Column, which we regard as just as dangerous. **Both are of the same origin, for both were born on the soil of Moscow, and both owe their existence to the imperialism of Moscow.** The fact that the one marches under a red star with five points and the other, under a white or black eagle with two heads should not confuse us. It is absolutely certain that they will join hands and willingly renounce the colour or even the symbols of their banners if ever there should be a question of preserving the imperialism of Moscow. For, though their methods may be different, and indeed sometimes diametrically opposed, their aim is identical, namely: to preserve the Russian

imperium, to continue to conquer new territory by a policy of constant expansion, to realize world hegemony. In this, both columns are, and will always be united: the Russian dream for centuries has been to make Moscow a third Rome. One cannot therefore talk of enmity between these two columns, but at most of rivalry in endeavours to establish Russian supremacy.

In the period from 1917—1920 Russian Bolshevism saved the imperium of Moscow from decay by stifling with the gags of Communism the national efforts for independence of the nations oppressed by the regime of the Czars, and by hanging and shooting "unbelievers" and thus silencing them. Kerenski who lost the field in politics at that time and who is today the uncrowned leader of the Sixth Column of Russian Imperialism, had, with his followers, to seek refuge abroad; here he spent a good thirty years and more in silence, always trying to win the confidence of leading men in Western governments.

Today, the Kerenskis and their like are reappearing. They are coming to the front because they have probably felt that the red Russian regime of today is in danger of decay. These gentlemen probably wish to return the favour shown by their brethren of the Kremlin in 1917—1920, and in their turn save the imperium of Moscow from decay by inventing another means of keeping the oppressed nations in check, which they delight in calling a "new", "really true", "socialist democracy". They intend to try this out on leading statesmen in the West.

Thus the Sixth Column of Russian imperialism is starting a campaign which is to replace that of the weakening Fifth Column. That this campaign is characterized by unscrupulousness, cunning and lies, seems to those who know the Russians and their history, very Russian...

The Sixth Column today attacks mostly in two directions.

On the one hand, its members attempt to convince the governments of Western Powers, that all the evil behind the Iron Curtain must be ascribed solely to the Communist regime. The erection of a democratic Russian regime would alter matters as it would no longer mean danger for peace and freedom (the frontiers of Russia, of course, are not to be changed). In their absolutely false presentation of facts, these members of the Sixth Column go so far as to maintain that the question of national minorities does not exist in the interior of "Russia" and that these problems have been "artificially created" abroad. They do not even recognize that there is a White Ruthenian problem or a problem of the Ukraine; they have the impertinence to state that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) "is

(Continued on Page 4)

ABN Steps Towards Freedom

(An Interview with a member of the Central Committee of the ABN after his return from Great Britain)

1. What success attended the efforts of the Central Committee of the ABN to unite in one front in the fight for liberation the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia who are under Soviet supremacy?

The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) unites national liberation revolutionary organizations of all Nations enslaved by Moscow Bolshevik imperialism and forms one coordinate centre. The ABN, which was created at the first Conference of the nations enslaved by Nazism and Bolshevism, in November 1943, includes the following underground organizations, at present active behind the Iron Curtain:

United Turkestan National Committee under the leadership of Veli Khayum Khan. This committee directs the liberation-revolutionary struggle of the Turkestan Nation. The Turkestan insurgents, "bas-matchi" are widely known throughout the world.

Idel-Ural Liberation Committee. The Idel-Ural is the territory between the river Volga and Ural mountains, inhabited by Ugro-Finns and Turko-Tartars, who are also fighting for their liberation and complete separation from Moscow.

National Liberation Committee of Western Siberia and the Far East, which fights for liberation and separation from Russia and the creation of independent States of Eastern and Western Siberia respectively.

Cossacks Liberation Movement, which tends to complete separation from Moscow and the creation of a free independent Cossack State that would cut Russian off from the Black Sea and Caucasus forever. Cossack Independents cause a lot of perplexity to the Bolsheviks as well as to Russian White Imperialists.

Northern Caucasian National Committee, Georgian, Azarbayjan, Armenian, all of them collaborate with the ABN, and insurgent underground organizations of those nations coordinated in the ABN continue an unceasing fight against the Moscow invaders. As is known, thanks to the ideas and conception of the ABN, a detachment of the UPA under the command of Commander Lys is active in the Caucasus peoples.

Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the leadership of General Taras Chuprynka and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stephan Bandera are one of the chief driving forces of the ABN. The Organization

of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were the chief initiators of the ABN. The OUN sponsored the thought of the creation of the ABN as early as winter 1941, when in collaboration with Georgians, White Ruthenians and others they issued a publication, called "Our Front" in their respective languages. The first conference of the nations enslaved by Russia, took place on Ukrainian territory and it was protected by detachments of Insurgents of the enslaved peoples under the command of a Georgian Officer. It is well-known that, within the Ukrainian Insurgent Army there were also groups of Insurgents of other nations under Soviet rule under their respective commands.

White Ruthenian National Centre (BNC) and Insurgents under the command of General Vitushka are active members of the ABN.

Estonian National Committee, Lithuanian WLIK, Latvian Liberation Committee, led by Minister A. Berzins and the insurgents of these nations are in cooperation with the ABN.

The Polish underground movement is in close cooperation with the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and is an active collaborator of the ABN, despite the fact that Polish emigrant circles are not willing to accept the principles of the ABN.

The Slovak Liberation Committee, headed by F. Durchanski, the Czech National Committee, Hungarian Liberation Movement led by Gen. F. Farkash, Serbian "chetniks", Croatian "kryzhars", Bulgarian National Front, Roumanian Underground Movement, Albanian and recently Montenegrin liberation forces participate in the ABN.

Only the Russian nation is not represented in the ABN, because Russians, although some of them are opposed to the Bolshevik regime, are still, contrary to the principles of the ABN, attempting to enslave other nations in Russia.

2. What is the attitude of the ABN to the movement for a United Europe?

The attitude of the ABN to the Movement of United Europe is no different to the attitude of this Movement to the problem of the nations enslaved by Soviet Russia. If the European Movement recognises the right of every nation, at present under Soviet occupation, to its own sovereign independent State, the ABN will be glad to collaborate with this movement. So far, leaders of the European Move-

ment hope to put down Bolsheviks west of the so-called Curzon Line and they are not interested in the anti Bolshevik struggle of the nations within the U.S.S.R. The ABN would rather welcome attempts to unite all the world, than its regional parts. The ABN believes that the unity of all the world and the world's lasting peace could be achieved, only if Russian Imperialism in its every form and colour is destroyed and on its ruins sovereign and independent States of every nation are re-built on its ethnographic territory. Unity of the world is possible only among free partners with equal rights. The ABN has as members also Asiatic nations, creating in this way a base of cooperation amongst them. Territorially, the European Movement is much narrower. Only when all the nations are free and independent, is it possible to talk about the unity of the world. As long as some nations are enslaved and others in constant danger of losing their independence, the source of this evil, i. e. Russian Bolshevism and Imperialism of every form and colour, must be destroyed.

3. Which diplomatic steps are taken by the ABN to strengthen its activity in the fight for liberation?

The ABN is met in a friendly way by those Western European circles who never collaborated with Bolshevism and never bargained with National-Communism. The ABN through memorandums, notes and personal contacts explains to the Western World its objects, as well as criticizes any, from the point of view of the ABN, improper attitude of the West, as far as the question of nations enslaved by Russian Imperialism, is concerned. The ABN combines diplomatic action with mass political activities which confirm the support given to the ABN by the masses of fighting oppressed nations, this being quite a new style in international diplomacy. Diplomatic action without the support of mass activity loses value.

4. Is the activity of the ABN successful in Great Britain?

Slowly the ABN is gaining recognition from the British public. It is not an easy matter, as, with the realisation of the aims of the ABN, the map not only of Europe, but of the whole world will be absolutely changed. The ABN works for revolution also in the political sense. It is not easy for the Western World to get used to the idea that a Russian Empire in any form will not exist, but instead, a number of new

national States will be created in the territories of Europe and Asia. It is hard for them to realise that not imperialism but only national ideas will dominate the world. Our aim is not a federation but a State. A national and not an international or imperialistic idea is the sign of the approaching epoch.

5. What is the attitude of the ABN to Titoism and to the hopes cherished by the West in connection with Titoism and developments in the Soviet Union.

Our age is the age of the struggle of ideas; the struggle of religion against atheism; nationalism against internationalism.

Titoism is pure Communism, it is totalitarianism, it is atheism and materialism — strange and hostile idealism. Under the banners of Titoism, the West will not win any combat, what is more, it will bring disgrace upon itself in the eyes of the whole world which will lose the age-old belief in the idea of the traditional Christian Europe, that was always hostile to materialism, atheism and slavery.

The symbol of freedom is not the infamous Tito with his concentration camps and his OZNA-GPU, but the UPA, the underground armies of the nations united in the ABN, religious and national catacombs in which there lie the freedom and salvation of all the world from Bolshevik slavery. Only the just idea, only the noble people can win through.

Internationalism should be opposed by the national idea; historical materialism by Christian idealism; violence by the freedom of man; exploitation of a subject by the State by social justice and the right of private ownership; imperialism by a free, independent State of every nation, which is entitled to one, not through election ballots but through the blood it shed for freedom. Only the NEW CRUSADE with friendly collaboration with the catacombs in the U.S.S.R. will be able to save the world from the dark night of Russian slavery.

We send this warning to the West at five minutes to midnight, so that it should not ignore the underground liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, as there lies the key to the solution of the problem of Bolshevism. Its grave. When we see how the West hopes that Titoism, this ideological diversion and the Trojan horse of Bolshevism, will bring this solution, we call upon the West: QUO VADIS OCCIDENT?

The Symbol of the greatest Defeat of Stalin after the Second World War is not Titoism, but the fact that five years after the end of the war the struggle of the enslaved peoples against their oppressors does not cease. Underground armies and underground Churches — they are the mane-tekel-fares of the Kremlin's atheists and tyrants.

Comments

The cold war is the main subject to which the Conference of Foreign Ministers early in May will have to devote attention. It is significant that this Conference should coincide with the meeting of the Ministers of the Atlantic Defence Council and with a visit from Trygve Lie, the secretary of the UNO. International deliberations are thus concentrated and, should need arise, the Conference will be in a position to draw on valuable advice. It is all to the good that these meetings should take place in England and not in Paris. For, in spite of all the comments made by British politicians, England is the partner in the west that still believes that the cold war may be mitigated or even brought to a close. England's attitude is more easily understood by those who are familiar with her careful political and economic methods in dealing with the Empire. To put it shortly, England is simply in a more precarious position

than, say, America. In addition, we must remember the great difference in the economic policies of the two Anglo-Saxon countries, one of which believes in a planned economy, while the other pins its faith to the freedom of unadulterated capitalism. One should bear these factors in mind when assessing England's attitude towards Russia.

From this point of view, it seems important that Tito should have given his famous interview to the English "Times", rather than to any other western newspaper. On that occasion Tito expressed the opinion that the cold war could last one or two years at the most, and would not end in armed conflict; he believes that Russia's foreign policy will change.

It is interesting, in this connection, to consider the recent address given by John McCloy, the American High

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The Sixth Column of Russian Imperialism

(Continued from Page 2)

not an army of the movement for a separate and independent Ukraine, but merely a Russian anticommunist army". So it is not Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Turkestanians etc. who want to fight for their national freedom in their various groups of partisans they are all only... "Russians who desire a change of regime". With a gesture, therefore, the gentlemen of the Sixth Column would destroy all the nations whom thirty years of Bolshevism has not been able to liquidate by famine, imprisonment and death on the gallows or at the hands of a shooting squad.

On the other hand, these gentlemen make use of their Sixth Column in order to trick national groups of oppressed nations in exile into joining the "united front" of Kerenski's "League for the Freedom of Peoples". They have long since crept into various national groups and now they are trying to win supporters in order to drive these groups into Kerenski's Russian front or at least to disrupt their unity. They try to convince national groups that all "separatism", every effort to gain independence is not a "trump card in the fight against Bolshevism", but that it is only a "trump card in Stalin's hand", as he tries to prove that it is a mere intrigue on the part of capitalism. They seem, indeed, to be so ready to make "sacrifices" that they can give up much "for the sake of peace and unity". They are "ready" (today) to give up their two-headed eagle and they are ready (today!) even for instance to make Kiev the capital instead of Moscow, only "for the sake of peace and solidarity". All this, of course, does not prevent them from writing in their press

that the "universal Russian man, as the representative of the new solidarity is the **Only Man** who can liberate all humanity"... If this is so, it is easy to recognize that there is not much difference between Hitler's imperialism and Russian imperialism: Hitler's Germans were supermen, the Russians are universal men.

Just as N. Berdjajew is speaking the truth when he says: "Bolshevism is a purely national Russian phenomenon... Bolshevism is the third form of Russian imperialism, of Greater Russia", it is just as clear and true that Kerensky and Co's "social-democratic liberation" would be nothing but a new form, let us say the **fourth form**, of Russian imperialism, of Russian megalomania, the product of Russian universal men.

Both the fifth and the sixth columns have the same aims, but their methods are different. Both are extremely loyal to the wishes that Peter the Great set down in his will. Both are better or worse disguised columns of Russian imperialism.

But there is great danger for the Western Powers! Their sympathy with Kerensky and Company leads the West to take a double risk. Firstly, Kerenski and his column will not render any help to speak of against the Russians, and should the latter prove more powerful, Kerensky and Company would even deal it its death-blow.

Secondly, its sympathy for the sixth column of Russian imperialism will cost the West the sympathy of the nations oppressed by Russia, it may even arouse their hatred,

Caveant Consules of the West!

Dr. D. Z.

The Czechs fight against Red Oppression

Our Czech people are watching the resistance of the peoples subjected by Bolshevism, with the warmest sympathy, especially the fight for liberation being put up by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army (UPA), whose troops passed through Czech territory in 1947, so that our people came into direct contact with UPA fighters, and learnt to appreciate their idealism. The sympathy of politically sound Czechs who, being anti-Bolshevik-minded, were filled with suspicion and alarm when the autocratic President of the CSR, Dr. Eduard Benesch, entered Prague in May 1945, escorted by Soviet armoured cars, was directed then, and is still directed, to the resistance movement. The treaty of vassalage concluded with the Soviet Union in 1945, the extermination of Czech and Slovakian anti-Communists in 1945/48, the expulsion of the Germans, and the looting of Czech and German property valued at several milliard dollars, the Slav submissiveness towards Moscow, the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church, the embittered pursuit in 1947 of the UPA units which turned up in the CSR., all these are outrages and crimes committed by the government of Dr. Benesch and his political friends, by no means by the Czech people.

These were the reasons, too, why a great part of the Czech people rejected President Benesch and turned, as early as 1945, to the Czech National Committee in London, under the chairmanship of General Lev Prchala. This Czech National Committee is to-day the only representative of anti-Bolshevik Czechs.

For the Czech and Slovakian peoples it was a real tragedy that, in September 1943, they were disgracefully chaffered away by Benesch, Fierlinger, Ripka, Gottwald and others in Moscow, and then, in February 1948, surrendered to Stalin's ambassador Zorin in Prague, which brought the Gottwald government into power, purely bolshevist tactics, as used in Russia.

It is, however, a still greater tragedy for the Czech people that the same persons who spoiled their reputation and drew upon them the contempt of the public, are now in exile, and in spite of their three years' collaboration with the Communists, are passing themselves off once again as spokesmen of a so-called "Czechoslovakian" nation.

At home, the Czech people are putting up determined resistance against Bolshevism. They fill the Churches, languish in prisons for their faith, in concentration camps and uranium mines. The Czech peasant defends his own weapon in hand, against collectivisation, which of late is being brutally carried through. Industrious Czech business men see their existence dwindling away and go to swell the army of resistance. The Czech workman, too, has a miserable lot, for his

family is undernourished, and when one day the hour strikes for the destruction of the "Workers' Paradise" the workers will be the first to join the battle. As to the attitude of that Czech group of intellectuals who remained true to themselves, and have been proletarianized for years and compelled to go about in uniform austerity clothing, it goes without saying what that will be.

Georgia - a Land of Eternal Strife

The inhabitants of Georgia are proud and aware of their own dignity. They had to struggle first against the despotism of the Russian Czar and then against the tyranny of the soviet regime. Again and again they fought for their independence and dearly loved freedom. When the Bolsheviks triumphed finally after many bloody conflicts, the Georgian poet, Wakjeli said that his fatherland was "a land of eternal strife, a garden under a sun whose rays were Georgian blood, shed in the cause of freedom". Decades have passed since then, but the fate of the Georgian nation has remained the same, except that the brave Georgian fight of resistance against soviet oppression and assimilation has become more determined and the sun's rays still bloodier. During those long years, the West has had little time for the interest in Georgia that the country deserves. Today, when the shadow of Bolshevik tyranny is spread over the whole globe, the West may feel more inclined to turn its attention to Georgia's fate, for it represents in miniature what is awaiting every nation in the world...

For three decades the two million inhabitants of Georgia have suffered under the Bolshevik regime, which leaves nothing unturned in its efforts to ruin this aristocratic centre of age-long tradition, and to convert a Christian people to atheistic Bolshevism. Georgia has been Christian since the third century and has always been an outpost of western culture, able to maintain its national independence in spite of its exposed geographic and strategic position. Its tragedy began in 1801, when Georgia was annexed by Russia and transformed into a "government". Even the Georgian socialist party, founded in 1892, which subsequently tended towards the Russian social democratic party, never failed in practice to be a national party, though theoretically it was international. After the outbreak of World War I, the Georgians hoped that the defeat of Russia would bring them their long-sought freedom, and Georgian patriots in exile founded an "Independence Committee".

After the October Revolution, the Georgian National Council succeeded

The Czech nation which is firmly determined to throw off the yoke of the Red oppressors, has spoken to the world since 1945, through its mouthpiece the Czech National Committee in London, and is now awaiting the signal for the battle of liberation to begin. The Czech nation will prove to the world when the moment comes, that it is an honourable, courageous and upright people, freedom-loving, and ready to live but also to die!

F. Janik

in proclaiming the independence of Georgia and its separation from Russia. But after a temporary British occupation had ceased, and soviet troops had advanced into Aserbeidjan in April 1920, the spectre of Bolshevism stood at the frontier of Georgia. It is true that a treaty was drawn up between the young republic of Georgia and Soviet Russia which formally guaranteed the former's independence; in reality, however, its provisions, dictated by Moscow, implied the recognition of Moscow's supremacy and the abandonment of all western interests. And as soon as the Entente Powers recognized the Republic of Georgia in January 1921, and suggested that it should join the League of Nations in Geneva, Moscow immediately sent its Red Army over the frontier. The Republic, still in its birth throes, had no chance in the unequal conflict and by February 25, 1921, soviet commissioners were already sitting in Tiflis. This arbitrary campaign, conducted with Bolshevik savagery, was disguised by Moscow before the world, as "help" for a fictitious "rising of workers and peasants".

Immediately after the occupation, all Georgian administrative authorities were liquidated, all who had been active in politics arrested, and law and order replaced by arbitrary terrorism. Things had gone so far by the autumn of 1922 that Georgia could be transformed into a soviet republic, a member of the U.S.S.R. But the Georgian people had no thought of capitulating to Bolshevism. There were risings already in 1921 and 1922. There were women and school children in the processions that had to be dispersed by force. The persecution meted out to the Church was particularly cruel and no methods of degrading religion were neglected.

In 1923, Isadora Duncan, the well-known dancer, was allowed to perform nude dances in Tiflis Cathedral. Ambrosius, the 70-year old patriarch, was flung into prison where he died. Georgian metropolitans were shot without further ado. In 1924, the oppressed Georgian people rose in outraged rebellion once more. Men who had practically no means of defending themselves, faced death unflinchingly, faithfully.

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Spiritual Freedom in Chains

(Turkestanian Voice)

In general, great significance in art and literature is attached to realism. Every writer, poet and playwright is inspired by the events of nature, man's life, and he bases this or that work on his own personal conviction.

But in order to produce a valuable and durable masterpiece, he must have creative freedom. The writer or poet must think, ponder and write in freedom. For this reason the works of world-famous men such as Goethe, Shakespeare, Shevtchenko, Mickiewicz Schiller etc. and of the creators of our national literature, such as Alisher Navai, Abay, Maktumkuli are read by succeeding generations with delight and appreciation.

Turkestan-Turki has a long history, its treasure chest has been enriched by the jewels of Navai, Abay and others. Our national literature was a mirror which reflected the sentiments, joy and sorrows of the nation. The writer lived and shared the life of the people.

Most young writers followed the example of their predecessors. The works of young writers and poets during the period of exile 1941-1945 are a living example of this. A wide path of freedom of thought was opened up for young writers who for a long time had been oppressed by the Bolshevik yoke.

Georgia — A Land of Eternal Strife (Continued from Page 5)

ful to the Georgian ideal of preferring a hero's death to a life of shame. The rising became the unparalleled martyrdom of a nation and even Ordschoni-kidse, the notorious soviet butcher, admitted later that Georgian wives urged their husbands to fight and stood side by side with them on the field of battle. They were then shot summarily or burnt. After the rising was quelled, thousands of Georgians were deported to Siberia, while, by Kalinin's special command, Georgian intellectuals were sent into exile. Even the Georgian language was proscribed and the people were compelled to speak and write in Russian.

Nor were intellectual life and national Georgian culture spared. School-books are not allowed to contain any mention of Georgia's glorious past. Instead, school children are fed on well-known soviet shibboleths. The final aim is to completely eliminate the Georgian spirit from the hearts of the population.

And, in spite of all, Moscow has not yet succeeded, and never will succeed, in suppressing Georgian life or in enslaving the freedom-loving Georgians. The Georgians' battle continues.

Dr. N. N.

Talented men like Qorqit, M. Rausan, Hushnud, Sayram and others began to depict the happy past of our nation and the present tragedy of our country. Certainly if writers and poets are to be reckoned as lyrists of their nation, they must live and produce their creations among their own people.

It is, however, quite the opposite in the Communist regime of the Soviet Union. Between literature and the people there is a great gulf. Between reality and the works of writers, there is a very great difference.

If the nation is subjected to torture and sorrow and is suffering from an injustice, never previously witnessed in the history of mankind why does its literature speak of "great victories" and "a happy life"? If the nation weeps, why does its literature smile?

The reason is that literature is under the control of Bolshevism and is used as a means of propaganda. Writers are not allowed to choose their themes as they would like, but have to obey orders. They can only write according to instructions received. Literary works which are so falsified, can have no real value.

We feel it necessary to quote an example of this.

A few days before the opening of the 18th session of the Central Committee of the all-Union Communist Party, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Usman Jusupof, summoned certain writers and poets to the Central Committee and told them to compose a letter in verse addressed to Stalin "In the name of the Uzbekistan People". The poets spent a sleepless night but composed the letters.

Next day this letter was broadcast in all newspapers. It consisted, from beginning to end, of praise of Stalin. A similar thing occurred at the time of the construction of the great Ferghana canal by the efforts of 160 000 unpaid collective farm workers. They toiled like slaves day and night and when the whole work was finished, the party organization composed a letter of thanks to Stalin.

And now a few words about Soviet criticism.

Recently, criticism of the literature of the national republics has increased in volume. This is done for a definite reason.

The "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" (1. 4. 1947) printed an article entitled "For a true Picture of Soviet Patriots". A certain M. Gabdullin criticised the works of young Kazakh poets such as: "Er Tulegen" by N. Baimurat "Mansuk"

by M. Hakimjan—"Sultan" by I. Esenberli. All these poems were devoted to the praise of heroes of the Fatherland war and all were criticised.

Why? the critic himself answers this question. He says in these works devoted to the heroes of the Soviet Union, the heroism of the warriors is depicted as not due to the fact that they were sons of the Soviet Fatherland or were wholeheartedly devoted to the Socialist Fatherland, but because they were inspired by the spirit of heroes in the past, and they say nothing about the role of the Lenin-Stalin Party, which has inculcated a high political morale in the Soviet citizen.

This is what the "political vein" of the poets amounts to!

It is true to say that the poets themselves were inspired and inspired their heroes with the spirit of national heroism.

The writer, N. Baimurat puts the following words into the mouth of his hero in the poem "Er Tulegen" before going into battle:

"Oh, Kapanbai, father mine
Say a prayer for your son,
Oh, Er-Kapanbai, I need your help,
Give me strength and inspiration."

In other words the heroes of Tulegen's poem always appealed to the spirit of the national heroes Kapanbai, Abilaikhan, Er-Targin and others. But according to Tulegen's critics it was wrong to appeal to the spirits of past heroes, it was necessary to appeal to Lenin instead of the Kapanbai instead of to Abilaikhan to Stalin and instead of to Er-Targin, to the great Russian people etc.

Many examples like this could be quoted. But we shall refrain from quoting others. We will mention a book which was praised by the Soviets. The title of this book is "Turkmen Novels". A bibliography of this book appeared in the "Pravda" (17 7 1947) and in the "Turkmenskaya Iskra" (No. 142).

The writer, Nurmat Sarikhan, "earned" praise for writing "as a result of the Socialist revolution the Turkmen people have been reborn and the Soviet order has been established".

On closer acquaintance with Sarikhan's book we see that it only consists of phantasies entirely at variance with actual facts. He writes in his story "Ancient Book" as follows:

"In the past the shepherd and later the kolkhoz worker Velmurat kept Maktumkuli's book but could not read it owing to being illiterate. The Socialist October revolution helped him to read and write.

But this is really too absurd!

We have every right to state that under the Soviet regime there is no creative freedom. Creative power is being strangled by the grip of Moscow.

A. Tashkentli

Estonia

Three recent fugitives from Saaremaa give the following information:

Saaremaa has been proclaimed a **fortified region** and out of bounds for strangers. People from the continent may get travelling permits to Saaremaa only with the greatest difficulty; the islanders, however, may travel to the continent if they have a valid reason.

There is a **pronounced tendency to reduce the population** of the island. Many of the younger inhabitants have voluntarily left their homes to work in factories on the mainland, where life is more tolerable than in the collectivized rural districts. Many young men have been drafted to so-called industrial and factory schools. These schools are subordinated to the All-Union Labour Re-

serve Board and after graduation the pupils may be and are, sent to work compulsorily to any part of the U.S.S.R. the Board may see fit to send them. Thanks to deportations, arrests, evacuations, the above mentioned draftings, military conscription and losses of life through warfare, the civilian population of Saaremaa (about 60 000 before the war) has decreased approximately by 20 000.

In recent years the world press has shown much interest in Saaremaa, maintaining that the Soviets had turned it into an impregnable **military base** and experiment field for **secret weapons**. The fugitives deny this and there is reason to believe them, as the island is, after all, small enough for the population of one part to know what takes place in another.

Strong coastguard units man the west coast along which watchtowers have been built. Armed guards man these towers day and night for fear of spies landing on the island. Coastguards patrol the shore, exchanging slips with their signatures on meeting. They are accompanied by police dogs and every suspicious track on the shore is immediately investigated.

The **fishing boats** are concentrated at a few points on the coast where they are kept in an enclosure of barbed wire, under armed guard. As a rule, some essential parts are removed from the motor boats. The reason given is that "bandits" may get hold of the boats and escape from the country if the boats are left by themselves. Although the measure is believed to be aimed at keeping the fishermen under control and the population from escaping, it cannot be denied that the Russians have an unholy fear of "bandits" as they call the underground resistance fighters. Unreliable fishermen are not allowed to put out to sea.

All the former lighthouses on Saaremaa are in operation with two exceptions: the ones on the Island of Abruksa and at Hallirahu which were damaged in the war and have not been repaired. The shore facing the mainland is comparatively **weakly guarded**.

The coast guards have the use of a number of German fighter planes which have been turned into **hydroplanes** and are stationed at Kuressaare. These planes patrol the sea when some suspicious ship is seen approaching, or when a fishing boat tries to put to sea secretly. Comparatively few of the coast guard **speed boats** are stationed on Saaremaa; the larger coasting cutters are called in from Paldiski whenever necessary. As far as the fugitives know, no **radar apparatus** has been installed on Saaremaa. High power **searchlights** have been set on the tip of the Sorve peninsula facing the coast of Courland. The strait (Irben) is constantly patroll-

ed by two coastguard cutters which are also provided with searchlights playing on the sea by night to prevent strange boats from approaching unnoticed.

The coast guards are all Russians who do not know a word of Estonian. At their stations they have interpreters who are usually reliable Russians from Petseri (a district of Estonia with a Russian minority) or Estonians from the U.S.S.R. As soon as it is noticed that a coast guard has established friendly relations with the local inhabitants, he is removed to the U.S.S.R.

The authorities have succeeded in implanting in the local population the belief that far out on the open sea there is a dense chain of ships guarding the entrance to and exit from Saaremaa and that no boat can pass them. At the coastguard barracks and elsewhere sea-charts and posters showing this line of ships have been put up. A legend attached says that nobody should try to escape as he would be captured without fail. Actually, however, no such ships exist.

Immediately after the war the number of **troops** on Saaremaa was large, but in course of time, most of them have been evacuated. At present the main forces on the island are some detachments of marines and some infantry units. About 100 fighter and bomber **planes** are permanently stationed at the Saaremaa aerodromes. In July and August of last year large scale **tactical exercises** were held in the whole of Estonia, mainly to train co-operation between land and air forces. At that time the number of planes on Saaremaa rose to about 350. The coastal batteries fired at moving targets on the sea and planes bombed the same targets. A number of accidents happened on the island at the time, the most serious in the village of Somera, where bombs from a plane killed a number of people and cattle.

The **Sorve peninsula** has suffered most damage from warfare. The majority of the farms were burnt down. The greater part of Soviet troops on Saaremaa are stationed at Sorve. Some of the farmers have tried to return to their farms there, but this was forbidden. In summer the water in the strait between Saaremaa and Hiiumaa is so low that it is possible to cross it on foot. The place is carefully watched so that nobody can go or come in this way.

Until quite recently the Russians do not seem to have feared that **war might break out**. Since last autumn, however, they are exhibiting signs of extreme nervousness. The Estonians await a war with the greatest longing as the only chance to get rid of the occupants. During the above mentioned maneuvers the people believed that war had actually broken out and that a battle was waged at sea with a Western fleet which had penetrated into the Baltic.

Comments

(Continued from Page 4)

Commissioner in Germany to the Pilgrim's Society in London. John McCloy spoke of America's determined attitude towards the East. The Libau incident — the shooting down of an American B 29 by Russian fighters — once more threw light upon Russia's relations with the West and convinced large sections of the British public of the necessity of an unyielding policy towards Russia. For the Russians, Libau meant a loss of prestige in foreign affairs, the magnitude of which is probably only half grasped by the Kremlin. International affairs in the Soviet Union cannot be as stable as propaganda from the Kremlin would like us to believe. That is obvious from the comments in the Russian press which, remarkably enough, for the first time are trying to give concrete replies to the attacks launched by the Western press and broadcasting stations. In these comments, Russians state that Russian economy still leaves something to be desired, that mistakes and inadequacies must be eliminated, that houses must be built, and that the production of essential goods must increase. It is not astonishing that at the same time the West is reproached because its armament fever is preventing the Soviet Union from developing her peace-time economy and forcing her to make tremendous efforts in the field of armaments.

In making these reproaches and in its answers to western propaganda, the Soviet Union reveals the fact that it has been possible for Western ideas to penetrate behind the Iron Curtain, that Communism has not been assimilated by the nations oppressed by Moscow, that resistance to Moscow within Russia should not be under-estimated. For this more or less silent resistance will play a most important part when the temperature of the war that is still cold, rises.

G.

Bulgarian National Holidays

For Bulgaria the month of May used to be dedicated to the memory of great victories and glorious national events. The 6th of May is celebrated as the Day of St George the Victor, patron of the Bulgarian Army and of the Cross of Valiance. For Bulgaria it was Victory Day and all the people in the towns and villages used to celebrate it before the Bolsheviks came.

On the eve of St. George's Day all Bulgarian troops had parades in the town squares, where the names of those, who sacrificed their lives in wars were read, and the people knelt down to pray for them.

On St. George's Day great military parades were held and demonstrations and marches of the members of all organizations took place, e. g. workers, peasants, sportsmen, veterans, schools etc.

Special attention was always paid to those soldiers and civilians, who were holders of the Cross of Valiance.

The greatest celebrations were in Sofia in the presence of the King, the High Clergy, the Government and the Diplomatic Corps.

The Day started with Divine Services in the open air, under the blue sky. Then the King took the salute of the Army, and people greeted their soldiers and heroes with great enthusiasm all day.

The 24th of May was the Day of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the apostles and authors of the Old Bulgarian alphabet. This day again was a day of national pride. Whereas St. George's Day was a day of military significance the Day of St. Cyril and St. Methodius was a day of great cultural importance.

On the eve of this day all schools used to be decorated magnificently with flowers, pictures of the Saints, etc. During the day, Bulgarian youth from elementary to university schools with all their teachers took part in Divine Service under the blue sky. All offices connected in any with cultural activities and all cultural workers celebrated it too.

Pupils in their school uniforms with orchestras of their own, with pictures of the Apostles and banners with phrases of the Scriptures paraded for long hours through the streets in demonstration.

This day of the two Apostles is especially dedicated to the cultural achievements of the Bulgarian nation.

The revolutionary liberation fight of the Bulgarian patriots gives a guarantee that soon the time will come, when the Bulgarian Nation will again be free and able to celebrate these glorious Days with ardour as before, and the names of the many new heroes who gave their lives in the fight against the Communists, will be read again, accompanied by the prayers of the whole people.

The Chronicle

A Speech by President of White Ruthenian National Council

M. Abramchyk, the president of the independent White Ruthenian People's Republic which was founded in 1917—18, recently visited the White Ruthenian settlement in Chicago. His fellow-countrymen accorded him a warm reception and he gave an important address. We reproduce here extracts from that speech.

Having learnt from a sad fate and bitter experience, the White Ruthenian people finally arrived at the conclusion that it will never be happy till it has won a free and independent state for itself, until it takes power into its own hands. At the general congress in Minsk in 1917, the White Ruthenian people proclaimed that its country was a free republic and laws were made embodying the principles of democracy and ensuring the establishment of human and social justice.

Our envious neighbours (i. e. Poles and Russians — Ed.) attacked our young republic from two sides and divided it among themselves. At that time, the civilized world still knew little about the White Ruthenian people and, as a result, we did not receive the support that was granted to other nations. In White Ruthenia, economic oppression and political terrorism were once more introduced. White Ruthenians had to see the best of their sons flung into prison by the Poles, into the concentration camp of Beresa Kartusk for instance, while tens of thousands were shot by the Bolsheviks in the soviet part of White Ruthenia. 280,000 White Ruthenians were banished to the concentration camps of Siberia where many of them died.

But not even such terrorism could stop the White Ruthenian movement for freedom. The idea of an independent White Ruthenia became a sacred ideal for the people, an ideal for which martyrs gave their lives in order that White Ruthenia should rise again and live. The White Ruthenian people fought against the Russian Czars, against Bolshevik and Polish occupation authorities, against Hitler's tyrants and today it continues to fight against the Bolsheviks who have returned to occupy the country.

Long live unity among White Ruthenians all over the free world! May our fighting brothers in White Ruthenia draw support and inspiration therefrom!

Long live the free and independent nation of White Ruthenia!

Stepan Bandera on the Ukraine's Struggle for Liberation

In the beginning of April this year, a great part of the world press published reports from AP and UP press agencies concerning the press conference summoned by Stepan Bandera, the chairman of the office of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists (OUN).

According to these reports, the press conference was held at a hotel in the Bavarian mountains. Bandera appeared, accompanied by an armed Ukrainian guard. He appealed to the Western Powers to put an end to cooperation with the Soviet Union and to support the anti-communist struggle for freedom on the other side of the Iron Curtain. He promised the Western Powers the support of the Ukrainian people in their fight against Russian imperialism, if the West would guarantee national independence for the Ukraine.

S. Bandera declared that the methods which the West is employing today would not help it to win a victory over Bolshevism. One day the bolsheviks will pass from a "cold war" to a real one, as Moscow's feverish preparations for war amply testify.

Revolutionary movements of the nations on the other side of the Iron Curtain are united in the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations and if the West does not proclaim that its aim is to free the nations of the ABN from the yoke of oppression, it can scarcely win the war against Moscow.

Mr. Bandera gave the press information about The Ukrainian Army of Insurgents (UPA), the Ukrainian Central Council of Liberation (UHWR), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and about members of the Insurgent Army who had found their way west.

In reply to a question as to whether it would be possible for a journalist to get into the Ukraine in order to see something of the activity of the Insurgent Army, Bandera replied that it was possible, though it demanded courage: "Half of our couriers between the Ukraine and Germany are caught by the bolsheviks on the way."

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Self-Determination of Nations

Theory and Practice

If "self-determination of nations" is to become a constructive maxim for a future world order, it must first be clearly defined. This slogan, used even before Wilson took it up, was repeated again in World War II and the Atlantic Charter, and has been declared the basic principle of the U.N.

The Russian Bolsheviks who have since proved to be the greatest frauds ever known, adorned their flags in the 1917 Revolution with the same slogan. They promised the non-Russian peoples of the Russian imperium magnanimous "self-determination" which might go "as far as secession" from Russia. Many naive circles among our peoples were misled by these fine words. The same slogan of self-determination was later propagated by Hitler at the outbreak of the war. Who has not promised our peoples freedom and justice, only in order to subject them? . . .

Nevertheless the idea of freedom and justice remains the greatest motive power in the history of the world. The importance attributed to the national idea by the Bolsheviks from the very beginning, is convincingly proved by the fact that at Lenin's time, the Peoples Commissariat for the affairs of non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. was headed by Stalin himself. This post was obviously regarded as higher than even the Commissariat for Defence, so that it was only natural that Stalin and not Trotsky became Lenin's successor.

The slogan propagated in 1917/18 by the Bolsheviks "Self-determination of the non-Russian peoples, including their possible secession from Russia", was to make the Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbaidjanians, Turkestanians, Idel-Uralians, and the other peoples of the Russian imperium, — superior in number to the Russians, — believe that the Bol-

shevists had turned away from the traditional Russian imperialism and that they looked benevolently upon the desire for national independence among the subjected peoples. In reality, however, the very words in which the self-determination proclamation was couched betrayed the insidious game; for as long as secession from the Russian empire was only an eventuality for the subjected peoples, "self-determination" was only an illusion.

To determine its fate itself, each nation must be first of all, master of its own will and not stand under the power of alien police and alien troops. Otherwise self-determination becomes merely a farce, the success of which lies in the discretion of the occupation powers and can be decided beforehand. The non-Russian peoples must be released from the Russian prison of nations before they can exercise the right of self-determination. The right of "self-determination" granted by the Bolsheviks under the auspices of Russian administration and oppression by the Russian police and army, frustrates any thought of secession from the very first.

This noble slogan, proclaimed so insidiously and hypocritically by the Russian Bolsheviks was not without effect in 1917/18. There were naive elements among the subjected peoples who were caught by it and gave their support to the Lenin régime because they read into the Bolshevik proclamation something it did not say, much less mean. These victims of Bolshevik fraud took a long time to understand why no state independence was granted to their nation by the Bolshevik régime.

As the slogan "self-determination of nations" has been so much abused, it is time to find a clear interpretation of nations" has been so much abused, it is time to find a clear interpretation of the problem and its practical solution. There are, however, hardly any incidents known in history when a subjected people has won its freedom, through a plebiscite, whereas there are examples of a subjugated people achieving its independence by fighting and bloodshed.

The self-determination of several peoples now subjected by Russia had

been achieved long before. The Ukrainian people, for instance, had their independence a thousand years ago, when it created its own powerful state. The capital, Kiev, and later the West Ukrainian towns of Halytsh and Wolodymyr became the centres of the political and cultural life of Ukraine. After the Ukrainian people came under Polish dominion it never ceased waging sanguinary war and revolts against its conqueror till, at last, the great revolution of 1648, under Bohdan Chmelnytskyj, brought the country its liberty. Then, when the assaults of Moscow imperialism against Ukraine began, the Ukrainian people were forced for decades, to fight on two fronts at the same time. When the unequal battle ended with the conquest of the country by the Russian imperialists, the latter proceeded to falsify Ukrainian history to please themselves. Hardly had the alien yoke been shaken off in 1918, and the Ukrainian People's Republic been declared, when once again the Ukrainian people had to prove their will to freedom and independence in a bitter war on two fronts, against Russians and Poles, and this campaign is still going on. All the other nations subjected by Moscow have manifested their love of freedom in the same way in the last centuries and, like the Ukrainians, took up arms for their hardly won independence in 1918.

We need not fight for the self-determination of our nations, we demand rather, that the facts of that self-determination, that was carried through centuries ago, be recognized. Hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian heroes who have fought and bled in the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army for the liberty and independence of Ukraine have demonstrated clearly enough the will of the Ukrainian people. Much more convincing for the world than any referendum should be the countless heads of all

**For God, and a free Home!
For Freedom
of the Subjugated!**

**ABN fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

Is ABN Trying to Start a New War?

Do we, adherents of ABN., really want to provoke another world war?

Of course not. What we want is to give expression to considerations of the world situation and politics to-day, viz. that a third world war will come, because it is inevitable. We do not want war because it is we, the peoples of the ABN. who have always, over and over again, had to pay for every world war with blood, sacrifices, and ruins, and keep on paying. We hate war more than anyone and have good reason to.

It is not war we seek ... We seek and demand only freedom and a decent human life.

If anyone who has survived the horrors of war once, or even twice, has seen the destruction and ruins everywhere, experienced the methods, of mass terrorization and murder by National Socialists, and therefore believes he can imagine the conditions under Russian Communism he is greatly mistaken. He does not know half enough.

In order to know the conditions in the present day Soviet Union, he must stay with us there for years in these conditions, must "enjoy" in the Soviet "Republics" the happiness of social equality and "the rays of the Kremlin sun"; experience and go through what we did, and do. Only then can he have an idea of what it means to live in Soviet-Russian reality and exist under the constant threat of death; then, too, he would understand the longing to end such a life and **fight and get a new, free one.** Only then will he realize why the Soviet paradise is compared to hell, and why hell seems so much milder than the Soviet "paradise on earth".

There is no question of our "wanting" war, for we have had it for years, and if we want to live in peace and freedom, we have to go on fighting. **Once our aim is achieved it is our wish**

Self-Determination of Nations

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those Ukrainians who have fallen in the gigantic ballot box between the Carpathians, the Don and the Caucasians. What paper manipulation of public opinion could mean more than this plebiscite of blood? Who could dare today to deny the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, who can look back on well-achieved historical rights, their claims of independence, when even colonial peoples, one after the other are gaining their independence in the present epoch.

At any rate it must be evident that as long as our peoples live in the Soviet prison of nations, there can be no question of any self-determination for them. The contrary would mean denying in practice what has been promised the nations in theory.

to lead a quiet life, to devote our energy and work to the welfare of our peoples and of the rest of the world. Until that is accomplished we intend to go on fighting against Russian imperialism, whether the Western World is more, or less, indifferent to us.

We do not imagine that its attitude can be in any way directed against us. That would be suicide or madness, or to put it mildly boundless irresponsibility. We should, however, like to ask a question: will the Western World go with us, i. e. the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, against the greatest enemy of mankind and a just world order — Communism — or will this world remain in its blind egoism and false idea of self-preservation and turn us a cold shoulder?

We know, for we see it all the time, the West does not quite understand us, the peoples of the ABN. Firstly, the broad masses do not understand us because they are under the influence of the insolent and abundant propaganda spread by the Bolshevik-Communist press and radio. By that they are inoculated with a false impression of events and living conditions in the Soviet Union and the satellite states and all that is further enhanced by fifth columnists of Russian Bolshevism. It never seems to dawn on the citizens of the Western World that this press, this radio and this "fifth column" are paid for in the name of "social equality" and "comradeship", with blood, hunger, death from exhaustion, a shot in the neck, or the gallows, by a life worse than animals have. It is the peoples subjected by Russia who have to pay the price.

Secondly the responsible circles of the Western World, — the "brain trust", — know a great deal more than they pretend, of what goes on behind the Iron Curtain. In spite of that they do not understand, or rather they will not understand us. They are all too business-like in thought and action, despite all the declarations of Democracy and "droit de l'homme". Perhaps they would show more interest if they could do business with us. As long as there is no business in sight, other things, such as humaneness, defence of justice, love of liberty, must take a back seat...

The gigantic propaganda of the Bolshevik-Russian government is not without its effect in these circles either, but the "fifth column" does more damage among the brain trust than the first.

We should like to mention a third factor, which may be called the **sixth column of Russian imperialism**, the main object of which is to keep the Russian Empire in its present boundaries, but make a change of government, replacing the present "democratic"

régime with another "democratic" régime, neither of which having anything at all to do with Democracy. We shall have more to say of this sixth column of Russian imperialism which is headed by Kerenski, in our next number.

We merely wish to point out here, that the Western World has shown itself so weak and pliable under the influence of all these factors, that on the one side it recoils from the inevitable conflict and on the other will not understand us. This attitude, in our opinion is mistaken, and should it go on much longer, may lead to a catastrophe, not for the East, it has it already, but for the West.

There is another point: the false interpretation of Soviet policy, with its fiendish artfulness and eternal urge for expansion.

One may wonder that the West knows so little of the history of eastern Europe and Russia, or that the Western Powers have learnt so little from it. It is surprising that the leading men in the West have, even now, not realized and seen through Russia's most powerful weapon: "to pretend friendship where she hates, to conceal sly plans behind a satanic smile". It has always been so, — whether under the Czars or under the Russian Democracy or the Russian Bolsheviks, — the method has remained the same.

Since the 16th century Russia has been expanding its territory, always "seeking peace". To this "search for peace" more and more peoples and lands have fallen victim, because they never received adequate help from the West. The same West which they saved from the Russian flood by their sacrifice of blood and life and by forming a bulwark against Russia. The West was glad to be left in peace and never troubled to think that the Russian danger might one day knock at its own doors.

We must admit that sometimes there were noble inspirations, when the leading men of Western Europe thought of dividing up the Russian imperium among small, independent lands, thus pushing aside the Russian danger for ever. These men were Charles Gustavus X., his grandson Charles XII, Frederic and William II of Prussia, Oliver Cromwell, the great Corsican. All these plans were delayed for discussion and then the Russians were in good form and it seemed unfair to "disturb the peace", while Russia remained true to its methods of tricks and lies. Deceiving friend and foe alike, it gained ground.

Even Bismarck the confirmed friend of peace with Russia, who was convinced by Emperor Alexander's "solemn assurance that he would renounce conquest and annexation", saying he did not know "who had a right to question the assurances of this monarch and to make the public suspicious that Russia was after the conquest of new

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plan failed when his military expeditions ended with complete defeat.

After 60 years of war (1824-1884) the Russians occupied Western Turkestan. Then defeated Turkestan was divided into 5 districts and two vassal states. This division was made with the expectation of possibly the greatest exploitation (there were 610 national liberating insurrections in Turkestans besides great defensive fights).

Hoping to achieve independence by the collapse of the Czarist empire, the population of Turkestan believed the Communist declarations and gladly accepted the revolution.

To the great disappointment of the population, the Communists, continued the colonizing policy of Czarist Russia in an even worse form.

The Kokadian autonomy was established at the end of 1917 by military force after the liquidation of the first national independence. The population of Turkestan having experienced Communism, started their resistance against the new tyranny.

This resistance movement called by the Bolsheviks "Basmatstvo" was indeed a real armed insurrection of the Turkestanian Nation. It was led under the motto: "Fight for Freedom."

In consequence of the Bosmats' insurrection the Second National Congress was called. The Congress proclaimed the independent Turkestan Republic and elected National Representatives. A special delegation went to Moscow. The Moscow government replied by arresting the delegation and started to organise the Turkestanian front under the command of Frunze.

Clashes followed immediately. Turkestan was turned into a battle field. The national liberating movement of Turkestan under the leadership of Euver Pasha was broken up and monolite Turkestan was divided into 5 Soviet republics; Usbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kaakhtsan, Tadjikistan and Kirdjistan. The Bolshevik, like Czarist Russia created advantageous circumstances for their total rule over the country.

An instense activity for national liberation, organized by the national intelligentsia has never ceased to exist in spite of frequent arrests made by the Russian authorities in 1929, 1937, 1945, 1947.

Although hundreds of Turkestanians have been persecuted the organised liberation movement, against the Soviet régime, is still active in the form of the National Committee of Turkestan. This Committee has been fighting already for 30 years. Recently their ranks have increased.

The Turkestanian people follow their leaders and keep in touch with other non-Russian peoples, having as their main aim, freedom and independence.

The United National Committee of Turkestan and the Turkestanian people feel united with other peoples fighting against Moscow.

The Fifth Column of the Cominform Calls Itself the Partisans of Peace

Instructions from the Cominform to its trusty followers in the West (which have recently become known here) were addressed "To the Partisans of Peace".

"Partisans of Peace" they call themselves, these people who are working in the West by every means, cunning, brutality, and terrorization, for Russian imperialism. Partisans of Peace willingly carry out Moscow's orders which dictate sabotage, spying, robbery, and murder. Partisans of Peace, those people who only bring unrest, and revolution into the lives of alien peoples.

"Partisans of Peace" has thus become the official name for people who are neither partisans, nor do they desire peace. **Partisans were, are and always will be, fighters for freedom and independence**, and when these aims are achieved, then the partisans become peaceful citizens—workers, employees, peasants, scientists, and artists.

Peace knows no partisans, so "partisans of peace" is nothing but Bolshevik propaganda which, as of old, merely turns facts round and fills the Western World with the clashing cymbals of peace, to drown the beating of drums in the East.

Peace partisan No. 1, Joseph Stalin, surprised the world on Wednesday the 15 th. of March 1950, with a new peace World with the clashing cymbals of ference between U.S.A., England, and the U.S.S.R., at the same time declaring his willingness to settle the spheres of interest in the western and eastern world. The western world understood and refused, stating that with this proposal of peace Stalin merely wished to show the Soviet peoples his government's desire for peace, in order to carry on war preparations all the more energetically.

Group No. 2 of the fifth column are the people who propagate pacificism and with their important positions in art, science and the Church, undermine the resistance of the Western World by producing a peace psychosis which, if nothing is done against it, will one day lead to the West falling to Russian imperialism like ripe fruit into a basket. Just a few names from the many: the Dean of Canterbury, Johnson, the well-known American scientist, Joliot Curie, the French research worker.

Group 2 of the fifth column is composed of people who occupy important posts in governments, economics, general staffs and scientific

laboratories. Some sell themselves for gold, while others put themselves at the service of Russian Bolshevik imperialism from a mistaken idealism. The American, Judith Caplon and the English subject and atomic scientist, Fuchs are examples in recent times.

Group No. 3 of the fifth column is formed of couriers, saboteurs, bullies, and murderers, who carry out Moscow's orders implicitly. There is a whole series of these people, but it is unnecessary to mention separate cases. The organizations of people persecuted in the former Nazi regime, who are in part completely under Communist influence are not included in this grouping. In them the nimbus of the resistance fighter against Fascism is taken advantage of, in order to lend Communist watchwords of world fraternization especial stress. The so-called Neo-Humanists are not included either. They are chiefly found in France and their pessimistic, decadent conception of life, undermines the steadiness, independence and love of freedom among their victims.

These two classes, though outside a group classification, are to be found in among all three groups and are all the more dangerous because they are harder to recognize.

The campaign of the West against Moscow's Fifth Column is being fought and becomes more violent every day. The FBI. (Federal Bureau of Investigation) in U.S.A., the proceedings against Gubitschew and Caplon, the purging of American Government Offices and agencies of Communist elements, the combing of offices in Great Britain, the trial of Dr. Fuchs in London, General de Gaulle's fight in France against Communist-influenced Trade Unions, King Leopold's victory at the polls in Belgium, the severity with which the Dutch Government handles Communist intrigues, the demand made by Italian politicians of the right and Christian centre to forbid the Communist Party in Italy, and the serious discussions in West Europe as to whether the Communist Party should be banned as illegal in all countries, clearly show that the countries of the West have become increasingly aware of the danger of the Fifth Column in their midst, and that the free countries have no intention of calmly accepting the doings of the Fifth Column.

The "PARTISANS OF PEACE" have been recognized for what they are, the outposts of the **BOLSHEVIK WORLD REVOLUTION!**

G n

1940 Russian terms of peace were accepted by Finland. Russia received the neck of land near Viipuri (Vyborg), north-west of Leningrad, also the naval base of Hanko.

For further action against the Baltic States, Soviet Russia chose the most propitious moment — the period when Germany was at deadly grips with France. The day after the fall of Paris, on June 14, 1940, without any pretense of law or justice, Soviet Russia presented an ultimatum to Lithuania. In it Lithuania and other Baltic States were accused of military conspiracy against the U.S.S.R. On June 16, 1940, ultimatums were issued to Latvia and Esthonia bearing the completely unfounded accusations that the Baltic General Staffs had been plotting against the U.S.S.R. The Bolsheviks then bluntly demanded free passage for troops and the establishment of "pro-Soviet governments". Simultaneously with the issuance of the ultimatum, the Red Army moved into the Baltic countries. Thus Soviet Russia committed herself to open, ruthless, unprovoked aggression in direct violation of the Treaties of Non-Aggression and Amicable Settlement, entered with

Esthonia on May 4, 1932, with Latvia on Feb. 5, 1932 and with Lithuania on Sept. 28, 1926, not to mention the pacts of mutual assistance in October 1939. On August 3—5—6, 1940, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were incorporated into the U.S.S.R. and deprived of their independence, as well as their political, social and economic systems. The Western Powers tacitly recognized this state of affairs. The Potsdam Conference of July 1945 agreed that the

western frontier of the U.S.S.R. should extend from the Bay of Danzig on the Baltic coast to the meeting point of the frontiers of Poland, Lithuania and East Prussia. Agreement in principle was reached on the inclusion of the Baltic States and part of East Prussia with the city of Koenigsberg into the Soviet Union. Never before did Russia stand so firmly on the Baltic coast as she does at present.

Oleh R. Martowych

800 Years of Russian's March

Toward World Conquest

The area of the Russian State was:

In the XIV century	216 000 sq. m.
In the XVI century	3 375 000 sq. m.
In the XVII century	6 555 000 sq. m.
In the XVIII century	6 694 000 sq. m.
In the XIX century	8 644 000 sq. m.
In the XX century (1939)	9 620 000 sq. m.
In the XX century (1945)	10 070 000 sq. m.
Soviet. "Großraum" 1945	13 848 000 sq. m.

For the last 800 years the Russian State has expanded at the rate of nearly 47 sq. m. a day.

And 1949? — Please, add all China. The pace has increased tenfold.

And 1950? — It is clever to be a passive onlooker when the Russian imperialists destroy whole nations and strive for world domination or so the Western World seems to think . . .

In spite of the indifference of this World, the National Liberation Organisations of all oppressed peoples united in the ABN will continue their fight.

Is ABN Trying to Start the New War?

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provinces . . . Even he must have felt disappointed, a little later at the insolence and ruthlessness of Russian diplomacy, which, without regard to international law, wished to destroy Bulgaria's independence and to reach Constantinople, "only for the sake of peace". By that he was probably forced to inspire Hartmann's articles on the necessity of dividing Russia.

Is it different now? Not in the least.

Russian imperialism gains more and more territory always by the same methods: falseness, deceit, ruthlessness, bestiality. Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam; Balkan Countries, Czechoslovakia, China; religious persecution, trials, gallows, are examples enough.

The Russians have penetrated farther to the west, east and south than ever before, have the Baltic States in their hands, have reached the Mediterranean (for which they had striven for centuries) and are marching victoriously on China; always "only seeking peace".

To-day they are striding under the red flag of World Communism, with the deceptive words of social equality, justice and even, — when it seems necessary — "national freedom", all of which does not hinder them from introducing the Russian language in the schools of the newly conquered countries; social equality means the exploitation of the workers and special privileges for party members; justice is done with shots in the neck and the gallows; national and personal freedom is main-

tained by terror, concentration camps and slavery.

The oppressed peoples are suffering and dying, fighting for a free, fair life for themselves and the rest of the world which is threatened by Communism; they are bent on destroying Russian imperialism and setting up free, independent states on its ruins.

And the West? They see it and notice nothing. Hear and will not understand. Would even like to keep things as they are, because, as G. F. Kennan for instance, says, the Russian has bitten off more than he can comfortably chew! Millions of people can perish . . . Morals, Justice, Democracy, Yes, but . . . W. S. Churchill suggests negotiating with the Russians.

If the Russians attack? Then A.-bomb or H.-bomb, leaflets, promises, declarations to the peoples, as W. Carroll advises.

They will win us by leaflets, declarations and promises at the beginning of a war?

Useless. On one hand because we are on the side of the West anyway when it is a case of fighting Russian Communism, against which we always will fight to the death; on the other because we have seen too many leaflets, declarations, promises etc. We expect deeds. We would rather have facts, real and effective facts.

Above all we desire to be understood and appreciated in our struggle for freedom and self-determination.

We should like to know whether the West is prepared to correct their bad mistakes, the worst of which is to believe that Russian imperialism, to-day in the form of International Communism, will stop at any frontier.

In order to avoid war, these two World parasites — international Communism and Russian Imperialism — living now in the organic symbiosis of Russian Bolshevism must be crushed and exterminated.

In Russian Bolshevism and its unceasing aggression lies the germ of the world war and not in the peace and freedom-loving peoples subjugated by it — not in the ABN.!

Russian Bolshevism must first be destroyed to give peace to the world — ABN firmly declares.

That cannot be achieved by leaflets and promises. There must be proper deeds. Deeds in consequence of harmonious co-operation of technique and more especially noble spirit.

Without the co-operation of the Western World with the subjugated, freedom-loving peoples as partners, a war cannot be won, or peace achieved.

Deeds cannot be delayed they must begin to-day otherwise they will again be too late. The Russians who are knocking at the doors of the west to-day, may be to-morrow on the Atlantic, looking for further possibilities of expansion — always "only seeking peace", having long prepared for the new war.

May the West be warned in time, and this appeal fall on fruitful ground.

Dr. D. Z.

Bolshevism, Russia and the Front of Subjugated and Endangered Nations

The attempts of the Bolsheviks to erect a socially just and well-to-do country of workers and peasants have virtually ended in the creation of an oppressive system of state capitalism where workers and peasants are thrown into abject poverty, exploitation and lawlessness. In order to keep the power in their hands, the Kremlin clique initiated the development of a now, ruling class consisting of Stalin's slave-masters, medel-bearers, commissars, "politruks", and of late of an officer's caste. Workers were tied to their workshops and by extraordinary working norms, stakhanite and social competition under the conditions of a terrible living-standard and political terror, they are exploited like old time serfs. The same is happening to the collective farmers which in order to get a minimal means of subsistence are forced to work all the year round for illusory "workdays" and they starve in consequence.

Nothing has remained of the old ideals of the revolutionary period which were so dearly paid for. The basic democratic liberties such as freedom of speech, press and assembly do not exist. Each branch of life is directed by the Kremlin clique by means of the monopoly of the Communist party, which amounts to a virtual party dictatorship.

The ideals of self-determination and separation of nations into independent states, the Kremlin clique substituted by administrative, so-called "union republics", stripping individual nations of all political privileges. All lately introduced novelties as e. g. the establishment of the Commissariat for Defence and Foreign Affairs are only sand throwing into the eyes of benighted circles among the different nationalities.

Taking the stand of "building socialism in one country" the Bolsheviks switched completely over to the lane of Russian nationalism and imperialism. The Russians or the Russianized elements are entrusted with the leading posts in the party, administration, army, industry and in other fields. On the basis of the Russian language, Russian culture, patriotism, history, racial theory and Messiahism, the Bolsheviks try to create of all other nations and nationalities inhabiting the present U.S.S.R. a new Soviet nation, which in its substance is to be nothing but a Russian nation.

The unbridled Stalinite imperialism under the cover of defense of the fatherland, "liberation", slavophilism and pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, whips the million masses of the Red Army soldiers onward to the beacon light of the global revolution with the aim to grab Europe first and then to bag the entire world, profusely shedding the blood of their fighters and the tears of

the Soviet population, driving them on the insane road of imperialism.

The nations within the U.S.S.R. subjugated by the Stalinite dictatorial clique, are faced squarely by the problem of overthrowing the reactionary anti-popular system, by the revolutionary armed struggle for the establishment of independent national states built up on ethnic principles and for international order, based on just equality and good neighbourly relations.

In the near future the subjugated nations in the U.S.S.R. will have to tackle the following tasks:

- to tear the mask from the imperialistic reactionary and oppressive substance of the Stalinite regime, especially to reveal the true face of the Communist party and the privileges of the ruling class,

- to organize revolutionary underground cells in all spheres of the diverse U.S.S.R. existence,

- to liquidate highly troublesome exponents and agents of Stalin's mag-nates,

- to sabotage all party and NKVD inspired or initiated "voluntary loans" stakhanite projects, above all norm work and social competition.

- to counter all agitation and propaganda work carried out by party government in workers', farmers' and school environments;

- to set up central leading centres in the revolutionary, liberating organizations, within the framework of individual natural bodies;

- to co-ordinate other similar underground-revolutionary organizations in order to set up one front and to realize the coordinated strategy and tactics;

following the example of Ukraine, of White Ruthenia, of Turkestan and of other nations to step up the struggle against hideous Stalinite parasites, in the name of self-defence, of population and the execution of an all-union, anti-Stalinite revolution.

the name of self-defence, of population of the U.S.S.R. is waged under the following revolutionary parables:

- for the annihilation of the Moscovite Bolshevik imperialism, that drives nations towards serial wars;

- for the overthrow of Stalin's party dictatorship;

- to change Stalin's oppressive system and government;

- for a full democratization of all states and social life;

- for the establishment of national governments set up by three will of the peoples concerned;

- for the realization of national-political self-government and national separation;

- for the realization of a just international system which will rest on real friendship and cooperation under the slogan: "Freedom to nations and to individuals".

We count the Russian people among the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R. Imperialistic elements of the Russian people have become servants of Stalin and his party clique and thus have become enemies of their people, because they support the regime which has caused and is still causing much trouble to the Russian people itself, just as the imperialistic Hitlerite elements of the German people have brought abject ruin upon their people. Thus in the national-revolutionary fight against Stalinite-Bolshevist Russian imperialism all peoples of the present U.S.S.R. have joined ranks, without difference as to nationality, religious faith or race.

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Turkestan

The Moslen countries called Turkestan have great political, economic and strategical importance in the Soviet Union.

Geographically Turkestan comprises Central Asia and is bounded on the north by Northern Siberia i. e. from the Altai Mountains to the Volga river, on the east by Mongolia, on the south by India, Afganistan and Iran, on the west by the Caspian Sea.

Its territory is spread over 3 907 000 sq. kilometres with 20 millions of inhabitants consisting of 5 Turk tribes: Kasakhs, Usbeks, Tadjiks, Turkmen and Kirgizian.

The area of agricultural land is 11, 300 000 hectares. To-day Turkestan is changed into the cotton colony of Russia. The production of cotton in Turkestan covers 95% of the total production of

the USSR. Turkestan has also great mineral resources; lead, zink, iron, copper, gold, silver, wolfram, radium and coal.

In consequence the Bolsheviks recently developed their heavy industry not only in Siberia but also in Turkestan.

Taking into account its cultural and social structure, the history of Turkestan goes back 1500 years. Thus, in comparison with other Moslem countries, Turkestan has the oldest culture. The economic and political part played by Turkestan with its riches attracted the attention of the growing Russian capitalism.

In order to have free access to Iran, Afganistan, India and China in the XVII century Peter I planned to conquer Turkestan but his imperialistic

Revolutionary Action of ABN

for To-day and for To-morrow

(An interview with a Member of the Central Committee of ABN)

What is your Opinion Concerning Further Revolutionary Action?

To me the present position resembles the period before the French Revolution. Our revolution, aims not only to be social but more especially national. National and social liberation would be accomplished at the same time. We are a people unrecognized legally, but we are fighting hard in a common front against oppression. Our propaganda and our underground movements are widespread, covering all the territories under Bolshevik rule. No concentration camps, no inhumanity in prisons, no terrorization, no holocaust of human victims will kill our spirit. That is our most powerful weapon. The Western Powers believe that the Soviet Army is our enemy as it is theirs. But I say "No". The Soviet soldiers are the sons of our peoples, they are foes of the Bolsheviks just as we are, but they are compelled to be in the army. In case of war the Soviet soldiers will not fight for Stalin's régime; they will join the national armies which will be formed in every country included in the ABN, the nucleus of which is already in existence. The Western Powers should recognize the situation and see what is going on behind the Iron Curtain. The Soviet war will fail like the Napoleonic and Hitler wars, though no atomic bombs will destroy Bolshevik imperialism and Communist aspiration. Russia has "fifth columns" in every country, undermining existing governments when and where they can. The Soviet régime can be defeated in the same way and for this the A.B.N. is working.

Our peoples are deeply religious and we believe in God's power to end Red tyranny. We nations behind the Iron Curtain are fighting for our sovereign rights as independent States. We will have no dictator or liberal capitalist over us; no exploitation of the people, but a true democratic government. Treaties and pacts will not deter the Communists from their aim to dominate the world. With the support of the West, their intentions may be frustrated and the world made safe.

What Would Be the Nature of a Revolution inside U.S.S.R.?

The revolution we expect would be anti-imperialistic. A.B.N. would liquidate the Russian Empire altogether and form independent national states according to their ethnographic boundaries. The anti-Red, national liberation movement would extend to all countries in Europe and Asia. Conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the Western Democracies might be a reason for a revolution in the Bolshevik "Paradise",

and it is to be hoped support would be forthcoming from the West. The Western nations should realize the danger of Communists in their midst, who carry out orders from Moscow implicitly and prepare the ground for the Red Army and the setting up of Stalin's "People's Democracy". It is common knowledge that they have plenty of opportunity for their subversive activities. The experience of France and Italy should be warning enough. Our political activity, on the other hand, is illegal in U.S.S.R. The A.B.N. is leading a movement to protect the whole world from Communism, and we appeal to all the Democratic countries to unite in a common front against Bolshevism.

What is your Opinion Respecting Western Strategy in the Event of War with the U.S.S.R.?

In my opinion the main action should take place on Russian territory, the centre of the Russian imperium. The centre should be attacked first of all. Destroy war industry, paralyse transport, cut communications between the Soviet armies and their Headquarters and the satellite armies, upset the morale of the Russian people. The Soviet soldiers would be too busy coping with revolutionary chaos at home, to fight against the West. It is very important to create disturbances. The Red Army is very good in many respects, but it is obvious that it is made up of many nationalities with very different ideas and few, if any, will give their

lives for Stalin's régime. The Western nations must realize that.

Siberia is a hell on earth, covered with prison camps, but it is the centre of Russian industry too. The real Siberians are loyal members of A.B.N. and their underground might be the key to the anti-Bolshevik Revolution. Siberia is a great and rich country and could play an important part.

What is the Future of A.B.N. Nations?

Our revolutionary movement is the only way to national recovery. The Russian imperium must be disintegrated and destroyed. We shall not submit to merely a change of one régime for another. We are not going to exchange King Log for King Stork, but to rid the world of the "Prison of Nations" and a régime that is insatiable in its lust for blood. We propose to give security to every nation, large or small, freedom of speech, and creed and for the press. We shall encourage close military and economic co-operation. Small countries are never war-mongers. How many wars have Esthonia, Latvia or Lithuania caused? History tells us that it is the aspirations and imperialistic tendencies of powerful countries that cause wars.

We A.B.N. countries are against war, but we are fighters for the Revolution against the Bolshevik world. We fight for freedom, justice, humanity and peace among the nations. We are paying a heavy price, in the death of our sons, but we still believe in the power of the spirit and have faith in the power of God to give us victory. We appeal to the free nations to come to our aid and put an end to the most atrocious tyranny that has ever existed, and to see that it is not replaced by another.

We call for freedom for all Nations and Freedom for all Individuals!

Russian Expansion Towards the Baltic States

For the Russians, the road to the Baltic was blocked by the Swedes who held Finland. Further to the south-west the land was under Poland and Lithuania. Ivan IV tried hard to break through, but failed. By the Treaty of Stolbova in 1617, Russia was excluded from the Baltic for another century.

In 1700 czar Peter I began the Great Northern War with Sweden which lasted until 1721. His army was defeated at Narva in 1700, however, nine years later he won a decisive victory at Poltava in Ukraine where the Ukrainians under Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687—1709) had allied themselves to Sweden. By the Treaty of Nystad, Russia obtained Karelia, part of Finland, Ingria, Esthonia and Livonia (Latvia). The victory over Sweden ensured an outlet to the Baltic. In 1703 Peter laid the foundations of a new capital city — St. Petersburg (Leningrad) employing the same methods of forced labour, later

used by the Bolsheviks in building their canals and railways. The capital was moved from Moscow to St. Petersburg where it remained until 1918.

By the treaties after World War I (1914—1918) the states of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were created. Finland became an independent state. Russia was forced to withdraw from the Baltic until World War II (1939—1945). Late in September 1939, Russia demanded and obtained pacts of mutual assistance with the three Baltic republics. Soviet troops were granted the right to occupy certain strategic areas in these countries. Similar demands were made by Russia on Finland but the Finns refused to turn over the required territory. Thereupon Soviet troops crossed the Finnish frontier on Nov. 30 1939. Much to the astonishment of the world the Finns put up a stiff resistance but no nation of four millions could be expected to hold out against a foe the size of Russia. On March 12,

Proclamation

*of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
in Support of the "Liberation Fund of the Subjugated Peoples"*

Political emigrants in the West! Comrades in the Fight against Bolshevism!

The Bolshevik advances against the part of the world that is still free have become stronger of late. The number of oppressed peoples has further increased since World War I and the countries of Moscow's satellite states are being slowly, but surely drawn into the Soviet Russian prison of Nations. Now the vast national Chinese Empire has collapsed under the blows of the Red hammer. The spectre of Bolshevism looms large over all the continents in the World.

In contrast to some illusionists of the West, who incline to an understanding with Moscow, the subjugated peoples have no idea of ever giving up their fight against Russian tyranny. They intend to remain the vanguard in the crusade against this, the greatest peril that has ever threatened the world, because they themselves have felt what Russian imperialism really means and are thus far more enlightened than the other peoples in the world. Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Idel-Uralians, Karelians Finns, Caucasians, Turkestanians, and all the other peoples which have been groaning for centuries under the Russian yoke have no less the right to live in their own independent states than Englishmen, the French, Americans or any other nation. The fate of our peoples, however, seems to be a matter of indifference for the West. The politicians of the

Bolshevism, Russia and the Front of Subjugated and Endangered Nations (Continued from Page 5)

The front of the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R. has been increased by the whole series of the peoples of Central and Southern Europe which have become menaced by Bolshevism after their "liberation" by the Red Army. These peoples are now facing the problem of an armed revolutionary fight against Stalin's efforts to incorporate them into the U.S.S.R. complex. From these two groupings will emerge a Bloc of the Subjugated and Endangered peoples with the result that their activities will cause the final collapse of the U.S.S.R. dungeon of peoples and the setting up of a free life on the ruins of Stalinite tyranny.

The subjugated and endangered peoples and their liberating-revolutionary struggle form one of the most important elements in the present situation. Tomorrow and in the future its importance will grow greater, till eventually it decides the fate of coming developments.

Western World have no intention of helping our people to shake off the fetters of Soviet Russia in order to become free States.

For this the lying propaganda of the so-called "White" Russians emigrants is very much to blame. These emigrants represent the same elements which exercised Russian tyranny over our peoples, and after the Revolution of 1917, escaped to Western Europe and America. There they succeeded in getting influential positions from which

lose sight of the task laid upon us by our enslaved and struggling home countries, a task we have to fulfil out here in the West. We are the ambassadors of our nations and must be their herolds of that sacred truth which marks the destiny of our oppressed peoples. We stand for the realization of the watchword which our compatriots have written on the banner of their campaign for liberation. That watchwords runs:

Sovereign National States of all Peoples, without Regard to Size, Race or Riches! Social Justice and Freedom for All in the Whole World!

The programme of the Anti-Bolshevik-Bloc of Nations (ABN) points the



The Jetons issued by the ABN for the "Liberation Fund of the Subjugated Peoples"

they sought to bring the competent political circles of in the countries where they found asylum, to their interpretation of Russian imperialism. By misleading information, falsifying history and obvious lies, they try to convince the West that the non-Russian peoples in the territory of the Soviet Union are simply fighting the Bolshevik régime and only wish to abolish that, but otherwise remain as before within the boundaries of the Russian Empire.

The announcements from the West about our peoples, slur over the problems. Neither "The Voice of America", nor the transmissions of the BBC get at the core of the matter. They do not fall in with our aims, which to-day lie in the interests of the whole free world. The speed with which the West arrives at the proper attitude towards Russian imperialism leaves much to be desired. The West will not understand the basic problem of our time and the iron law of a future world order, which denies any kind of imperialistic World domination and is only conceivable on the foundation of free national states in the natural ethnographical boundaries of the populations.

We political emigrants and representatives of subjugated peoples must not

way on which alone a lasting peace is to be achieved. It lies with us therefore, to carry out a vast campaign of enlightenment in the Western countries, by publications, magazines and books, written in the languages in question. We must succeed in rousing the free world and making it clear that in supporting our fight for liberty they are helping themselves.

In order to carry out such a campaign of publicity, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), has decided to create a "Liberation Fund of the Subjugated Peoples" and calls upon the political emigrants of all enslaved peoples in the whole world to actively support this initiative with all their might. In support of this fund, contributions must be canvassed for among the free peoples of the West. They must be made to understand that they must support our cause, if they do not want to suffer the same tragic fate as our people, in the near future.

Freedom-loving Peoples of the whole World, unite in the Battle against Bolshevism for the Freedom of Nations and the Individual!

**The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).
March, 1950**

Revolts in Turkestan

European newspapers and radio have newly reported that revolts against the Soviet régime have risen in Western and Eastern Turkestan.

These reports are now confirmed by Turkestanians, who during the last months have come as refugees to the neighbouring Islamic countries. Eyewitnesses tell that intensified revolts have taken place in the frontier districts of Western and Eastern Turkestan. In Eastern Turkestan under the leadership of Usman Batur there are organised groups of armed resistance forces. These groups fight continually against the Communists. In contact with these groups the population of the neighbouring Kirgiz-districts of Turkestan also participates in the struggle against the Soviet régime. Before the advancing Russian troops the population is withdrawing into the mountains of Alai.

The German newspaper „Die Welt“ of 12. 3. 50 has reported that also in Turkmenistan revolts have taken place, against which the Soviets have been proclaimed a state of emergency in this country. 50 persons from the Turkestanian resistance groups have been arrested by the Russians and the local Russian authorities have to keep the peace.

The Soviets have sent many people from the parts of Turkestan in revolt to forced labour camps in Siberia and central Russia.

*

The Dutch Press on our Fight for Freedom

The Amsterdam „De Tijd“, one of Holland's most influential newspapers, published 21. March 1950, a long article entitled: „Co-ordination of the Different Liberation Movements“. Attention is drawn in the article to the establishment of the ABN in Ukraine in 1943. The objectives of the ABN struggle are named and the watchwords „For God and Country! Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!“ are especially stressed. The article also

We take this opportunity of wishing the National Delegations, the members and sympathizers of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a happy Easter.

Press Bureau of the ABN

The Chronicle

mentions the ABN leaflets with the heading „Death to Tryannts“ which were circulated some months ago in the Soviet Army in East Germany and which were reported in the world press in November 1949.

*

“New York Herald Tribune“ on the Potentialities of Mental Warfare.

In its 4. January 1950 issue, the leading American newspaper writes: In a future war it will not be war technique, so much as the spirit of the soldiers, and above all the political ideas for which they fight, that will be of decisive importance. The U.S. army, in case of war, would have to take with it to the East the kind of watchword and programme claims which would carry the masses of the subjugated peoples by storm. America must not repeat Hitler's tragic mistake, she must wage an imperialistic campaign in the East and could not win the war if she did not reject the idea of a centralized, though Democratic Russian imperium. Only the dividing up of this imperium and the kindling words of freedom and state independence of each nation subjected by Russia, could bring the USSR, of to-day to a fall and rid the world of the monster of Russian imperialism.

Such recognition on the part of western publicity will be warmly welcomed by our ABN peoples, and fill us with confidence that the whole truth will soon be revealed.

*

Reuter Reports from New York

The Austrian „Tiroler Tageszeitung“ published a Reuter report from New York, in its number of 30. January 1950, from which we take the following:

“A well-organized underground movement in various districts of the Soviet Union proves that the Communists have not succeeded in suppressing all the stirrings of opposition behind the Iron Curtain“. The former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Bedell Smith, made this statement at a meeting of the American anti-Communist Legion. He said further, that the collectivization of agriculture in Lithuania had led to a strong partisan movement, and that in Latvia, and especially in Ukraine, strong anti-Soviet resistance groups had been formed.“ The Reuter report also quotes the monthly paper of the UPA fighters, which appears in the West, whereby in a clash with Soviet Russia, the Liberation Movement of the subjugated peoples alone, could put an insurgent army of two to three million men in the field.

An Underground Army Pursues the Russians in Ukraine

In an article appearing under this title in „La Libre Belgique“ 18. March 1950, M. I. Cory writes of the position behind the Iron Curtain and especially in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Revolutionary Army (UPA) is giving the Russians so much trouble that they feel obliged, in official communiques, to revile that army, calling it „counter-revolutionary banditry in the pay of foreign countries“.

After describing the origin and history of the UPA and their fight against two enemies, German and Bolshevik, the author goes on to speak of the liveliness and perseverance of UPA actions, of the support of the Ukrainian population in their struggle against MWD, of the special tactics of the UPA command, and of their co-operation with all the other resistance movements working behind the Iron Curtain.

In conclusion M. I. Cory writes ... “It would be an exaggeration to ascribe decisive importance to the activity of the insurgents in Ukraine ... Should, however, the USSR be at war, they (the insurgents of the UPA-Ed.) would represent a serious danger for the hinterland.“

*

Communist Party and University in U.S.S.R.

(The Baltic Review of March 3. 1950)

“PRAVDA“ of February 2 writes that the Communist Party Committee of the city of Saratov

“has failed to study deeply the activities of the institutes of higher education, the state of training of the students in Marxism-Leninism and the composition of the teaching staff.“

It follows that in the USSR it devolves on the Party Committees to check the work of the institutes of higher education. At the same time the vast majority of the members of these committees have no university education, many having no more learning than what an elementary school can give.

We recommend this information to the especial attention of those Western professors and academic teachers who still give their warm sympathy and support to the Soviet régime.

ABN-Correspondence

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ABN and the European Movement

By Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of ABN

The struggle of all the nations subjugated by Russian-Bolshevik Imperialism, and united in ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) is directed to the division of the Russian Empire into its separate States, each having its own independent national Government, and covering its own ethnic area, populated by its own nationals. For this reason, ABN is fighting, not only the Bolshevik-Russian Empire, but any Russian Empire, whether "Democratic", "Totalitarian", "Monarchist", or "Socialist". While not denying the right of the Russian people to form a State of their own within their own ethnic frontiers, ABN refuses, on any terms whatever, to collaborate with Russian imperialistic circles. ABN is also fighting to restore freedom and independence to the satellite States, with the right to form the Governments they wish, as ascertained by democratic methods.

It follows, that according to the national principle, ABN is opposed to the pre-1939 Polish Eastern frontiers, as this would again include Ukrainian, White Ruthenian and Lithuanian territories. The events which occurred in these territories during the Second World War afforded sufficient proof that their peoples were definitely against Polish domination.

ABN is opposed to such constructions as Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and so on, for the above reasons.

The absurdity of the "Union" of the Russian Empire is apparent when it is realised that there are not more than 25% Russians in the whole Soviet Union, yet claiming to be the "master-race" of vast USSR. Instead of a "Union", the USSR is a prison of the nations. None but these nations, through their national representatives, have a right to decide their fate, and this right must be internationally recognised. Help from any quarter, to these struggling nations, struggling merely for human freedom, will increase the inner pressure in the USSR which will ultimately blow to pieces this prison of the nations. ABN is engaged in organising the democratic anti-Bolshevik liberating re-

volution of the nations of the USSR and its satellites, with the declared object of disintegrating any kind of Russian Empire; the only way to free these nations from the national and social slavery imposed by Russian imperialism at the moment in the form of Bolshevism. Support of this struggle is the only way in which the Western nations can save themselves.

National liberation and national independence have always been the motive force in our centuries-old fight for freedom, and all our nationalities instantly responded to the principles of President Wilson, and threw off the chains of Russian slavery in the Revolutions of 1917 to 1918. Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Don, Terek, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, and Northern Caucasia became free and independent, and others experienced a great national revival. But the

freedom of our peoples was shortlived, as as Communist Dictatorship established itself on the ruins of the Tsarist Empire, and we fell victims to Bolshevik oppression. During the Second World War, most of our nations fought against both Russian and German aggressors, and, always changing our forms of warfare, we (Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA, Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalist — OUN, political Organisations of Liberation and armed underground forces of White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Cossacks, Turkestanians, North Caucasians, Georgians, Azerbaidjans, Siberians, Idel-Uralians and others) are still at war with the USSR, and are fighting at the present day. Fighting against Soviet tyranny, we are surely entitled to claim Western support, and be recognised as regular armies in a state of war, according to The Hague Convention concerning the Rules of Warfare (1b and 2, 1899 and 1907).

Further, it is essential that the National Centres, Liberation Councils, Liberation Committees and Governments in Exile be acknowledged by Western nations as the sole bodies competent to represent their nations at International Conferences, and this right be denied to the Bolshevik agencies set up as "people's democracies" behind the Iron Curtain. Owing to the enslavement of our countries we are misrepresented at all International Institutions.

ABN stands for the unity of Europe, but unity freely decided upon by free nations, and the destruction of the Russian Empire is the *refo*re a sine qua non as a preliminary: the nations having reached self-government, will themselves decide as to their participation in a United Europe, having then an equality with the West.

There can be no United Europe where a number of the nations are free and a number remain slaves: all must enjoy equal rights, and all must assume equal restrictions. It is impossible to establish two Europes — there is only one Europe. There is no such thing as "Pan-

The ABN is for:

1. *The destruction of Bolshevik oppression of nations and the liquidation of the Bolshevik regime;*
2. *The independent sovereign national states of free nations, established on the ruins of the USSR and its vassal states;*
3. *Complete democratization of state and social life of nations, liberated from the Bolshevik yoke and for a new, just, social order!*

The ABN is against:

1. *The USSR the Bolshevik oppression of nations, and against Bolshevik regimes in the vassal and satellite states;*
2. *Bolshevik totalitarian system in government, social, economic and cultural spheres of life of the peoples of the USSR and its satellites;*
3. *Bolshevik terror, misery and hunger of the popular masses in the USSR and its puppet states.*

Slavism" or a "Slavic Block", there is only a Bolshevik one. The Slavic nations are not fighting for the Slavic race they are only fighting for their freedom. The enemy of Western Europe is not the Eastern European nations, but only Russian imperialism, and it is a tragic error, therefore, to identify the aims of the Eastern European nations with those of the USSR; they are friends of the West, Russia — the enemy.

ABN wishes to see the freedom of all nations the world over, but, as its first duty, it is limiting its activities to the disintegration of the USSR and the restoration of freedom and sovereignty to the satellite countries. ABN believes that the national State is, and will remain the highest form of any people's existence, and the pre-requisite of a community of interests. The national States, therefore, will never die or let themselves be converted into super-national organizations.

Subjugated nations have never freed themselves by international ideas, but always by adopting their own national aims. Therefore, a United Europe cannot be the supreme ideal of the subjugated nations of the USSR, and they will not fight and die for it, but only for the vision of free, national States of their own. They will only decide in the matter of participating in a United Europe after having achieved freedom and equal status with the Western nations. In the inevitable crusade of West against USSR, it would be useless to offer the enslaved nations a United Europe as its aim, for it would be emphatically refused, these nationalities having been repeatedly misled by Western interventions, and we must warn the statesman of the West against repeating a disastrous error.

A Russian national State, limited to its own ethnic territory, could be admitted to the United Europe of the future, but, in the meantime, treated as defeated Germany is today.

When all the nations subjugated by the Bolsheviks regain their sovereign independence, they must be guaranteed against future aggression, and to enable this, occupation forces must remain in ethnographical Russia till all technical and material means of warfare are destroyed, and a system set up which will prevent a resuscitation of Russian militarism and imperialism. Only on such conditions should Russia be admitted as a member of a United Europe. ABN, on principle, resolutely refuses any form of political connection with Russia — union, federation or confederation, for all these varieties have always been changed into national suppression by Russian imperialism. ABN is organising a regional association of defence against any revival of Russian imperialism of any kind whatever, but on the basis of good-neighbourly relations with a Russian State reduced to its ethnic borders, and without any aggressive or

The Soviet Union's Heel of Achilles

By Alfred Bezins, Latvia's ex-Minister

The fateful turn taken in the development of world politics in our day, shows up many a false estimate and miscalculation of conditions.

It cannot be denied that factors such as the Tito conflict, the presumable length of Stalin's life and other imponderable agents, must have an influence on Moscow's policy. — On the side of the Western Democracies, however, these matters are exaggerated out of all proportion. Anyone, who is the least familiar with the structure of the Bolshevik Dictatorship, must be aware that Stalin's death would by no means cause this régime, which has been built up in three whole decades, to totter and fall. Has this régime not stood the death of Lenin, — the founder of Bolshevism itself, — without overmuch shock? The tyrannical system is far too firmly built, to collapse from a change of leadership, be it Stalin himself. All such possibilities have been taken into account from the very beginning. Tito too, who is at present upsetting Moscow's politics so unpleasantly, may very well, in the near future disappoint those who set too much store on his quarrel with Moscow. It must not be forgotten that Tito is, above all, an old hard-boiled Communist and that the Mecca of all Communists in the world was and remains Moscow.

The heel of Achilles for the Soviet Union is to be sought in another place. It is the impetuous urge felt by the subjugated peoples for freedom, the stirring of the national revolutionary forces of these nations oppressed by Bolshevik domination. From the forests of Finland down to the Adriatic; from the shores of the Black Sea to Lake Baikal and Vladivostok, everywhere the shackled nations wait inflexibly to be released from the blood-stained Russian yoke. Every attempt in that direction, meanwhile, is unmercifully drowned in a sea of blood. To exterminate even the thought of liberty, millions of the best and most capable sons of these peoples are banished and forced to do work unworthy of a human being, work from which, if they return at all, they come completely broken in

retaliatory intentions towards the Russian people.

Striving for the unity of the world, however, ABN cannot overlook the possibility of the activity or continuation of imperialism, especially of Russian imperialism, against which the nations composing ABN would have to defend their precious, regained freedom with their own forces.

To sum up, there is no course for rational policy-making other than is contained in this manifesto.

mind and body. In spite of every inhuman means the oppressors have not yet been able to break this national revolutionary resistance. The outside world has heard little of this struggle, which has been going on now for 30 years in the Caucasus; the fight for independence in Turkestan; in White Ruthenia, in Ukraine and elsewhere. These events are not unnaturally kept a careful secret by the Bolshevik powers that be. The heroic struggle of the insurgents which has been going on for years, even during the war and post-war times, in all by Bolshevik occupied lands, is just as little known in the free world. These hard partisan fights are not only a denial of Bolshevik tyranny; but are, at the same time, an unambiguous demonstration of a will for state independence and for freedom. Through this struggle the Western Democracies have gained an invisible ally, as thereby Moscow's expansion will be noticeably affected. Besides, it undermines the reliability of the Red Army which is made up of all these different nations, a fact which might be of special significance in case of war. How seriously Moscow regards this matter and its suppression, is clearly shown by the Tripartite, agreement between the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia of 7th June 1946, the object of which is a joint and co-ordinated suppression of the Ukrainian Army of Liberty (U.P.A.). This agreement is a proof of how well organized and how strong the national revolutionary resistance movement against alien Soviet-Russian domination is.

The patriotic and freedom-loving peoples, subjugated and oppressed by Soviet-Russia, — the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, White Ruthenians, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovaks, Czechs, Ukrainians, Georgians, natives of Turkestan and Tartars, — are greatly embittered at the incomprehensible indifference of the governments of the great democracies towards this tragedy of whole nations. Which they merely pass over as an "internal affair" of Russia's. It is not only the people directly concerned, but every decent person of our century must face the question: If millions of civilized people are abandoned to brutal oppression and extermination and the infernal procedure is only regarded as the "internal affair" of a tyrannical power, whatever importance have the Atlantic Charter, the principles of self-determination and even U.N. as protectors of human and national rights? The peoples held in subjugation by Moscow, in spite of everything, believe that the time is approaching when the free Democracies will realize the seriousness and the real importance of the fight our peoples are putting up for a free and decent life.

The ABN as Representative of the Third Power

By Dr. Ct. Pokorny, General Secretary of the ABN Central Committee

The general conception of the present world crisis as simply the clash of two worlds, with conflicting ideologies and economies, is not quite correct, and the opinion that the solution of the precarious political tension in the world, must be sought in the alternative of agreement or war, is just as mistaken. If political reality is to be taken into account, it must be remembered that there is still another power of decisive importance for the solution of the crisis and the consolidation of the world — the indestructible love of freedom among the subjugated peoples. Their determination to have it, is not only a potential factor, but it has found expression already in a fighting national revolutionary resistance movement of all these peoples subjected to the Soviet Union and the satellite States.

Is that true or only an illusion? If the peoples subjugated by Moscow had accepted Soviet-Russian dominion without demur, one might conclude that they would be passive in the coming war, or even carry out Moscow's orders. Then, it is true, the "third power" would be nothing but an illusion. But how do things look in reality?

The subjugated peoples gave proof of their fighting power, not only during the last World War, but much earlier, by making real sanguinary war against Moscow's domination, quite on their own, after World War I, and ever since. That, in spite of all, the Soviet dungeon was able to survive the second world war, is due to the fatal alliance of the Soviet Union with the West.

The fight for freedom put up by these oppressed nations has not in any way abated since World War II. On the contrary, they do not consider the war ended at all, and the national-revolutionary struggle for freedom will not cease till Soviet power is broken, and the dungeon of the people is burst, so that in its place the free and independent states of Europe and Asia may arise and be established anew.

World War II has brought the oppressed peoples of the USSR no freedom, only greater slavery. Moreover, a number of people of Eastern and Central Europe have lost their independence and serve Moscow to-day as objects of cruel colonial exploitation. The West, however, says nothing to that!

This tragic fact has, not only increased the number of subjugated peoples, it has also swelled the ranks of those who are fighting for their national liberty against Bolshevik tyranny. Thus the power of the latter will have grown immensely after achieving their independent States once more in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and in the real sense of self-determination, for which all nations strive. The heroic resistance being put up day

and night behind the Iron Curtain, silent, but none the less tenacious, is sufficient proof that this statement is not a figment of the brain, but bitter, cruel reality. There is proof enough in the undaunted fight carried on by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) the Turkestan, Caucasian and Cossack fighters for freedom, the resistance of the Serbian Tchethniks of the murdered General Draza Mihajlovic, the Croatian national revolutionary groups of the "Crusaders"; the Anti-Bolshevik Champions of Freedom, of the Sloviakian resistance movement, led by Professor Durcansky; the resistance of the Baltic and White Ruthenian fighters for freedom; the sorties of the national Bulgarian Anti-Bolshevik Legion; and the forces of all the national insurgents under Soviet subjection. These facts and the strength manifested by them may not be overlooked.

It is true that now and then press notices of this grand resistance appear in Western papers, but conclusions as to the significance of this potential power for world politics as a whole, are seldom drawn. The general public in the western world has only a vague idea yet, of the fight the subjugated peoples are putting up and takes little notice of this historical struggle, let alone giving it political weight.

The attitude of the Bolshevik rulers in the Kremlin, however, is quite different. Realizing the danger facing them and having to deal with it daily, they are forced to continual counter-measures and reprisals. As all the cunning of their deceptive propaganda was in vain, they had to resort to the oft-tried means of blood-thirsty terrorisation, to crush the resistance that flared up again and again. The Soviet press, too, felt obliged to report sometimes of active resistance from the national insurgent armies, unpleasant as this matter was for the régime.

There are a few voices in the West which acknowledge the importance of this third power. For instance, the American politician, Harold Stassen, expressed his opinion, one day, that a revolution in Ukraine, in Poland and Slovakia, might even be possible, in the near future.

In case of a war between the Soviet block and the Democratic West, the anti-Bolshevik underground movement would, of course, become a factor of the first order. The masses would seize the opportunity of raising their potentiality to the utmost and of waging a mortal combat.

Under these circumstances, the questions arise whether the common struggle of the many peoples in the Soviet Union and its satellite States, is co-ordinated on a common ideological and planned basis, and further,

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Truce on the Tartary Pass

How I Came into Contact with the U.P.A.

By General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak

When in the spring of 1944, the 6th Hungarian Army Corps marched over the Tartary Pass, the area presented a most unfavourable picture. Besides the difficulties caused by the terrain, roads deep in snow, stretches of forest etc., the troops, especially those in the rear, — commandos and supply formations — were faced with constant partisan attacks.

Rifle and machine-gun fire, sometimes even mine-throwers from the top of mountains 4,000 to 6,000 ft. high, were quite the order of the day, against which we were powerless. At the rear of the front held by our 6th Corps, and specially in the Bystrycia Valley, in the neighbourhood of Zabie, Kosmacz and Bystrycia the partisans were extremely active.

In the first days of May I ordered martial law against partisans, warning the inhabitants in the field of action, to refrain from taking any part in partisan activity on pain of death. The Hungarian army was only fighting against the Bolshevik enemy; was defending its own country, and wished to realize the spirit of peace, understanding and mu-

tual assistance with the honest and upright members of the population. The 27th Szekler Division was the most exposed to the partisan danger. Having a supply line about 150 km. long made their field of action especially vulnerable to partisan raids. Every attack resulted in heavy losses and communications were sometimes almost paralysed, while nothing undertaken against the partisans had any success.

The first battles with the partisans took place in the Selena Valley. The 201st Division was ordered to clear the valley. Once, when a partisan pill-box was surrounded, three young men with a white flag came out and declared they were Ukrainians and not Russian partisans, and that they wanted to fight with the Hungarian troops against the red Russian partisans. Thus I learned that in our area of operation there were not only Bolshevik partisans, but also national Ukrainian U.P.A. insurgents.

There was another proof of this on 20th May in the terrain of the 27th Division, at Shabie, a Ukrainian partisan, named Kymeiczuk, fell into our hands, who, when he was questioned, declared he

did not fear death and would say nothing, please to execute him at once. This fanatic Ukrainian pleased me. When we quietly proposed that he should go and bring in his commander to discuss the possibilities of an understanding and collaboration, he seemed inclined to arrange a meeting. We then set Kymeiczuk at liberty and he kept his word.

The interview took place and led to an agreement. The principles of collaboration between the representative of the 27th Division and the commandant of the U.P.A. were laid down as follows:

- a) The fight against Bolshevism is mutual. Either party is to support the other and not to oppose the other with arms, or in any way.
- b) Any friction arising, to be investigated by both parties and settled peacefully with the mutual understanding of comrades in arms.
- c) The Hungarian troops to fight in the front line, the U.P.A. behind the front, against Soviet troops and partisans.
- d) The Hungarian troops to consider the interests of the Ukrainian populations as far as possible.
- e) In order to maintain contact and to accelerate the exchange of information, the U.P.A. to attach a liaison officer to the VI Corps and the 27th Szekler Division.
- f) The U.P.A. requires no material help. They only ask that their sick and wounded may be cared for by Hungarian ambulance units.

After the conclusion of this agreement, U.P.A. partisan warfare ceased in the territory of the 6th Hungarian Corps, and it became possible to secure supplies. The Ukrainian population emerged from places of concealment, took up their farm work again, and came to the conclusion that the Hungarian troops were only fighting on Ukrainian ground because they had to defend their own country, and must be able to count on the support of the indigenous population in this struggle. I must mention here, that in spite of this agreement with us, the U.P.A. carried on their implacable struggle against the German occupation forces, with the same bitterness as against the Bolsheviks.

To-day it seems only advantageous for Hungary's future, should there arise an independent Ukrainian National State, bound with us by that spirit of solidarity forged in the common campaign against Bolshevism.

This companionship in arms was stressed by the U.P.A. commandant Zubenko Bohdan in his command, in the following words: "——— The Hungarian troops are on our side in the fight against Bolshevism. We must entertain good-neighbour relations with Hungary. The Hungarians appreciate the value of our arms and willingly take their places at our side. ———"

So it was. Long live the U.P.A. fight for liberty! Long live independent, free Ukraine! Long live the peaceful collaboration with our friends!

Ukraine and Russia

Which Cannot Live Without the Other?

In order to justify their imperialistic policy in Ukraine, the Russians maintain that Ukraine cannot stand economically alone and consequently — "in their own interest" — the Ukrainians must not break away from Russia. Ukraine is known as the "granary of Europe" and the Russians dare not deny its independence in the sphere of agriculture.

In 1938 Ukraine, as compared to the whole of Russia, produced

Coal	60.8%
Iron ore	63.6%
Cast iron	61.2%
Sugar	70.0%
Electrical energy	24.1%
Salt	49.4%
Soda	70.0%
Coke	74.0%

The ABN as Representative of the Third Power

(Continued from Page 3)

if there is a common objective, a common programme and common conception? In whom is the political power of these oppressed peoples vested?

This important point is no longer a problem. The answer is given by the nations themselves, who, in their common suffering, have found each other and recognized the common enemy and the imperative necessity of fighting together. It is the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (ABN), that splendid revolutionary organization of liberation, which co-ordinates the common fight of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism, by bringing ideas, plans, and conceptions to a common denominator. It is the principle of "The Liberty of Man, Freedom of Nations", which has been made the motto of this struggle for the honour, liberty and independence of the peoples in the vast area of Eastern and Central Europe and Asia. The ABN which represents this struggle calls upon all freedom-loving nations and people, the world over, to join in this holy war **against Bolshevik tyranny, against Moscow's dungeon of nations, and fight for the liberty of nations and the individual!**

The Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, as the representative of the third power of the national liberation movement, does not ask for one-sided help from the free Democratic world. For the help we ask for, we have help to give and against the efficiency of others we offer our efficiency. In other words we appeal for honest collaboration and for allies in the fight for our common objectives and ideals.

Our peoples waging indomitable war against Bolshevism in their subjected countries, have no desire to be pawns in the game of world politics, but co-

It will be said that Ukraine has little mineral oil. That is so, but Russia has just as little. Azerbaidjan (Baku) has oil, a country that in the future will have a higher civilization than the state she is now a colony of. Of course, after gaining state independence, Ukraine will import raw materials and industrial products, just as every other State does. That fact, however, does not contradict the assertion that Ukraine is an economic unit in itself. Her political connection with Russia was forced upon her and there is nothing that can justify it.

Russian imperialists are systematically robbing Ukraine; they are treating the Ukraine — a more highly civilized country — like a colony. It is high time to put a stop to this criminal state of things.

N. O.

creators of their own fate and the political situation of the whole world. This fact should be realized in sober truth by politicians, for illusions have not paid in politics.

Tito is Pace-Maker for Moscow

Even if Tito replaced Joe Stalin it would not mean that liberty replaces Communism.

Who is Tito?

Prisoner of war 1914—17, one of the best school boys of the Czeka (NKWD), and Stalin's friend. He waged two wars i. e. one in Spain that he lost and the second in Yugoslavia that, with the help of the Allies, he has won.

Is Tito against Stalin?

Yes, he is, because he is a dictator just as Stalin is, and he does not want to obey, as all the other dictators do.

Nevertheless he himself and all his friends, such as Mosche Piade, Kardelj, Bebler, etc. are Marists and Leninists. They always declare it quite frankly.

In fact Tito cannot be considered as an opponent of Stalin's. In making him a hero of the anti-Bolshevistic movement, Western policy is making a great mistake. To oppose Bolshevism we can only place the diametrically contrary system of ideas.

Against historical materialism — Christian idealism;

against internationalism — the national idea;

against inhuman acts of terror — liberty;

against slave work, really true social justice, and the right of private ownership;

against imperialism — state independence for each nation.

Tito wants to convince the western world that co-operation with him as a Communist is possible and very useful. That is profitable for Moscow,

Thus Tito is a pace-maker for Moscow.

ABN Nations Fighting for Their Freedom

Resistance and Mass Deportation in Lithuania

Resistance in Lithuania is controlled by the "High Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (WLİK)", a body formed of representatives of all the democratic parties and whose foreign delegation in U.S.A speaks for all Lithuanian emigrants. Within this movement for liberation, armed guerilla bands have been set up, whose numbers run into thousands, and this, in Soviet-dominated Lithuania.

In the first two years after the second Russian occupation in 1944 the Lithuanian partisans were especially active. The district to the south and south-west leading into the forests of White-Ruthenia and Poland was the partisans' best ally. During this period of heavy partisan fighting, almost the whole elite of the Soviet occupation forces was defeated. The Soviets attempted to master the situation by open battle, and reinforced their garrisons with mobile detachments. They were, however, unable to break the fighting spirit of the rebels.

It was this struggle which prevented the Russians from carrying out the mass deportations planned at that time, a fact which had already overtaken the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tatars. The possibility only came to the Russians in 1947 and then, in the two following years, no less than 300 000 to 400 000 Lithuanians were sent to the interior of Russia. The territories thus depopulated were settled by crowds of Russians. There is no doubt but that Lithuania is to endure the same lot as East Prussia.

The mass deportations forced the Lithuanian partisans to change their fighting methods in order to meet the new situation. The fight continues steadfastly and their confidence is unbroken, their belief in the final victory of justice and the restoration of Lithuania's independence is unshaken. V. P.-s.

Slovakia Defies Bolshevism

The Forces and the Leaders of the Resistance Movement

Paris. The French political review "le Rassemblement du Centre", number 47/1949, writes concerning the resistance to Bolshevik domination in Slovakia as follows:

"The Prague Communist Régime, represented in Bratislava (Pressburg) by the Corps of Commissioners, has just discovered the 39th anti-Communist conspiracy, the object of which was the setting up of democratic, independent Slovakia again. (In the meantime, further plots have been discovered. — Ed.) Since the end of the war with Germany, more, than 70 000 Slovak citizens have been accused of hostile

action against the régime introduced by Moscow and Prague, imprisoned and condemned or banned from public life. Merely through simple denunciation more than 200 000 anti-Communists were deported to Siberia, or to the Donbass mines. Since autumn 1944, when the present régime was introduced, thousands have been hanged or shot. Exchange Agency spoke the truth in saying that the seat of the anti-Communist movement in Czechoslovakia was really Slovakia. The actual representatives of this movement, which is directed from abroad, are:

1. The Slovakian Liberation Committee (formerly Slovakian Activity Committee), a central organization of the fighters for liberty, headed by Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, professor of International Law, and former Foreign Minister of the old Slovakian Republic (till 1940. — Ed.).
2. The Slovakian National Council under the chairmanship of Karl Sidor, an organisation of anti-Communist resistance in exile.

These two organizations are supported by Americans of Slovakian descent, who are united in the Slovakian League in America, as well as in the Association of Slovakian Catholics there.

On the other hand, there is a so-called "Council of Free Czechoslovakia", consisting of some despots and former collaborators of international Communism (such as Zenkl, Ripka, Duchacek, Lettrich, Ferjencik). This Council is actually nothing but a watered-down edition of the so-called "National Front of the Czechoslovakian People's Republic". C. P.

Liberation or Enslavement of Bulgaria?

Shameless Moscow propaganda maintains that the Red Army of Russia has freed Bulgaria from the German fascist yoke. In reality, however, Soviet-Russian domination has "freed" Bulgaria from its liberty and independence, for the Soviet-Russian control over Bulgaria to-day is far heavier than the old Turkish yoke of the darkest Middle-Ages. Virtually, the Bulgarian people have been deprived of all self-determination, as all human rights, as well as fundamental civilian liberty, have been abolished. Thus Bulgaria has de facto ceased to be a political entity. Its present satellite government, which is nothing but a Moscow stadtholderate, has reduced the country to a colony for Russian exploitation.

The upheaval of 9th September 1944 would not have been possible without the aid of the Russian army, as the Bulgarian Communists themselves often declare, for the Communists did

not even control 10% of the votes. The Soviet Army invaded Bulgaria, ignoring the country's neutrality, at a moment when the Bulgarian government was negotiating with the Western Allies for the end of a token state of war, and had even declared war on Germany.

Directly after the revolution the Bulgarian Communists at Moscow's orders, instituted a massacre such as had never been known there before. It spread over the whole country and lasted for months. This gruesome orgy was not directed alone at the representatives and supporters of the Bulgarian constitutional monarchy; from minister of state to village school headles, and national intelligentsia, but also included all the simple country folk and townsmen who showed any lively national consciousness.

After the Regents, ministers and deputies had been sentenced to death by illegal "People's Courts" at "show trials", and been shot in masses, permanent and legalized bloodshed began, during which thousands and thousands of conscientious Bulgarian officials, officers, clergymen, teachers and professors, police, politicians, journalists, doctors, lawyers and judges were done away with. Under the mendacious slogan "Death to Fascism, Freedom for the People", Bulgarian patriots whose only crime was their anti-Communist attitude were executed in thousands without so much as a hearing.

Having put an end to national thought and feeling by such mass terrorism, the Soviet-Russian, cat's-paws proceeded against those political elements which had been taken — "as camouflage" — into the sham coalition of the "Fatherland Front". The excuse for this action was their refusal to swear unconditional allegiance to Moscow. It was the representatives of the left wing of the Peasant Party, the Social Democrats and the militant "Sveno" circles, that gave military support to the revolution of 9th September 1944. All the adherents of these political currents represented by Nikola Petkoff, who was executed, were condemned to death or to concentration or forced labour camps at staged treason trials, and thus cut off from any influence on the life of the State.

Finally it was the turn of the leaders of the Bulgarian Communists themselves, who, though they were orthodox Communists, had still dared to preserve their former independent thought. Such "deviations" did not fit in with the Soviet-Russian colonial system, and so George Dimitroff, once the notorious and mighty General Secretary of the Comintern, as well as his deputy, Vice-Prime Minister Traitscho Kostoff, the most popular and most fanatic Communist leader in Bulgaria, fell into disgrace. Dimitroff, under most mysterious

circumstances, was sent to Moscow to undergo "medical treatment", where the extra care taken of him by the Russian specialists sent him to his grave. Then they gave him a great state funeral. Kostoff was also removed from office at the same time, accused of "treason and being a spy" and sent to the gallows. A new series of high treason trials against leading Bulgarian Communists who have also been removed from office and are now awaiting their doom in prison cells, has been announced. This closes the circle of continual Bolshevik terrorism in Bulgaria, which is even now avenging itself on its own creators, confirming thereby the historic fact that every despotism in the end annihilates its sponsors. The self-destruction process among the Bulgarian Communists, directed from the Kremlin, deprives the regime of its last political props and is transforming Bulgaria into a brutal Soviet-Russian stadtholderate.

Besides, the Bulgarian people are getting a thorough lesson as to what Russian "liberation" actually means in practice. In its historical past, however, this nation has proved its tenacious love of freedom by surviving alien dominion, which lasted centuries, and ever again rising to new life. The Bulgarian people will never submit to the present Russian despots. Confident and ready to fight, they are yearning for the moment when they can win back their liberty and independence, fighting shoulder to shoulder with all the other nations subjugated by Russian tyranny.

Krum Kalimanski

Croatia's Crusaders Are Fighting in the Stepinac's Spirit

"The Archbishop of Agram knows not only how to suffer for his faith but how to die for it."

Though subjected to Tito's tyranny, the Croatia people are decidedly on the side of liberty and human ethics in the imminent clash with godless and sinister materialism. Side by side with the western Democracies they desire to win freedom from the terrorisation of Communism.

At home, on the sunny shores of the Adriatic, the Croats were among the first people of our Continent to have a State form of their own and to embrace Christianity. A faith which, with their strong national feeling, was to prove the stav and prop in Croatia's destiny. Up to the 12th century the country was ruled by its own dynasties, but after the last Croatian king, Petar Svacic, fell. — with his sword in his hand, — fighting at the head of his army for Croatia's freedom, and honoured ever since as a national hero, Croatia became a part of a western group of states, — till 1918, in the Austrian-Hungarian Danube Monarchy. Always, however, Croatia's independence as a state was, to a great extent, preserved. The Croatian army, for instance, like the Hun-

garian Honved, bore its own name, Domobranstvo and commands were given in the Croatian language. During all these centuries the Croatian people retained their own parliament "Hrvatski Sabor", as their own legislative body, representative of the people.

After World War I Croatia, much against its will, found itself a part of the artificial structure of Yugoslavia. The untiring efforts to regain national freedom and independence as a state only materialized after the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1941, when, through a plebiscite, the sovereignty of Croatia was restored. The attitude of the Croats in this last war was not dictated by any sympathy for an alien Power, but solely by the sacred object of their own national liberty, for which the Croats were willing to fight and die, while at the same time warding off Tito tyranny. The expectations of our people, however, as champions of Christendom and European civilization, remained unfulfilled after achieving their national sovereignty. Instead they found themselves handed over to Tito and his godless régime of terrorisation.

Nevertheless the Croatian people are confident that their fight for freedom and the restoration of their thousand year old sovereign state, and their resistance to Bolshevism will be duly acknowledged and go down to history as entirely justified. Their confidence in this gives them the strength and courage to bring further sacrifices for their freedom and faith.

It was not just by chance that the persecution of the Church took such cruel forms in Croatia. Catholic priests were arrested by the hundred and at least three hundred of them were brutally murdered. The Croatian Primate, Archbishop Stepinac, and also Bishop Cule were condemned to long terms of imprisonment and incarcerated, while the Greek-Catholic bishop Dr. Cimrak was poisoned in prison. Their only "crime" was that they were ardent preachers of the Christian faith and fanatical champions of freedom and human rights. "Everything I have said about the rights of the Croatian Nation and about freedom and independence is in perfect keeping with the basic principles the Allies, proclaimed at the conference at Jalta, and also in the Atlantic Charter. If according to these solemn resolutions, each nation has a right to freedom and independence, why is that right denied to the Croatian people?" These words were undauntedly spoken by Stepinac before his judges. To conclude with his last words, "The Archbishop of Agram knows not only how to suffer for his faith, he knows how to die for it".

All Croats are proud of their venerable Archbishop Stepinac, and acknowledge him as the spiritual leader of their nation. He is regarded as the man who has revealed to the world what the spirit of Croatia is to-day.

The spirit of resistance, and the urge

for freedom in the Croatian people, have already taken on concrete form in the so-called "Crusaders" movement. These crusaders will not lay down their arms till their native country has once again become a free and independent democratic state.

For the Croats the motto holds good "Honour what is foreign, and be proud of what is your own!" It means the rejection of any kind of imperialism. — But the Croats expect the same treatment from other nations towards them.

Dr. A. I.

What Does Ukraine Look like To-day?

(Report of an eye-witness)

Shortly before going to press we had the opportunity of speaking to a Ukrainian who had just arrived from his home country and whose report is worth printing. Our questions concerning the food situation, the labour market and the fight for freedom in subjugated Ukraine gave rise to the following, most informative answers.

"From autumn 1946 to the summer of 1947 people literally starved in Ukraine. Conditions were not a whit better than in the famine of 1933. Just as in that year, the corpses of the starved were to be seen everywhere on the roads, while the whole yield of the harvest was taken by force from the Ukrainian peasants for the benefit of the Russian populated parts of Soviet Union. Thus the Russians were assured far better food conditions at the expense of the hungry Ukraine. During the last two years the food situation has somewhat improved, but even now rations are reduced to a minimum that is just enough to keep body and soul together and the population at work. Long queues in front of food shops are an every day sight. People often have to queue up in the evening and wait the whole night in the street, in order to get their daily bit of bread in the morning. Working conditions and forced labour methods make one shudder. The old decree issued by the Kremlin is still in force, whereby late or non-appearance at work of more than 20 minutes, leads to court proceedings and if the worker can produce no convincing excuse there, he is sentenced to a forced labour camp. To squeeze the last remnant of work out of a workman, factory hands are sent to kolhoz. In spring, summer and autumn it is suggested that they might volunteer to spend their free time on Sunday at the nearest kolkhoz to do unremunerated work in the "socialistic spirit". Saturday evening the workers are taken to the kolkhoz in trucks. They work there all day long in the fields and are driven back in trucks in the evening. Non-participation in this "voluntary" work exposes the worker to every chicanery the management can devise, as he has fallen into disfavour. For the slightest lapse or tardiness at work, he is hauled

Documents of the Fight against Bolshevism

Proclamation to the Latvian Fighters for Freedom and to Emigrants

Comrades of the resistance movement, fighters, Latvians in the free World, on the 32nd birthday of Latvia, the fighters a home, in Ukraine and Poland greet you. This greeting is sent by the Latvian group of the N. N. Partisan Union.

Our fight is growing from day to day in extent and importance. The day is approaching when we may return to creative peace work as free and independent men. There are many ruins in our home country. For reconstruction, not only physical strength, but also materials will be needed. Above all, however, preserve yourselves. Be loyal to your compatriots and country. Never forget that this country taught you the first steps, and the difference between good and evil. It gave you the education which opened the way for you in the wide world. Your real home you will only find in your native country.

Of course, permanent exile wearies you physically and mentally. Don't lose your courage, never capitulate before difficulties. In the ordeal of misery, characters are steeled. Every partisan will confirm that, whether the

forests of Latvia, or the Plesgau country, Lithuania, or Poland offer him shelter.

Remember that our daily life is much harder than yours, our slice of bread much thinner than yours, and often there is none at all. Still, we persevere and shall persevere to the end. Our country will be free: independent, or a member of the Baltic Federation, we don't bother about that, but work together and help each other. History will one day tell how unselfishly Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles and Ukrainians once fought shoulder to shoulder. You, too, must work with other political emigrants, especially with those of the Baltic peoples. Three are stronger than two.

Bear up in this ordeal. Be worthy of your fathers and grandfathers. They were not to be moved by lures, nor did they submit to force, they fought on silently, till the sun of freedom rose.

Give no ear to people who have always been fortune-tellers, quacks and whisperers, whether they appear in the simple garb of the countryman, or in dress-suits. They all serve, directly or indirectly, those who devastated our country, and many a graduate of the Segewold M.D.V. school has sneaked

into their ranks. Spurn all persons and political groups which undermine Latvian unity, in preferring the fight for the future of their party and their own future positions, rather than fight for the freedom of their country.

Latvian women! Latvian girls! Your fathers, husbands and brothers are with you in thought in the evening after a short meditation. Your friends, the young men of Woldhow, and your betrothed, have not forgotten what was hoped for in those hours, what was dreamed of along our common way. They do not forget that last farewell, when your eyes were raised to Heaven and your lips whispered, "Almighty God grant that we may meet again; give us a new life in liberated Latvia".

To-day they are doing their duty, fighting in the forests, and although the smile has vanished from their faces, each one believes that one day he will be able to smile again. Never forget your duty to Latvia, always remember you are the daughters of a small, but strong and proud people. Foreign lands call and tempt you with fine prospects, promise you material advantages and comforts. In the end, however, you will have disappointments. Our customs, our traditions, our country will always be strange to the foreigners. Latvians, we wish you every success in the work before you. Tell people everywhere of the misery and suffering brought upon us and all Soviet occupied countries, by Communism. Let that be your task in your exile. The more the world learns about Communism, the weaker will be its position. Train yourselves in professions and in knowledge, be strong and ready to fight. In the decisive hour you, like every other Latvian man and woman at home, must become inexorable judges over the cruel power which knows neither mercy nor justice. You know that even now the annihilation of the Latvian people is going on, in the most fiendish manner. They want to make Latvia a Soviet colony for ever, where the indigenous population will only be a minority. We are fighting to win back our liberty. Our very being depends on the Latvians who are left. We must be united in order to get out of the underground into which the muddy boots of the Bolsheviks have trodden us.

The day will come when we shall all be together at a quiet feast. Then we shall drink the bitter Latvian barley juice out of grained wooden mugs, and in the light of flickering candles, we shall remember our battles, and all those who sacrificed themselves for our native land.

For our country, for freedom, for Latvian honour!

3rd November 1949

Latvian Group of the N. N. Partisan Union.

ABN Nations Fighting for Their Freedom

before the court where he is stamped as "enemy of the people" and condemned to months, or even years of forced labour. Those workers who immediately volunteer for unpaid work on Sunday on a kolkhoz are not so sharply watched and they get off more easily. That is what one calls "socialistic volunteering". I have known workmen to volunteer for five or six Sundays running, and who have toiled for months without a single day's rest, till they were utterly exhausted, for fear of getting into the grip of the law for being late at work.

In this way the inquisitorial law has enabled the Kremlin to reduce the whole Soviet Union's population to robots. The hate against this Russo-Bolshevik domination is boundless. The nations subjugated by Moscow yearn for liberty, and hope one day to live in an independent State of their own. The M.V.D. and the M.G.B. are doing their utmost to exterminate the underground movement, but as fast as one fighting group is annihilated, a new one springs up in its place. The whole Soviet Union to-day is a gigantic concentration camp. Ukrainians are sent to camps in Siberia or Turkestan, while the people of Turkestan are put into camps in the Ukraine or Russia. The same method is applied for the Tartars, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidjanians, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and others. In this way Russia hopes to disperse their forces and avoid

a general uprising among these subjugated peoples. In spite of the terrorisation, rebel units are operating in many of the Russian occupied countries, and they are especially active in Ukraine. The whole of the North-West Ukraine, between the Dnjep, Rumania, Slovakia and Poland, is the field of action for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). Shock troops belonging to the army blow up bridges and railway lines, commit sabotage and also spread anti-Bolshevik literature. I, myself, have often seen leaflets from the U.P.A. They are eagerly read and approved of by the population. The following episode will give some idea of the insecure position of the Russians in Ukraine. Travelling in the train from Pjatychatky to Bila Zerkwa, and then to Western Ukraine, to escape from there to Germany. I noticed a locomotive with only one wagon, loaded with iron, always some distance ahead of us. When I asked a railway man the meaning of this, I was informed that we were going through the U.P.A. infested territory where the line might well be undermined. So the locomotive in front of us was destined to be the victim of a possible explosion, in order to warn and protect the train behind it.

In conclusion I may say that the U.P.A. is only able to carry on its unequal struggle under such terrible conditions, because it has the support of the whole Ukrainian population.

John F. Stewart against W. S. Churchill

Referring to the election speech recently held by Mr. Churchill in Edinburgh, in which he suggested fresh negotiations with Russia "at top level", in order to create a situation in which the two sides might live together, if not in friendship, at least without hate and without the cold war, Mr. John F. Stewart, the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, has written a letter to the Editor of "the Scotsman", published in the issue of February 20, 1950. In his letter Mr. Stewart denies Mr. Churchill's great position as a European statesman.

Among other things J. F. Stewart says: No one has had a greater responsibility than Mr Churchill for the insensate pro-Russian mass hysteria in this country after June 1941, mass hysteria which has resulted in so much destruction of human life and freedom throughout so much of the globe and is not ended yet. Mr Churchill may have some ulterior motive for his bewildering volte face, and may not believe in his own suggestion. But it is to be feared that he will again have played Stalin's game and induced the British people to believe in possibilities which do not exist.

There can be no peace and security till Russian imperialism is destroyed beyond recovery. To my mind there are only two alternative methods by which this can be accomplished. One is by a world war, which none but Moscow and its satellites want at any time, and for which Moscow is possibly not quite ready. The other is to copy Moscow's example and find means to support the strong underground Resistance movements which already are causing such anxiety to the "thirteen bad men of the Kremlin" (Mr Churchill's earlier description) ...

... Moscow would have no right to complain, as it "organises subversive movements in every country in the world except, possibly, in Spain and Portugal, which do not permit it. Help to Resistance movements struggling for freedom has in the past been Britain's glory, and to extend it now, we have ground for hoping and believing, would result in the international collapse of the regime which is now showing cracks, and to the removal of the one danger which threatens civilisation.

The Resistance movements have noted for some time the gradual realisation by Western countries of the terrible danger overhanging them, and had begun to expect the support that commonsense would supply. After the history of the past 50 years, Mr Churchill's proposal for more talks at "top level", at which he was constantly defeated, and which only gave the Russians all they wanted and even more, has caused consternation among these movements, and shattered the growing confidence that, after all, British statesmen had some principles as well as sagacity, and

The Chronicle

might yet evolve a European policy; for very many years now they have had none.

In the very near future Edinburgh will have an opportunity of hearing delegates from these different Resistance movements stating their case in person.

*

Does the Population of Soviet Union Listen to Western Broadcasts?

(UIS) Listening to the Western broadcasts is strongly forbidden behind the Iron Curtain and for listening there are severe punishments. There is a special branch of the M.W.D. to deal with this problem. Anybody caught while listening to foreign broadcasts is arrested and tried as a capitalist collaborator and traitor. Underground movement, however, listens to the Western broadcasts and relays news through underground publication. The "Voice of America" does not always satisfy the peoples enslaved by Moscow, as its broadcasts, although anti-communist are mainly pro-Russian.

*

American Ukrainians Accuse Bolshevik Rulers

We received a leaflet issued by the American Ukrainian League on the occasion of an American Ukrainians Anti-Communism manifestation:

Sunday, January 22, 1950

To all free people!

We ... the American Ukrainians ... accuse the Bolshevik rulers — especially the tyrants ... Stalin, Molotov, Beria Vyshinsky and their accomplices ... of the following crimes:

1. Violence to the right of self-government of the people, to the sovereignty and integrity of the state and to the national liberty.
2. Interference with domestic affairs of the state and people by means of the Fifth Communistic Column's sabotage and espionage.
3. Extermination and dislocation by force of the people of Ukraine.
4. Arson ... robbery ... occupation ... and aggressive wars.
5. Initiation of concentration camps, forced labor, atrocities.
6. Cultural and commercial sweating and plundering of the people; distress and hunger; slavery, terrorism, banishment and brutality.

Death of 18 million Ukrainians in Concentration camps

We ... the American Ukrainians take this opportunity to warn all the people; Unite against the danger to the World, to Religion, to Culture and to Liberty. Unite with us to crusade against Communism, against extermination against slavery and atheism!

Our goal!

Sovereignty and liberty for Ukraine and all nations
Freedom of Religion
Liberty of work
Social Justice
The right of property for the working people
The right of existence in human dignity.

Unite for co-ordinated effort!

1. To destroy Russian Bolshevistic Imperialism and Communism.
2. To restore the complete sovereignty of the vassal states of the U.S.S.R.
3. To democratize thoroughly the political and social life of the people liberated from Bolshevism.

League of Americans of Ukrainian Descent

*

Consecration of the White Ruthenian Bishop.

On 19th December 1949, the first bishop of the White Ruthenian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, Wassilij was consecrated in Rosenheim (Bavaria) by the Bishops of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. Bishop Wassilij is much liked in all anti-Bolshevik circles, and is popular generally. The celebration of the Bishop's consecration, at which, beside numerous White Ruthenians, representatives of the Ukrainians, Croats, Cossacks and Georgians were present, was an impressive manifestation of the friendship among the A.B.N. peoples.

*

Stalin a "Divinity" for Moscow-loving Albanians.

The official Albanian Telegraph Agency announces: the Albanian National Assembly has decided to erect a statue to the "God, Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin."

Such a thing, of course, could only be possible in Bolshevistic "progressive" reality, where a tyrant defines religion as "opium" for the people, but orders his subjects to believe in him as divine. It goes without saying what it so be made of such a fiendish god.

ABN-Correspondence

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Fight of the ABN

for the Freedom of Peoples and the Freedom of the Individual

What is the ABN?

The Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (ABN) is the union of organizations for liberation of peoples oppressed by bolshevism. The ABN coordinates the revolutionary powers of these organizations which aim at the destruction of the bolshevik regime and the reconstruction of the national states of their peoples.

With its slogan of "Freedom for Peoples, Freedom for the Individual", it fights against bolshevism and every other form of Russian imperialism. The ABN appeals to all peoples and individuals who love freedom to unite in the fight against bolshevism and to gain freedom for peoples and individuals.

Where and how does the ABN work?

The main campaign of these revolutionary organizations is carried out in their native countries. For example, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) conducts an underground political campaign in the Ukraine, the Ukraine Insurgent Army (UPA) fights actively and the Ukrainian Supreme Council for Liberation (UHWR) coordinates operations in all provinces. These three organizations work in close cooperation and are members of the ABN. Similar conditions exist among the other members of the ABN. The "German press" lately published an example of the ABN's publicity campaign among soldiers of the Red Army.

Abroad, the ABN publishes several periodicals, e.g. the "Nabat" for oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union, the "ABN Correspondence" for Western countries, the "Awangard" for the youth front of the ABN, and others.

Which nations are members of the ABN?

The revolutionary organizations for liberation of the following peoples are members of the ABN: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, White Ruthenians, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Albanians, Bulgarians, Roumanians, Ukrainians, Cosacks, North-Caucasians, Georgians, Turkestanians and Azerbaidzhanians, Armenians, Tatars, the peoples of Idel-Ural and Siberia.

Polish revolutionary organizations in Poland are also members of the ABN in contrast to organizations of Polish emigrés, as the latter uphold the occupation by Poland of parts of Lithuania, White Ruthenia and the Ukraine. All Russian emigré organizations are opposed to the ABN as they continue to pursue as a political aim the oppression of all non-Russian peoples at present under the yoke of bolshevism. For the same reason, the ABN is against Kerensky and his circle, as he represents Russian imperialism and not the principles of the self-determination of peoples.

The structure of the ABN as an organization.

The ABN is under the direction of a legislative and an executive committee. The People's Council is, properly speaking, the revolutionary parliament of the ABN. The executive body is the central committee of the ABN which is composed of delegates from all the peoples who are members of the ABN. Special committees such as the military, the diplomatic and the publicity committees and a youth group, have been formed and are active. They work under members of the ABN committee. In addition, there is an organization of youth among

the peoples of the ABN, called the Youth Front of the ABN (FJ ABN). On 17-18 of May 1948, the first congress of the ABN was held when new leaders were elected, and new directives and a manifesto approved.

The ABN is not an organization for emigrés, but for operations in the respective homes of its members. Our main aim is to fight bolshevism in our own countries. It is only the foreign committee of the ABN that exists abroad, the greater part of our work is done in our native countries.

The attitude of the ABN towards the solution of the problems of Eastern Europe and Soviets Asia.

In Eastern Europe and in Soviet Asia the same principles must be acted (Continued on Page 7)

The ABN is for:

1. The destruction of Bolshevik oppression of nations and the liquidation of the Bolshevik regime;
2. The independent sovereign national states of free nations, established on the ruins of the USSR and its vassal states;
3. Complete democratization of state and social life of nations, liberated from the Bolshevik yoke and for a new, just, social order!

The ABN is against:

1. The USSR the Bolshevik oppression of nations, and against Bolshevik regimes in the vassal and satellite states;
2. Bolshevik totalitarian system in government, social, economic and cultural spheres of life of the peoples of the USSR and its satellites;
3. Bolshevik terror, misery and hunger of the popular masses in the USSR and its puppet states.

Life in the Paradise of the Soviet Union

(Latest reports from the Ukraine)

Visitors from the other side of the Iron Curtain constantly find their way to our editorial office. We interviewed a man who had just come from the Ukraine and publish the result below.

The Food Situation in the Soviet Union

From autumn 1946 till the summer of 1947 there was a bad famine in the Ukraine, very similar to the famine of 1933. Once more, corpses of people who had died of hunger could be seen lying everywhere along the roadsides while, as before, Ukrainian peasants were forced to give up all their grain which was carried away to Russia. Thanks to this, the food situation in Russia proper was much better than in the Ukraine.

During the last few years, the food situation in the Ukraine has improved somewhat. People are still hungry but they are getting the minimum of food necessary to keep fit to work. Long queues at shops are the order of the day. Very often people start standing in line at night, so as to be able to buy a loaf of bread in the morning.

Soviet Methods of Getting Hard Work out of Citizens

You will remember that, before the war, the Kreml authorities issued a law, according to which every worker who turned up to work more than 20 minutes late, was to appear before a court which could condemn him to hard labour if he could not produce acceptable evidence to excuse his unpunctuality.

The Bolsheviks are now applying the following system in order to get the maximum amount of work out of their workers. In spring, summer and autumn it is often suggested to workers that they should voluntarily give up their Sunday rest in order to work on the colchosc thus performing a work of "social" aid for nothing. On Saturday evening, the workmen are driven to the nearest colchosc in trucks, on Sunday they work in the fields. Officially, of course, this "social" help is given voluntarily and every workman has the right to refuse it. But in reality it works out like this: if a workman who has fulfilled all the wishes of the state, and who works "voluntarily" for nothing on the colchosc is once 20 minutes late for his work, the bolshevik director of the factory will very probably not hand him over to the court. But if a worker who refuses to work in the colchosc for nothing, should once arrive more than 20 minutes late for his work, without adequate reason, he is immediately branded as an "enemy of the people" and as a "fascist"; on the basis of the above-mentioned law he may be con-

demned to many months, and even years, of hard labour.

I personally knew workmen who out of fear, used to work 5-6 Sundays running "voluntarily" on the colchosc; they had not a single day of rest for months. The law on unpunctuality made it possible for the Kreml to transform the entire population into obedient robots.

The Fight for Freedom in the Soviet Union

The oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union hate Russian Bolsheviks with a bitter hatred. All these peoples wish to liberate themselves from alien tyranny and live in independent states of their own. The NKWD tries to stamp out the underground movement; whenever one organization is liquidated, a new one takes its place immediately.

The whole of the Soviet Union is one gigantic concentration camp. When Ukrainians are arrested, they are transported to concentration camps in Siberia or Turkestan while Turkestan prisoners are confined in concentration camps in Russia or the Ukraine.

In the same way, Tatars, Georgians, Armenians, inhabitants of Azerbaidzhan, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Roumanians from Bessarabia, Finns from the Karelians, when they are arrested, are taken to prisons outside of their own countries. Moscow hopes thus to frustrate a general rising of oppressed peoples. In spite of the terrorism exercised by the many countries occupied by Russia, divisions of insurgents operate in many areas, the Ukrainian insurgents being particularly active. The scene of the activities of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) extends over the whole of North-West Ukraine between the Dnieper, Roumania, Slovakia and Poland. UPA blows bridges up and undermines railways. Acts of sabotage are committed, anti-bolshevik literature is distributed. I myself have often read pamphlets spread by the UPA. When I travelled by train from Pjatychatky to Bila Zerkwa and later to West Ukraine, in order to flee from there to Western Germany, a locomotive and one waggon laden with iron preceded my train at some distance the whole way. I asked a railway worker what the reason was. He explained that we were travelling through the district of UPA activities, where mines might have been laid for stretches on the line. The material loss would be less if only a locomotive and one waggon were blown up than if a whole train was destroyed.

The Ukrainian people support the UPA and continues the fight under most difficult conditions.

Tito

Smooths the Way for Moscow

The history of the nations of Western Europe shows that they have never been willing to believe that their security could be threatened from the East.

In 1941, when the Serbs under their leader, Draza Mihajlovic, marched against the invader they were aware of imminent danger from the East represented by bolshevism.

Are the treaties of Jalta and Teheran thinkable today? Churchill calls them a mistake, and this "mistake" has cost us more than 500 000 lives in consequence of Tito's rise to power.

At the outset, Tito succeeded in deceiving the Allies: only after they shot their planes down did they realize that he is a communist. Tito liquidated the remnant of the intelligentsia that Hitler had not found time to destroy and finds no difficulty in dominating a leaderless people.

The present OSNA under Rankovic, its bloodthirsty chief, is a worthy pendant to the NKWD. Nothing could be further from the truth than to maintain that Tito's policy expresses the will of the Yugoslav peoples, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The fact that Tito and Moscow are now rivals as leaders does not mean that their systems are different. The stages of Tito's rise to fame are well-known: corporal in the Austrian army, prisoner of war 1914-1917, one of the best disciples of the Cheka (NKWD) and a friend of Stalin's. He fought as a leader in two civil wars — one in Spain which he lost, and one in Yugoslavia which he won with the help of the Allies.

It may be that Tito has made himself independent of Moscow, for dictators cannot submit to guardianship. But is it credible that he and all the former adherents of Moscow round him, such as Moscha Piade, Kardelj, Behler should suddenly have become democrats? In their speeches, they themselves emphasize that they are loyal disciples of Marx and Lenin.

Against the will of the people, our national flag has been defaced by the addition of a red star. Hammer and sickle are not tools of construction, but of destruction. Western Europeans live in the fond delusion that we have peace now. There is a scrap of paper, called the Atlantic Charta, which guarantees freedom for all peoples. Unfortunately it has remained no more than a scrap of paper. The peoples of Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe and Bolshevik Asia have been forced under the yoke of communism. Surely no one maintains that these peoples have voluntarily accepted this form of government. Not the intelligentsia alone — now practically wiped out — but the "little man" — the peasant and the labourer — suffers and curses.

(Continued on Page 3)

ABN Nations Fighting for Their Freedom

The Struggle in White Ruthenia

At its Congress in Minsk on March 25, 1918, the White Ruthenian nation proclaimed its independent People's Republic (BNR). This was to be of tragically short duration. The imperialism of Bolshevik Russia made a bloody end of this free, independent republic in 1920.

The republic was destroyed, but the idea of a free White Ruthenian people could not die; nor was it rooted out of the hearts of its patriots. They immediately took up the struggle against the dread tyrant of mankind, a struggle which still continues, in spite of all it has cost. Thanks, indeed, to the united resistance of the oppressed peoples united in the ABN, it has increased in intensity. In the free press of the world, reports can be read of anti-bolshevik White Ruthenians who hide as partisans in the forests. In the press of Western Europe, Germany, Ukraine and White Ruthenia mention is made of the activity of many groups of White Ruthenian partisans round about Wilna, Grodno, Lida, Minsk and Baranowitschy. There are reported to be about 50 000 fighters. They are all under the command of General Wituschka. The composition of these groups is adapted to circumstances, so that each group mostly counts 5 or 10 members. Their activity is confined chiefly to punishing the NKWD and their agents.

But occasionally these small groups unite and carry out more extensive actions. For instance, as in the case of Lida, they sometimes occupy small towns and hold them for days; or they hold up trains, free prisoners and requisition foodstuffs. In spite of bolshevik terrorism, or perhaps because of it, these groups are gradually increasing in numbers. The population supports them with all the means at its disposal. White Ruthenian partisans have contact with Ukrainian and Polish partisans and with resistance groups in the Baltic provinces.

Raids on banks are also among the activities of the White Ruthenian partisans. The official "bjelorrussian" press bureau reports that, in recent times, White Ruthenian partisans have conducted several raids on banks in Wilna and Kovno. It is of interest to note that they left receipts for the employees stamped with the "black cat".

The Hunt for White Ruthenians in Poland

According to reports in the free press of the West, the Polish police is at present engaged in a hunt for

White Ruthenians and Ukrainians in Poland. Many thousands of these nationals settled in Poland when the areas in which they had operated as partisans were given to the Poles.

In addition, many thousands fled to Poland, hoping to find there a refuge from bolshevik terrorism. At that time, the bolsheviks had their hands too full to be able to interfere with this flight. Unfortunately they have once more leisure to seek out their unhappy victims and drag them into their innumerable concentration camps.

A transit camp at Wohltu in Silesia serves as a collecting point for these new victims of bolshevik terrorism in Poland. From here the booty is sent to death in Siberia.

Colonial Question and Turkestan

(From the "Milly Turkestan, No. 63", the organ of the "United Turkestan National Committee".)

England has restored sovereignty to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ireland, thus enabling these countries to live in happiness and freedom.

How is it in Turkestan? The leaders of this country are appointed in Moscow. At "elections", lists of candidates are sent from Moscow to Turkestan where electors are compelled to vote for people whom they do not know at all.

What are Russians doing in our country? Who sent them? Who elected them?

Soviet republics are dependent on Moscow. They are obliged to carry out Moscow's economic plans. Leaders in the various republics control only the execution of these plans, on which they must report regularly to Moscow. They are responsible for any failure in execution.

Turkestan produces much cotton, wool, silk and various agricultural products; but its population lives in great misery, as everything is carried off to Russia.

The Soviet constitution promised the peoples of the Soviet Union the right of self-determination and the right to leave the Soviet Union at will. But when some Turkestan statesmen demanded that Turkestan should leave the Union, they were arrested and shot as "traitors".

The Minister of Education in Turkestan has not the right to draw up independent curricula for his schools. When Batu Ramis and Kajum Ramasany, Turkestan educationalists, attempted to plan such curricula, they were shot as "nationalists" by order of Moscow.

In Turkestan schools everything is done according to the Russian pattern

and all institutions of learning have been transformed into instruments of Russification.

In view of this, is it not absurd that Gromyko, the Moscow delegate, should boast in the UN of being the defender of the interests of colonial peoples?

Idel-Ural

The national organization fights for the liberation of the Turko-Tatar and the Ugro-Finnish peoples between the Volga and the Urals.

Union of Champions of the Liberation of Idel-Ural

Anti-bolshevik representatives of all national and political groups of the Turko-Tatars (Tatars, Bashkirs and Tchuwasches) and of the Ugro-Finns (Mordwa, Mori and Udmurt tribes), inhabiting the Volga and Ural areas of Europe, have united to form a national organization for their liberation, called the "New Union of Champions of Independence for the Idel-Ural".

This organization includes the European group of the Turko-Tatars and Ugro-Finns living in the districts round the Volga and the Urals; with the help of modern, anti-communist ideas, it coordinates revolutionary movements among these peoples. Its regards as its first aim, the defence of the native population of these districts. The organization's prime objects are:

1. Uncompromising opposition to bolshevism, the modern form of Russian imperialism. The Union favours dividing the Russian imperium up into independent democratic national states; it plans its campaign in close cooperation with the other nations of the ABN.

2. The reconstruction of independent states in the areas of the Volga and the Urals inhabited by Turko-Tatar and Ugro-Finnish peoples. This can be achieved only if they are completely liberated from Russian supremacy and if a federal Idel-Ural republic can be formed.

3. The establishment of a genuinely democratic administration in this republic, assuring the complete freedom of its citizens in politics, religion, culture and economics, and the creation of conditions necessary for the rise of national cultures in the areas of the Volga and the Urals inhabited by Turko-Tatars and Ugro-Finns.

What is Idel-Ural?

"Idel" is the Tartar name for the Volga river. This name denotes the two territories extending between the Volga and the Urals and part of Western Siberia. It includes the follow-

ing areas: the basin of the middle Volga, most of the basin of the Kama River, the districts between the lower Volga and the Ural River, the middle and southern areas of the Ural Mountains.

The indigenous population of Idel-Ural amounts to more than 10 millions.

The Azerbaidzhanians fight for Freedom

Basic Principles of Azerbaidzhanian National Freedom Movement

1. The reconstruction of the national and political independence lost by our country when it was occupied in 1920 by the Soviet army and the complete liberation of our people from the yoke of Moscow.

2. The establishment in our country of a national and democratic regime, based on a genuine people's government and on social justice.

3. The foundation of a homogeneous Caucasian state, on the basis of a voluntary, federal union of people with equal rights, in which every national member shall have an independent domestic policy.

4. The destruction and final partition of the Russian-Bolshevik imperium — the Soviet Union, as this imperium is an instrument of the suppression of humanity and as it is preparing a campaign of aggression in order to erect bolshevik supremacy throughout the world.

5. The support of the union in one bloc of all peoples oppressed by bolshevism and Russian imperialism, in order to carry the revolution of liberation through to victory and to conduct a common fight against the common enemy of all nations that recognize the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

The Committee for the National Independence of Azerbaidzhan.

Slovak Committee of Liberation

The Slovak committee that has up till now been in charge of resistance in Slovakia, has now been transformed into the Slovak Committee of Liberation; it includes the following parties:

The party of national reconstruction (people's movement for freedom and work), the National Party, the Peasants' Party and Slovak Labour Party. Professor Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky is the president of this committee of liberation.

The Slovak Committee of Liberation has agents in the following countries: USA, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Austria, the Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay. The Slovak Committee of Liberation conducts the revolutionary movement of resistance of the Slovak people going on in Slovakia against bolshevist oppression and

Czech hegemony; it aims at re-establishing the independent democratic republic of Slovakia.

The Struggle in Ukraine Continues

The main success of the UPA and OUN hitherto is traceable to the fact that the myth of the strength of MWD and MGB (Ministry of Interior and State-Security) was broken, each Soviet citizen was able to convince himself that armed resistance against red totalitarianism is possible.

In the west Ukrainian territories, (Galicia, Wolhynia, Carpathian-Ukraine and Bukowina) which were lately added to the Soviet Union the fight against forced collectivisation with the continues same fierceness.

The resisting farmers are deported to Siberia and Turkestan and are replaced by collective-farmers from the eastern districts, who unite their farms in a Colchase.

The Czech National Committee

The Czech National Committee, founded in London for all Czech opponents of communism, has become a centre of resistance to bolshevism. The wrongs inflicted on Czechoslovakia since 1945 have caused millions of loyal Czech subjects to place their hopes in the Czech National Committee.

The communist government in Prague is well aware that its existence is seriously threatened by the union of all anti-communist Czechs in this Czech National Committee. It therefore spares no effort to calumny this body in the hope of rendering it unpopular.

In the programme drawn up by the Czech National Committee, emphasis is laid on its cooperation with all national groups in their common struggle against communism. The manifesto of the Czech National Committee, which was published in London on 1. 3. 1948, contains the following important statement:

"Above all, we are in favour of real freedom and democracy and will tolerate no compromise in establishing these. We abhor the terrorism of a state police which tramples on the rights of the common citizen. Our aim is to set up a political and economic system which will offer every guarantee to private initiative. We stand for the principle of private property, a

principle to be modified only when the interest of the community demands and then only in special cases.

We are in favour of a social justice which assures everybody the right to work and adequate pay. We are in favour of a just solution of the relations of the Czechs with all neighbouring peoples. True to our traditions, we hold Christian civilization to be the foundation of our national culture and the essential foundation of all moral standards."

The Czech National Committee is a central organization representing the following four Czech political movements: The Czech Christian-Social Movement, the Labour Union, the Agrarian Movement, the Democratic League. All four societies work in the countries where they live in exile along the same lines in their common struggle for freedom; all represent the principle of the cooperation of anticommunist powers and movements, working together regardless of nationality. Today, when the nations behind the Iron Curtain are forced into a position of open defence, we, in the name of the Czech people, protest before the world against the crimes of the People's Democracy. We appeal to all in sympathy with our ideas, to make a stand in the interest of Christian civilization against the poison that threatens to spread all over the world.

"Speed of the Ideas of the ABN"

The Idea of a war against Bolshevism, as the most terrible and bloody tyranny of all times, is progressing with success and mobilizes fresh strength among the subjugated nations.

Thus, for instance, the delegation of ABN in Hannover has opened up branches in Rheine, in Hallendorf and Braunschweig. In Lindau on the Bodensee a branch of ABN for the French zone has been established.

Branches of ABN came into existence in Landshut and Rosenheim (American Zone). The members of the freshly established branches comprise representatives from following nations: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelo-Ruthenians, Czechs, Hungarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Idel-Uralians, Turkestanians, Aserbajdshanerians, Armenians.

It is encouraging that in spite of the emigration of DP's from Germany, the number of ABN members is increasing. Thus it is proved that the tactics of ABN are right and correspond to the apprehension of the wide masses.

ABN-appeals:

Freedom-Loving Nations and Peoples of the World

Unite Against Bolshevism

and Gain Freedom for Nations and Individuals!

Documents of the Fight against Bolshevism

ORDER

of the Taras Chupryinka, General, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) issued on VE Day

(The original text appeared in an UPA underground magazine, POSTA-NETS (The Insurgent), Nos. 5 & 6 for April-May, 1945.)

Fighting Men and Commanders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army!

Hitler's Germany has found its final and irrevocable destruction.

The Ukrainian people will no longer fear death in gas chambers or liquidation of their entire villages by the Gestapo. No more will the German hit the freedom-loving Ukrainian peasant in the face, nor take his land in order to turn him into a slave for the German master. No longer will the Germans be able to drive thousands and tens of thousands of peasants and workers into modern slavery in Germany. Nor will the Ukrainian intellectual worker have to wait his turn to be liquidated because he always and ever has been a menace to the invader. The barbarian from the West no longer will dominate over Ukrainian land.

A great contribution toward the victory over Germany was made by you, Ukrainian Insurgents. You prevented the German from freely exploiting the Ukrainian soil using its fruits for his aggressive designs. You prohibited his pillaging of Ukrainian villages, you fought the forced deportations to Germany. Your retributive hand repaid the German for mass executions and the burning of villages. In the struggle against Germany our Ukrainian Insurgent Army was first organized and received its fighting training.

But with the defeat and collapse of Germany an even worse invader has come back to Ukraine-Russia. For centuries enslaving Ukraine, Russia whe-

ther ruled by the Tsars or by the "most democratic regime in the world", — that Russia has always had sinister and imperialistic designs upon our country. This so-called "socialist republic" has finally decided to put an end to the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for liberty and independence. Having enchained all its people in a new social system of state capitalism, the ruling clique has created such unbearable economic conditions that under its freedom loving man has become a perpetually hungry beast with no problem on his mind but food. Having introduced a new culture, "national in form, but socialist in content", the Soviet government, with the help of such terrorized Ukrainian slaves as Tychna, Bazhan, Vyshnia and Vozniak — forcibly injects Russian culture into Ukraine. To mislead still further the Ukrainian people, the Soviet government has even created the Commissariat of Defence and that of Foreign Affairs, which have no other tasks or duties but to glorify Stalin. By the most inhuman terror mankind has ever known and by insidious provocations, it attempts to boil the Ukrainian people in a Russian pot, so that the Ukrainians should forget that they once were free and independent, and that without protest they should acquiesce in being external slaves of the "elder brother" — of the new and powerful Russia. For those who reject this Russian culture, "the most democratic republic" has the Siberian "tagas", the Solovetski Islands, mass executions, the burning of villages, state-instigated famine and other "modern methods of education".

But the Ukrainian people have not and will not ever capitulate before the enemy. In 1945 they gave you, Ukrainian Insurgents, weapons in your hands with the explicit order to defend to the last, the ideal of Ukrainian freedom and independence. With superb determination and heroism, with unheard of faith and devotion, you have been fighting for this ideal for more than two years. Neither hunger nor privation, nor terror applied to your families has shaken your intrepidity and your belief in the final victory. At all the deceitful approaches and addresses of the "Government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic" you have strengthened your efforts. You remember only too well that by such methods Russia tried to demoralize and weaken the brave soldiers of Mazepa; the same insidious propaganda was used in the years 1920-1943 by the Soviets in order to entice those among us who were naive enough to believe them. All those who trusted the Russians were

"rewarded" by being sent to slave labour camps or executed as soon as their usefulness to Russia came to an end. When you embarked upon the struggle with the Stalinist regime, you knew that we could not capitulate because the enemy that menaces the very existence of the nation, must be fought until victory or death comes. I am certain that the weapons given you by your people will not be covered with dishonour, and you will leave your names covered with immortal glory for posterity.

Ukrainian Insurgents!

The world has no peace as yet. The revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples, as well as the antagonism between the Western democracies and the USSR will increase. The people the world over will become increasingly aware what the "dictatorship of the proletariat", formulated in and propagated by the Kremlin, means to humanity. In the struggle against the Kremlin you are by no means alone. The brave Serbs and Croats continue to fight Tito who is nothing but a tool of Moscow; the Bulgarians are also rebelling against the bloody terror brought to the country by the "allied" USSR. The mountains of Transylvania are crowded with those Rumanians who have refused to submit to Russia. Even little Slovakia leads a regular guerilla warfare against the invader. The Polish patriots by constant sabotage and armed struggle fight all the attempts of Stalin to enslave them. The ranks of fighters against the Oriental satrap are increasing daily. All this, of course, creates favorable conditions for continuing our struggle and brings nearer the moment of downfall for the USSR.

To be able to survive till that moment with weapons in your hands and to give leadership to all those fighting Stalin — this is your sacred duty. I have a firm belief that you will fulfil it with honor and determination as you have fulfilled all your previous tasks and duties. By using the new methods of struggle, adaptable to the new conditions, you will give a resolute answer to the challenging enemy.

Onward with unshakeable faith!

Long live the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Glory be to those who fell fighting the invader!

Glory to Ukraine!

Taras Chupryinka, General
Commander-in-Chief of the
Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

Headquarters, May 1945.

(Continued from Page 2)

Tito Smooths the Way for Moscow

Although abandoned by the Allies, the people continues to fight against communism. Having Tito as a leader does not mean that communism has been replaced by freedom. Yugoslavia today is a prison where there is no freedom. National communism is a delusion, a blatant falsehood. One nation after another is sacrificed, in order to "improve" the European situation. Can others be saved thus? It is a pity that so little should have been learnt from history. Might one not here call to mind the episode of the Trojan horse?

Balsha Sinobad

Memorandum of the ABN

On June 15, the Central Committee of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations sent a memorandum to Dean Acheson, foreign secretary of the United States and to General Dwight Eisenhower, who is a member of the American Committee for a Free Europe. While welcoming the founding of this committee, the ABN expressed the fear that the idea of preserving the Russian imperium after the fall of bolshevism together with a refusal to acknowledge the natural rights of oppressed peoples to independence within their ethnographic frontiers was gaining ground in the States, which was naturally causing uneasiness among these peoples. The memorandum contained the following points:

1. The most important factor in consolidating a people's powers is not **against whom** they are fighting, but **what they are fighting for**. The motive is all-important. And this can only be national liberation, the most powerful instrument in the struggle against bolshevist totalitarianism.

2. The peoples oppressed by Moscow repudiate the ideas represented by the "League of the Champions of the Freedom of the People", the "National Labour Union" and the "Union of Fighters for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia".

Those ideas are merely a re-hash of the Wlassow Movements of nazi days with the disguised aim of continuing the oppression of non-Russian peoples.

3. In its attempt to dominate the world, Russian imperialism has always made use of hypocritical phrases, such as "Panslavism", "Protection of the Orthodox Church", "Proletarian World Revolution", "Defence of Islam", "Liberation of Colonial peoples from the imperialist yoke of capitalism". All these slogans are merely methods of disguising eternal Russian imperialism in its present red form of bolshevism.

4. In 1917 Alexander Kerensky lost his fight against bolshevism only because he, as a Russian imperialist, and therefore not really an enemy of bolshevism, ignored and fought ruthlessly against national movements for liberation. This fact and the subsequent support given to tsarist generals by the Entente led to the victory of bolshevism over the following independent states: White Ruthenia, the Ukraine, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Armenia, North Caucasia, Turkestan, etc. and over Kerensky's sham democracy as well as over the generals themselves, who were opposed to communism.

5. Even if Russian imperialism should be supported by the Western Powers, the following peoples, oppressed by the Soviet Union, will continue their fight for liberation: peoples of the Ukraine, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia,

First Conference of Youth Front of ABN

On the 27th and 28th of September 1949, the Youth Front of the ABN held its first conference in Hanover, which was attended by delegates from the 12 member nations of the Antibolshevik Bloc. An executive committee was elected from delegates presenting Latvia, Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Roumania, Turkestan, Idel-Ural. At meetings on those two days, the present world situation, and the position in the East in particular, was thoroughly discussed. A number of lectures were given, dealing with problems of present day politics, cultural, religious and social life and economics.

In the debates following these lectures, the attitude of the youth of the ABN peoples to present day problems may be summarized as follows:

1. The youth of the ABN peoples repudiates the present "world order", i. e. the present era "between war and peace" as a consequence of the treaties of Teheran, Jalta and Potsdam.

2. The youth of the ABN peoples lays the blame for the present era, "between war and peace" on those leaders of western democracies who, failing to recognize the true nature of bolshevism, had helped Moscow to complete the most glorious campaign of conquest in its history, and who now lacked the courage to wrestle with Moscow before it is too late.

Georgia, North Caucasia, the Cossack country, White Ruthenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Idel-Ural, Turkestan and Siberia.

Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Roumanians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and other European peoples will continue to be threatened by Russian imperialism, should the fall of bolshevism not entail the break-up of the Russian imperium. World peace will be endangered as long as millions of members of oppressed peoples have to live in the Russian imperium. This imperium must be dissolved in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The ABN would gladly welcome the Russian people as members, should it renounce all attempts to establish a hegemony in favour of living in a state of its own within its own frontiers.

6. The national movements of liberation in the oppressed peoples of the East are a decisive factor in the struggle against bolshevism. In ignoring this fact, political circles in the USA are committing an irreparable mistake.

7. The ABN warns the whole free, democratic world of the catastrophic consequences of cooperation not only with bolshevism, but also with Russian imperialism of any kind and the former collaborators of communist bolshevism.

3. The youth of the ABN peoples believes in the **idea of nationalism** in that it accepts the principle of self-determination for peoples and consequently, the inalienable right of every people in Europe and in the Soviet Union to erect a state of its own within its ethnographic frontiers.

4. The youth of the peoples of the ABN believes in the **principle of democracy**. No government may be set up without the consent and approval of the governed. All power comes from the people, through the people and is exercised for the people.

The youth of the peoples of the ABN absolutely repudiates the **policy of compromise** pursued by the West towards Moscow; it is of the opinion that world peace and the success of the UN can be achieved only if bolshevism is completely defeated and destroyed.

6. The youth of the ABN peoples believes emphatically in the **idea of peace** and repudiates war as an instrument of international politics. Once the freedom of their peoples is recovered, this youth is determined to work for permanent peace and friendship. Peace, however, can be established and preserved only if every people enjoys independence as a state within its own borders. As long as this is not possible, this youth assumes the right to declare a revolutionary war of national liberation against imperialism of all kinds.

7. The youth of the ABN peoples unanimously supports the idea of social freedom and justice. Only a free human being, free, that is, from economic and social oppression can construct a free state and a free society. Freedom, justice and peace abroad and at home — such is the programme of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations: "Freedom for Peoples — Freedom for the Individual."

The absolutely harmonious, fruitful cooperation of all youth groups among the ABN peoples is a guarantee that peace and friendship will be fostered and preserved also in the future, among the nations of Central and Eastern Europe after their liberation.

Millij Turkestan

The "Millij Turkestan", the organ of the National Turkestan United Committee, has resumed publication after a break. It contains valuable information about Turkestan's fight for freedom against bolshevik dictatorship and Russian imperialism.

The editorial staff of the ABN Correspondence wishes the Turkestan publication all success.

For God and a free Home!

For Freedom of the Subjugated!

Fight of the ABN

(Continued from Page 1)

vated as are summed up in the Atlantic Charter and regarded in Western Europe as the foundation of democracy, i.e. the recognition of the right of every people to its complete political sovereignty. To realize this, the Russian imperium and Russian imperialism of every colour must be destroyed, and all the victims of bolshevik oppression must be guaranteed development as free national states. Would the partition of the Russian imperium into several national states not mean that the Russian area would be reduced to atoms and would this not have a disastrous effect on the economic development of these peoples?

In reply, we should like to ask whether the Allies, when they smashed the nazi Reich in the Second World War and restored complete independence to France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and the other states enslaved by Hitler, regarded this as reducing Europe to atoms and as a handicap for the economic development of those peoples?

Why does the ABN regard Russian imperialism as the greatest evil in Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia?

We must state first that the ABN regards every kind of Russian imperialism as an imminent danger and a great evil not only for Eastern Europe, but also for the whole of Europe and the culture of the entire Western world. There are no limits to the aggression of Russian imperialism. As soon as one country is subjugated, it starts to prepare an attack on another. In the country occupied, all elements with a love of freedom are destroyed, root and branch, and all the energies of the oppressed people are utilised as slave labour to prepare for a new war. After the Second World War, the West received sufficient proof that we are right in maintaining that the bolshevism of Moscow is a danger for the world. The whole of Western Europe lives in a constant state of fear of aggression by Moscow.

Abandoning Central Europe to Moscow has not diminished this danger, but has merely postponed it for a short time. It must be obvious to everyone today that this danger can be removed only when Russian imperialism of every dye is destroyed and when a Russian state is confined to its own ethnographic frontiers.

Sources of support for the ABN in its struggle.

The ABN unites national revolutionary organizations which depends on their own force to support them in their fight for the liberation of their peoples. We must emphasize that in Eastern Europe it is not technical progress alone that plays the main part in war, but the ideas for which these masses fight. That is why the ABN considers it important to influence the ideas of the masses and to organize their opposition. The results of this preparatory work will only show later. In the period of preparation for the decisive blow, the ABN organizes military opposition, so as to convince the population of the USSR that not even in peace can bolshevism crush resistance to its ideas. It is clear that the oppressed peoples, in their struggle, should welcome help from the freedom-loving nations of the West. Unfortunately, the ABN must confess that the West has not only failed to give it any help up till now, but that it does not even show any sympathy with their struggle.

The peoples of the Soviet Union in case of another war.

The millions of peoples oppressed by Moscow regard a new war as an opportunity for insurrection against bolshevism. Whether this idea will be successfully realized depends on what ideas are marshalled by the powers waging war with the Soviet Union. The peoples in the Soviet Union have heard many enticing promises and they are convinced that these promises generally conceal something quite different. The oppressed peoples desire for themselves complete national independence and if this were recognized and accepted by the powers in opposition to the Soviet Union, they would support these powers actively. The peoples in the USSR find it hard to grasp why they receive no support in their struggle from the great Powers of the West and why this struggle is ignored by them, while the bolsheviks conduct a violent and active campaign of publicity against the West and openly support their Fifth Column in all Western countries.

The ABN and the idea of a European Union.

The ABN will gladly cooperate with the European Union, provided this Union recognizes the full sovereignty of every people.

Political Review

Since the four ministers for foreign affairs of "the great four" came at the last Paris-conference in October 1949, to the agreement, that they cannot come to terms about the treaty of peace of Germany and that the occupation should continue for the present — the **problem of Germany** and with it the political development of Europe entered a acute stage.

The beginning of the West-German-Federal-Republic and the creation of the East-German-States — Stalin's act of grace — are now the emblems of the European crises, and furthermore, the emblems of the irreconcilable world conflict between the tyranny of the East and the idea of liberty of the West.

Stalin's message to the German nation — in which he does not recoil to make an appeal to German nationalism — should take the effect like oil in fire and to undermine the crystallization of the West-German states out of the interior. In reality, Stalin is trying to put the potential of Germany in his service, in order to materialize the bolshevistic plans of ruling the world.

This spiteful diplomacy of the Kremlin could not be of indifference to the West. Dean Acheson's Visit in Bonn, the surprising arrival of the US Minister for Defence JOHNSON and Chief of General-staff BRADLEY in Western Germany and Berlin, in order to attend the council of defence of the Atlantic agreement states in Paris, point to the explanation that there is probably no further willingness to look on inactive at the advancing of bolshevism in the West. All symptoms lead to the fact that in the West a serious effort will be undertaken in order to be released from the fatal Jalta-Politic and to oppose world-tyranny in Kremlin a determined: "up to his day and no further."

Not so very clear seems the development on the far East. Since China, with her strong economical and strategic-military potential, has fallen in to the hands of Stalin's substitute, Mao-Tse-Tung, the west powers are very slowly establishing a barrier against so-wjet expansion. This despondency is especially characteristic for Great-Britain. Surely one should not make it too easy for Stalin to bring the strong potential of China into his possession. But one tries to be compound with the past as good as possible in order to win new points of view and to enter new dispositions from which the fight can be renewed and carried forward.

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The presumable acknowledgement of China's communistic Government will probably not be contradiction to this evidence. The acknowledgement explains itself firstly from economical necessities and furthermore from the intention to stay in close contact with the interior-political development of Red-Cina.

(Continued on Page 8)

ABN Supports the Claim to Check Compulsory Labour in the Soviet Union.

The Central-Committee of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has forwarded a memorandum to each delegation of the United Nations, which supports the request of the Moscow oppressed nations to check forced labour in the Soviet Union. The leaders of the individual delegations have acknowledged the memorandum to president of CC of ABN, J. STETZKO and have expressed themselves favourably on the subject matter.

Political Review

(Continued from Page 7)

We are of the opinion: this game of the west-powers with Red China is very dangerous. We are afraid that the Allies will burn their hands. The second act of the Jalta-tragedy...

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The retreat of Jugoslavia from the east-bloc is quite a blow to soviet strategy in the South-East of Europe, which Moscow cannot take easily for ever.

The arresting of masses in Poland, the discharge of Gomulka and the appointment of the soviet-marshal Rokossowski as minister of defence in Warsaw, is a unique example in history; the tides of arrests in Czechoslovakia, through which have been also leading czech communists removed; the legal trials in Budapest and the elimination of communist leaders in Hungary; the brutal purification in the communistic Government-apparatus of Rumania and finally the continual amputations among the leaders of the communistic regime in Bulgaria with the formerly second-strongest man after Dimitroff, the representative minister-president Traicho Kostoff who has received his sentence of death in the mean-time, — all these events are milestones on the road to an epidemic illness of the soviet-world-ruling-system. This sickness will with lightning speed seize all satellite-states and nations.

It is not of importance to what extent and when it will be possible to cast off from the interior the bolshevist yoke of Moscow with native strength, but the historical fact that even some communists are revolting against the Kreml. That means the strongest slap in the face of Stalin and his helpers, who are unmasked as hypocrites from their own followers in other states and nations and are convicted of the biggest fraud which has ever happened in history. This crisis of communism brings the last conclusive evidence that underneath the mask of the communist "Socialist Justice", "Reconciliation of Nations" and "Love of Peace" brutal tyranny, enslavement of nations and warloving imperialism are hiding in the Kreml.

The Chronicle

The president of Central Committee of ABN and the head of the ABN delegation to Great Britain have presented a memorandum with similar purpose to the British Foreign Office. In this memorandum the ABN declares joint liability with the action of the British Government to check slave labour in the Soviet Union and the satellite-states, and expresses its willingness to produce documents and living witnesses who will clearly confirm the justness of the British indictments against Soviet Union. The claims of ABN made in the memorandum sent, to the UN-Delegation, were similar to the claims which the British Government had expressed before the forum of the United Nations.

Memorial to the "American Committee for Free Europe"

The Central-Committee of the "Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations" has forwarded to the President of the "American Committee for Free Europe". Ambassador Joseph GREW, another memorial, in which was once again stated the opinion of the nations united in ABN: that only the dismemberment of the Russian Imperium into independent national states can secure lasting World Peace.

"To the Embassy Council"

The delegation of the "Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations" (ABN) for Great Britain submitted to the Council of Ambassadors in USA a declaration from the countries behind the "iron curtain", which in due time will be published in the press. The same declaration was also presented to the British Foreign Secretary Ernest BEVIN and to the Ambassador of USA in London, Mr. DOUGLAS.

November Demonstrations of the ABN

On the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, the supporters of the ABN held anti-bolshevik demonstrations in many towns of West Germany on Sunday, November 6, 1949.

Ten thousands of Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Lithunians, Latvians, Estonians, Slovaks, Croats, Hungarians, natives of Turkestan and members of other nations belonging to the ABN, paraded through the streets of the German towns, carrying flags and posters. Placards were displayed everywhere with inscriptions such as "Long live the Anti-bolshevist Bloc of Nations" — the ABN!, "Long live the Ukrainian Insurgent Army!", "Imprisonment for Stalin and his underlings!" Speakers from the ABN addressed massed demonstrations and proclaimed the indomitable will of the peoples of the ABN to carry their fight for freedom to a victorious end. There will be no peace in the world until every nation can live in its own, independent,

free state. They appealed to the peace-loving nations of the world to launch a crusade against bolshevism and against Russian imperialism of every colour and variety.

In some towns, the American Military Government announced early on November 6 that demonstrations were prohibited.

Thanks to the discipline of the functionaries of the ABN, the demonstrations were conducted everywhere in perfect order. They found a lively echo in the German press.

Destruction of 100 000 Lithuanians Foreign Minister Lozoraitis accuses Moscow before the UN

On 26. 10. 49 Stasys Lozoraitis, foreign minister of the Lithuanian exile government, on a special mission to Lake Success, was received by Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulos, president of the General Assembly and by Andrew Cordier, deputy for the General Secretary. Minister Lozoraitis brought an accusation, supported by extensive material, that the government of the Soviet Union had, in the course of 1948/49, destroyed in special camps at least 100 000 Lithuanians, belonging mostly to the middle classes and the intelligentsia. Minister Lozoraitis expressed the hope that the Lithuanian accusation would be brought up for debate in the General Assembly of the UN when that body discussed the Five Power Pact proposed by the USSR.

"The Baltic Review from January 13, 1950 writes:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine have issued a report stating that the economy of the republic was seriously endangered by the nonfulfilment of several items in the agricultural plan for 1949. It added in no uncertain terms that the population should be induced to take up a more hostile attitude towards the enemies of the Soviet Union, first among whom are the kulaks and Ukrainian nationalists. To a listener to the report over the Kiev Radio it sounded like a hardly veiled injunction to step up the fight against the partisans."

ABN-Correspondence

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